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THE INTERIOR VIEW: PHOTOGRAPHS OF CYCK
1871-1906

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE (INTERIUS PROGRAM),
M.I.A., 1979

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THE INTERIOR VIEW: PHOTOGRAPHS OF WYCK
1871-1906

BY
Ellen M. Rosenthal

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

June, 1979

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THE INTERIOR VIEW: PHOTOGRAPHS OF WYCK
1871-1906

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The aim and purpose of this essay has been an analysis of the Haines family's response to their contemporary social moment as made visible in photographs of their homestead. Given that end, I have chosen to omit much personal and anecdotal information which fit neither the time allotted nor my central concerns. As a result, I fear that the reader's sense of the people who directed, took and enjoyed the photographs of Wyck may be lacking dimension. Though I hope that the understanding reader will recognize the restricting limits of this study, I would like to apologize for any inadvertent misrepresentations, or distortions of personality. For, the letters, journals and accounts which I used as primary material, prove the fullness of the personages about whom my analysis centers.

The Haineses were people of unselfconscious generosity, warmth and humility, qualities which are still shared by their descendents who made materials available and attempted to aid this project by every means at their disposal. I would especially like to thank Mr. Charles Huston Haines, Chairman, The Wyck Committee, and Mrs. H. Eastburn Thompson, Vice-President, The Friends of Wyck, and Member, The Wyck Committee, as they...
patiently answered questions concerning the family, provided names of family members who might be contacted for further information and were helpful in other ways too numerous to mention. Other family members who answered my letters with photographs, suggestions and encouragement include Mrs. R.S. Taylor, Mrs. Howard C. Blake, Mrs. George F. Bryant, Jr., Mrs. Eric Hofer, Dr. Ellen R. Haines, Mr. John Stewardson, Mrs. Murray J. Belman, Mr. John C. Wister, Mrs. Richard M. Worth, Mr. Rowland Bowne Haines, Mr. John H. Kimber, Sr., Mr. Franklin M. Haines, Jr., Mrs. Arthur Dewar, and Mrs. Charles J. Hepburn, Jr., and Mrs. W.A.B. Davidson.

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It would not have been possible for me to reproduce and include photographs of the photographs of Wyck without the aid of Mr. George Fistrovich, Photographer, The H.F. du Pont Winterthur Museum. He was generous with his time in attempting to teach me the photographer's art. I acknowledge, however, that as a slow learner, the shortcomings of these photographs are completely due to my own ineptness. The Conde Nast Publications, Inc., New York, granted me permission to copy and include the photographs of Wyck which appeared in their publication, House and Garden, and I thank them for their beneficence.

v
A special expression of my gratitude is due to my friend, Jonathan Oberman, Graduate Fellow in American Literature and History, Columbia University. Discussions with Jonathan have assisted me in formulating the socio-cultural approach to decorative arts study which this essay attempts to present. Jonathan has assisted me in my endeavors to achieve historical perspective, has carefully read and commented upon the text, and has generously provided copious amounts of comic relief.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

For the cultural or social historian whose concern it is "to winnow from the mass of data those things which would most truly suggest the shared beliefs, assumptions and concerns that hold together the various groups and individuals... of a society at a particular point in time," photographs of Victorian home interiors offer a rich source of cultural information.¹ The majority of such photographs were taken by amateur family or professional photographers with the singular intention of creating family keepsakes. Included were those objects which families believed best represented them: those of which they were proud, or found interesting and which they wanted to show to others and to look at themselves in the future. The self-consciousness explicit in Victorian photographs of home interiors demonstrates how families deliberately manipulated the complex of objects which formed a room's decoration to present a preferred image of themselves.² The systematic analysis of these preferred images, when considered within their socio-historical context, facilitates the comprehension of mid-nineteenth century social values and domestic concerns.

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The intention of this essay is to delineate the patterns of change in one family's multi-faceted preferred image and to examine the manner in which their preferences were conditioned by social factors, cultural background and individual temperament. Photographs taken between 1871 and 1906 which depict interiors of Wyck, the Haines family homestead, Germantown, Pennsylvania, serve as the principal artifactual source for this study. However, the large body of contemporary correspondence, private and household account books, receipts, bills and journals concerning Wyck and the Haines family have provided supplementary information, suggesting possible motivations for their choices, actions and the development of attitudes towards self and home.  

All photographs of Wyck considered herein primarily reflect the values, beliefs, and concerns of Jane Reuben Haines (1831-1911), an unmarried woman who lived at Wyck alone from the 1860s until her death in 1911. While Jane's preferences largely determined the form of interior decoration at Wyck, as well as the images created by photographs of that decoration, the house cannot be viewed solely as a reflection of her biography. The house had remained in the Haines family's possession for seven generations by the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout the period of Jane Haines's residence at Wyck, family members continued to consider the house as their homestead, their valuation of their link to Wyck varying in relationship to their changing social milieu and undoubtedly,
to individual inclination and emotional attachment to Jane herself.

The first set of photographs include one exterior and five interior views of Wyck. Taken by a professional photographer in 1871, 1872 and 1873, these stereoscopic studies were ordered and directed by Jane Reuben Haines (figs. 5-10). Two sets of photographs taken of Wyck between 1902 and 1906 by family members reflect the efflorescence of family preoccupation with Wyck as a homestead in the period considered. While an exposition of the attitudes of individual family members towards Wyck would undoubtedly yield interesting results, the magnitude of such a study due to the family's size, places it beyond the scope of this essay. Photographs taken by family members, however, allow for a more generalized analysis of family concerns, for, they manifest the preferences of the photographers, as well as the house's decorator.

Jane H. Warder (later Mrs. George C. Hodgson, 1881-1970), an amateur photographer, took six interior and four exterior photographs of Wyck which are contained in an album labeled "Wyck 1902" (figs. 11-17). The granddaughter of Jane Haines's sister who had moved to Ohio after marrying in 1836, Jane Warder apparently also lived in the Midwest. Another set of views of Wyck were photographed by Reuben Haines (1851-1920), Jane's nephew. A scientist and photographer, Reuben compiled a photograph album titled "Photographs by Reuben
Haines 1902-1904," which includes five exterior and six interior pictures of Wyck (figs. 30-33). Reuben appears to have shot nine additional views of the house, judging from the handwriting which identifies glass plate negatives taken from 1903 to 1906 (figs. 19-29).

Photographs by Wyck which illustrate an article by Gilbert Hindermeyer entitled "Wyck: An Old House and Garden at Germantown, Philadelphia," House and Garden (November 1902) are also included in this discussion, because they are not indicative of family intent, and therefore function as a foil for other photographs examined herein (figs. 37-40). If one assumes that "until more is known about the relationship between available cultural products and people's...values, ... [that] the existing cultural fare expresses people's values," the House and Garden photographs and article reveal more about the values shared by the House and Garden audience than those of the Haines family. Since comparison of these photographs with Haines family photographs suggests some convergence in intended image, it allows one to appreciate the extent to which a mass medium functions to disseminate and encourage the internalization of particular attitudes and their accompanying mindset.
CHAPTER II

TOWARDS AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Victor Turner maintains in *The Forest of Symbols* that, "Symbols are essentially involved in social process... whereby groups become adjusted to internal changes and adopted to their external environment." Similarly, it is my contention that photographs of Wyck make visible the symbolic manipulation of objects. Furthermore, the variations in the manner of self-presentation which become evident in a comparative examination of these photographs manifest Jane Reuben Haines's and her family's response to changes in their personal and social worlds. Although a detailed exposition of the semiotic relation of objects at Wyck to the specificities of the contemporary social moment is incorporate in my analysis of the photographs, a brief introduction to Jane Reuben Haines, her family, the community and the house itself, will aid in an understanding of the Haines family's identification with certain groups in late nineteenth and early twentieth century America.

Germantown was founded in 1683 and settled predominately by emigrants from the northwestern and central regions of continental Europe, what is today Germany and the Netherlands.
In the first years of settlement, the village of approximately nine square miles lay just over five miles from the city of Philadelphia, and until 1800 maintained a base population of well under three thousand inhabitants.  

The Haines family traces its origin in America to one of Germantown's first settlers, Hans Millan, a Dutch immigrant. Millan is believed to have built a small dwelling upon the Wyck property, which now constitutes the oldest section of the house. In the first half of the eighteenth century Millan built a second small house on the same axis as the first for his daughter who had married Dirck Janson, another Dutch settler (fig. 1). Both houses and property passed to the Jansons' daughter Catherine, who in 1726 married Caspar Wistar, a German born Quaker. Through the marriage of Catherine and Casper's daughter Margaret Wistar to Reuben Haines ("The Elder") in 1760, the Millan and Wistar house and property passed into the hands of the Haines family, in whose possession it remained for the next two hundred years. Reuben Haines ("The Elder") is believed to have been responsible for joining the two houses on the second floor level, leaving an open carriage driveway running through the house. 

Advantageous business ventures and land speculation established the family's prosperity during the eighteenth century, and following the fashion of many wealthy Philadelphia families, the Wistars and Haineses maintained houses in the
city as their primary residences. They used Wyck, or "The Farm" as they then called it, as a country seat, sojourning there only in the summer months throughout the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth century. For Germantown, sparsely settled and situated on high ground, was considered a salubrious place to retreat during the unhealthy summer months when Philadelphia was visited by yellow fever and other tropical diseases.

In 1820, Reuben Haines ("The Younger") and his wife Jane Bowne Haines, also of a wealthy Quaker family, quit their town house and assumed residence at Wyck on a permanent basis. Subsequent to their removal Reuben hired the architect William Strickland to remodel the house. By this time the course of Germantown Avenue, which had previously run to the rear of what is now the kitchen, had been altered and ran beside the front parlor. Although Wyck's immediate milieu remained rural (fig. 2), Strickland had the windows on both stories of the street side of the house removed and a fireplace built into the center wall. Thus, as Gilbert Hindermeyer writes, the house "presented to the aggressive approach of the growing city nothing but a blank wall."

Railroad lines laid in 1832 between Germantown and Philadelphia transformed the village into a suburban community, generating significant increases in land value, population and the community's prosperity. Large segments of the Wyck property were sold to land developers for sizable sums, by

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which means the family buttressed their secure financial position, although diminishing the spatial barrier between the house and the burgeoning suburban environment. The farm in the country had, in fact, become a house in the city. In 1854, Germantown ceased to exist as an independent borough and was incorporated into Philadelphia.¹⁶

A photograph which Jane Reuben Haines had taken of Wyck in the 1860s, little more than thirty years after the watercolor of Wyck had been painted (fig. 2) illustrates the effect of urban dilation on the Germantown landscape (fig. 3). Street car tracks run through a muddy road beside the front parlor end of the house, while a white picket fence surrounds the property, serving to segregate the house from the encroaching community.

Reuben Haines's decision in 1820 to adopt and develop Wyck as a rural family homestead, the center of a highly regulated family life, affected family attitudes towards the house for generations to come. Reuben's implementation of ideas concerning the structuring of quotidian existence, his scholarly, secular, religious, and community-service activities, and his friendships with many leading artists and intellectuals, as well as his financial success similarly effected familial conceptions of its public and private roles.

Although by 1820 Wyck had stood for over one hundred years and had served as a hospital during the Revolutionary
War, it was primarily through Reuben's efforts that Wyck came to be considered an important family inheritance. General Lafayette's reception there in 1825, which Reuben arranged, encouraged members of the community and family in subsequent decades to view the house as an historical landmark. Reuben is also believed to have given "The Farm" its distinctive name, calling it "Wyck" after the baronial manor house of the English Haines family to whom he mistakenly believed his family related.

Reuben conscientiously observed and imposed Quaker principals in ordering daily activities: maintaining simplicity in dress and furnishings, eschewing frivolous literature and actively engaging in the study of the natural sciences, particularly agriculture and horticulture. Effective in ordering home life, the Haineses' acceptance of and identification with the Quaker faith was also of importance in fixing their social position. In the early nineteenth century identification as a Quaker could still connote wealth, success and elite status.

Thus, by inheriting and acquiring wealth, maintaining proper personal connections, identifying with a prestigious religious sect, and controlling family life, Reuben reinforced the family's position, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, as part of the Philadelphia gentry class. The Haineses were, by the time of Jane Reuben Haines's birth in 1832, part of a "group of families whose members," were, as E. Digby Baltzell writes, "descendants of successful
individuals of one, two, three or more generations ago... They are friends and are intermarried... and they maintain a distinctive style of life and a kind of primary group solidarity which sets them apart from the rest of the population."^{20}

Although born a half year after her father's death at forty five in 1831, Jane's early life appears to have been structured by the habits which Reuben had evolved. She was the youngest of five surviving children, her eldest sister Elizabeth, already fifteen by the time of Jane's birth.^{21} Her mother Jane Bowne Haines, strove to maintain an unaltered manner of family life after her husband's death. However, burdened by increased familial responsibilities and beset by financial difficulties which resulted from the supposed mismanagement of Reuben's estate by his executors, her correspondence indicates that she frequently suffered from depression and illness. Her death in 1843 occurred during the period in which her older children were marrying and moving away from home. Jane, eleven years old, and Margaret, thirteen, were left at Wyck to be taken care of by an older unmarried female relative whom they called "Cousin Anne."^{22}

A curious dearth of letters and account books from the 1840s and 1850s leaves certain questions unanswerable regarding Jane's early life and education. A descendent of Jane's sister, Margaret Haines Stewardson, maintains that
according to a lost letter Jane was sent to boarding school, but was lonely and wanted to return to Wyck. References to her interests and knowledge in later letters, suggest that Jane was well schooled in Quaker religious doctrine, as well as the natural sciences, and languages, consistent with Reuben's desire that all his children receive an education.

In 1859 Jane went on a tour of England. Published sources from the early twentieth century indicate that an accident on board ship left her a semi-invalid for the rest of her life. While Jane's particular infirmity is, to my knowledge, not specified in any source, an 1871 letter from Pauline E. Henry, also crippled, to Jane suggests that she suffered spinal difficulties. In 1860 Jane wrote to her nieces indicating that her problem involved a broken bone. "I believe Meta informed you of Dr. Wistar's third unsuccessful attempt to reset the bone, which was so exceedingly trying that I told him, I never could go through such an ordeal again unless I found it impossible to sit up, and he must give me a week to try what I could bear..."

References in Jane's letters to being bedridden and accounts which document exorbitant amounts of money paid for medical care make clear that she suffered a degree of discomfort that required medical attention throughout her life. Yet, she continued to maintain the house and garden with the help of a cook, housekeeper and hired man. Most
photographs picture her seated in straight back chairs (figs. 8, 9, 19, 41), only two, the photograph taken of Wyck in the 1860s and a 1902 photograph of Jane in her garden, depict Jane erect, and in these she stands without the aid of a cane or other implement for support (figs. 3, 11). Her private account books and correspondence indicate that she left the house only for therapeutic vacations to the seashore or the mountains, occasional visits to family members, excursions to the "Turkish Baths" in Philadelphia, also for curative purposes, and a junket to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876.

Whether actual motor difficulties caused by Jane's impairment were completely responsible for her reclusiveness is difficult to determine. In seeking to ascertain the degree of influence of physical problems on Jane's life, nineteenth century attitudes towards women, particularly towards their ailments, must be considered. In the mid-nineteenth century, women were encouraged to envisage their homes as refuges by many physicians and lay writers who insisted that the female nervous system and brain were inadequate for extra-domestic intellectual, physical and business pursuits. These doctors and authors maintained that women would not only fail if they attempted such activities, but would do permanent injury to their delicate constitutions. It was thought that maintenance of a home and, of course a family, were the sole functions to which women were not only suited, but which would
soothe their nerves and build their strength. Barbara Welter writes that domesticity became one of the four cardinal virtues "by which a woman was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society." The attitude which defined frailty as feminine heightened interest in the physical, nervous and sexual problems of women. Consequently, female infirmities were often presumed a sign of femininity. As evidence suggests that Jane could be mobile, albeit with some degree of difficulty, it seems possible that she may have found the exaggeration of difficulties and self-sequestration within her home consonant with the popular conception of the role of women.

Similarly, while Jane never married, to specify her disability as the only cause would doubtlessly be inaccurate. Although marriage was considered "the proper state for the exercise of the domestic virtues," it was also believed that "woman's moral superiority rested on her complete innocence. Innocence meant, in turn, the absence of carnal knowledge..." This peculiar confliction in beliefs resulted on the one hand in the stigmatization of women who chose not to marry, and on the other, in the sanctification of women who through some act of kismet could not marry. Welter writes that, "the dying maiden [was]... regarded as the quintessence of female virtue, a being literally too good for this world..." By the time of her accident, Jane was familiar with her married sisters' problems with childbirth and their inability to
pursue the intellectual activities which had been encouraged in their youth. Consequently, it seems possible that Jane may have emphasized her physical problems in order to avoid marriage.

Although Reuben Haines's estate had passed equally to all his children, Jane's brothers and sisters, all of whom had married, arranged for her to maintain Wyck as her residence. Their action can be seen as an expression of sympathy and concern, as well as recognition that Jane, an unmarried cripple, would be the perfect caretaker for Wyck. Both her strong moral character and her legal dependence on male family members, who acted as trustees, insured that the house would be well cared for and would remain, to an extent, under family control.

With the gift of a permanent residence came the implicit obligation to keep up the house as a family homestead. In a letter to her sister, dated "New Year's Eve, 1868," Jane wrote, "I fancied a rather reproachful tone in the way thee spoke of my not having the family here on Christmas, but I assure thee but if thee was to see Cousin Ann with the children thee would not wonder at my giving up the time honoured custom." While the entire family could not physically reside at Wyck, they could expect to be received there upon demand, and for it to be decorated according to their wishes. That Robert B. Haines, Jane's brother, decided to
leave the tall case clock in the dining room "where it [had] stood for so many years," although it had been willed to him, provides further evidence of the family's trust in Jane's ability and inclination to perceive and respond to family interest in the house.39

Stereoscopic photographs of Wyck directed by Jane in 1871, 1872 and 1873 document the result of Jane's management of the house in the early years of her residence. She was thirty when the photographs were taken (fig. 4), and had lived alone at Wyck for only two years, as "Cousin Ann" had died in 1869. Images presented by the photographs can be understood as reflective of a multitude of preferences. While Jane's preferences were of greatest importance, those of the family, or, more accurately, Jane's understanding and interpretation of family desires, were also of significance in determining the manner in which objects were displayed.
CHAPTER III

SOCIAL PRESSURES

AND PERSONAL PREFERENCES:

THE 1871-1873 PHOTOGRAPHS

No document has yet been found which details Jane Reuben Haines's reasons for hiring Harry Lewis, a Philadelphia photographer, to make stereoptic views of the interior and exterior of Wyck in 1871, 1872 and 1873. However, in September 1871, as is established by a letter, Jane had received a box of stereoscopic photographs of various home interiors from Pauline Henry, her crippled friend. Mrs. Henry wrote that the views "have been sent by friends and as you do not see many interiors, these may gratify [your] curiosity as to people's homes, even if you do not know them..." The idea of having home photographs taken evidently pleased Jane, for the first interior stereoscopic view of Wyck dates from the following month.

An interest in interiors of homes and their photographs was not characteristic solely of Jane Reuben Haines, or Pauline Henry and her friends. The increased economic accessibility of photography, coupled with a heightened concern with the home created a vogue for photographs of home
interiors which lasted from the 1860s until the first quarter of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{41}

Daniel Walker Howe suggests that the home became the most important locus for the transmission of cultural values in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{42} It functioned as part of a massive educational and socializing effort mounted most actively and articulately by Americans, whom Howe calls "The American Gentry." He describes this group as "mostly Northern, mostly middle-income, mostly Whig-Republican, literary men and women."\textsuperscript{43}

Living in a period of explosive urbanization, intensified immigration, fluctuating race relations, and rapid population growth, this segment of American society feared the disintegration of what were perceived to be traditional American values and standards of morality. Howe writes that, "they saw themselves as preserving certain patrician values while democratizing their application. They wanted to make the age-old concept of gentility an achieved rather than an ascribed status." Members of this 'American Gentry' "Sought to disseminate and persuade not only members of other cultures [i.e. immigrants and blacks] but their children and themselves as well." Consequently, didacticism assumed a prominent position in many aspects of their lives.\textsuperscript{44}

As recognition of the home's importance as a means of conveying cultural values increased, so did the emphasis placed upon proper maintenance of the domestic sphere.
Contemporary writers on interior decoration extolled the well-kept home, which they celebrated as a shaper of moral character. They charged the homemaker with maintaining an internal order that would serve as a physical and psychological haven from the disorder which reigned without.  

If one accepts Howe's thesis and realizes that Jane Haines: Northern, educated, self-supporting but not vastly wealthy, and Republican, fits within the group Howe defines as the 'American Gentry', then one must suspect that photographs of Wyck's interiors functioned not only as indicators of Jane's preferences, but also as a didactic medium in themselves.  

In fact, Mary E. Rassel, evidently once a maid at Wyck, wrote to Jane after receiving a set of stereoscopic views of the house,

"Miss Jane you [cannot] think how much the beauty and Domestic refinement of your home was loved and appreciated by your English [illegible, probably maid]. It has been and is my example through life as Wife, Mother and Mistress. My aim [has] been to attain as much as possible to what I so much admired..."

That Jane chose to have her home photographed as a means, albeit passive, of influencing those people with whom she had contact does not seem improbable. Her stereoscopic photographs allowed her to disseminate to those outside her family circle a replicable ideal of the well ordered domestic sphere. For those within that circle, photographs functioned to remind them of the ideals promulgated by their father and of their obligation to the family homestead and to Jane. The
photographs also demonstrated Jane's concern for, and care, of the entrusted property.

While in the nineteenth century, the responsibility for the transmission of cultural values rested most heavily upon women with families, Jane Haines's interest as a single woman in the promotion of a domestic ideal was not uncommon. For, concern with the conveyance of traditional American values transcended lines of gender, martial status and age, particularly among members of her social class. Unmarried, childless or widowed nativist American women responded in a variety of ways to the felt pressure to propagate the beliefs of their class. While Jane chose to exercise her influence upon the family homestead, other women played key roles in the founding of museums, cultural organizations and the architectural preservationist movement.48

Social pressures to be fashionable and the ready availability of relatively inexpensive modern furniture encouraged many families after mid century to sell or store their hand-me-downs in the attic, yet, the 1871-1873 photographs of Wyck demonstrate that early Georgian, Federal and Empire chairs appear prominently in an essentially Victorian interior (figs. 6-10). Jane Haines's desire to have older objects photographed and not removed to the attic attests to her effort to preserve Wyck in a state of partial stasis, as family members remembered the house, thereby, asserting the
continuity of the Haines family's relationship to the past. The impulse to assert that continuity originated with Reuben Haines. However, Jane's concern must strike one as an interesting response when considered in relationship to the increasing influx of immigrants to America and the rapid rise of new individuals to positions of wealth and power, two phenomena which characterized the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Heightened interest in cultural didacticism and the correlative need to identify with a way of life which they saw as being threatened was apparently a response which Jane shared with many Americans of her social and economic class. Jane's efforts in 1871, 1872 and 1873 to reflect her family's past and to present Wyck as a paradigmatic home relate to efforts by nativist Americans to preserve historically important sites. Both actions served to publicize beliefs and attitudes held by members of their class, as well as to reinforce self-pride in their connection to America's past. The interest in colonial forms and support for architectural preservationist movements which intensified towards the turn of the century, and the 1902-1906 photographs of Wyck which demonstrate the increased display of old objects, suggest that while the threat of cultural change was felt in the third quarter of the nineteenth century it was not vividly realized until years later. 49

The 1871-1873 stereoscopic views of Wyck reveal interiors which document the degree of influence of Quaker
standards of decorum upon Jane's decorating tastes. Bare white walls, plain upholstery, unornamented lighting fixtures and the relative sparseness of furnishings reflect traditional Quaker doctrinal attitudes towards material goods. Frederick Tolles explains that "For the Quakers... life was a pilgrimage, and no matter how enticing or delightsome the beauties of this world might be, the pilgrim must never let his attention be distracted from the beauty of holiness, the end and purpose of his journey." Quakers believed that if one labored diligently in one's calling and was sincerely religious in mind and heart, then God would demonstrate his pleasure through the reward of material prosperity. Conversely, expensive goods and business success were considered a visible sign of God's blessing.

Paradoxically, while Quakers were thus encouraged to apply themselves in an economic system whose result was mercantilism, Quaker asceticism, the antidote to the enticement of worldly pleasure, proscribed overt indulgence in any temporal amusements or objects. Wealthy Quakers, faced with this conflict, settled upon purchasing goods which were "simple, but in the finest taste."

Although Jane Reuben Haines continued to use "Thee," the Quaker form of "you," in letters to family members, and maintained Quaker simplicity in her home, in fact, she converted to Episcopalianism sometime after 1854. In a letter
to her sister dated June 3, 1869, Jane notes that she was one of the first to join the church of Reverend Atkins, who according to Scharf and Westcott, Philadelphia historians, served at Christ Church in Germantown from 1854 until 1869. Church records of the period have been lost, so it is not possible to determine the precise date of her conversion.

The reasons Jane chose to break with the traditional religion of the Haines family must remain purely conjectural, as no letter or journal entry remains to explain them. One might, however, consider that at the time of Jane's conversion many Philadelphians of her background and social standing had become acutely aware that their community "had been transformed into an industrial city plagued by crime and local unrest and directed by political professionals who ignored moderation and traditional [Quaker] moral standards," as Philip Benjamin writes in *The Philadelphia Quakers in the Industrial Age 1865-1920*. He argues that regardless of their Protestantism and their long family lineages, "increasing numbers of Friends... experienced social discomfort over issues of Quaker peculiarity," feeling that it placed them in a camp with the Jews, Catholics and other immigrants who swelled the city's population. A twentieth century writer on the sociology of religion, Peter Berger defines as a time of crisis, a period when the social values of an individual or religious sub-culture are challenged by another dissimilar culture. He explains that at such times, the
conversion of the individual or portion of the sub-culture to the religion of a larger group which holds similar secular beliefs becomes easier. 

Benjamin asserts that during the last half of the nineteenth century, substantial numbers of Quakers quit the Society for churches which were "more in tune with the normative values of American life."  

Membership in the Philadelphia Episcopal community would seem to have offered Friends, particularly those who were socially elite, a psychological, social and religious panacea. The Episcopalian ceremony-laden service may have reinforced beliefs challenged by contemporary evolutionist concepts. Episcopalians dominated the Philadelphia gentry and maintenance of one's position in or entry into that social group was facilitated by having the proper religious affiliation. Finally, Episcopalians were more numerous; thus, identification with a more powerful and secure group might have seemed to Quakers a hedge against cultural anomy.  

Jane's conversion may also have been encouraged by the conversion to Episcopalianism of her sister and brother-in-law, Margaret Haines and Thomas Stewardson. Although, it is possible that Jane was, in fact, the catalyst for their decision to renounce their membership in the Society of Friends. In either case, that her sister Margaret, closest in age and emotional attachment, also became Episcopalian, undoubtedly aided Jane in maintaining her religious separation from the rest of the family.
Jane's continued adherence to Quaker codes of simplicity in interior decoration in 1871-1873 can be attributed to several factors: respect for the beliefs of ancestors and living family members, most of whom had remained Friends, Jane's understanding of her obligation to preserve Wyck in a condition pleasing to her brothers and sisters, and her own style preferences, conditioned by the decorating tastes of her parents, siblings and their predominantly Quaker circle of friends and relatives.

In addition to Jane's desire to display objects expressive of her family's link to the past and to reflect Quaker socio-religious doctrine, the house interiors as pictured in the stereopticon photographs were also shaped by Jane's intellectual inclinations. In the 1871 photograph of the hall, looking into the garden, books are casually scattered on the table, while a small white plaster cast of a seated figure—an unobtrusive objet d'art—reposes beside a lamp on the table against the wall (fig. 6). In the photograph from the front parlor into the back parlor, Jane appears, reading beside the fireplace upon whose mantel sits a bronze cast bust of Plato and two bronze Greyhound statuettes (fig. 9).  

Jane's taste for objects expressive of intellectualism becomes understandable when one considers that her father, Reuben, had been secretary of the Philosophical Society, president of the National Academy of Science, a supporter of
Peale's Philadelphia Museum and a board member of the Philadelphian Botanical Society. Although middle-class Victorian America perceived the principal role of women to be keepers of the home fire and the moral flame, usually discouraging and condemning women's interest in intellectual concerns and the life of the mind, Jane's position outside the societal mainstream, as a self-supporting woman, living alone and her family background, which emphasized the seriousness of scholarship, allowed, indeed, encouraged her to pursue self-education and to consider herself as an intellectual woman.

Her choice of reading matter reflects her proclivity for scholarship. In 1868 Jane wrote to her sister that she had just finished both Jesse's Life and Times of George the Third in three octavo volumes, and the Early Years of the Prince Consort. Jane presented her sister Margaret with Parkman's History of the Jesuits in North America as a Christmas present in 1867, about the same time she noted in a letter to her brother-in-law that she was reading Bellak by Octave Feuellet and would soon proceed to L'Eglise Libre. Jane also read The Nation, The Century Magazine, Littell's Living Age, Atlantic Monthly, McBride's Magazine (later Scribner's), and North American Review, magazines written and marketed principally for an upper class, educated male audience. Singularity absent from her accounts are references to the magazine's Godey's Lady's Book and Graham's, the nineteenth century's most popular women's journals.
D.H. Meyer postulates that,

In our century the word [intellectual] suggests... an alienated elite attracted to esoteric ideas... [However], in the nineteenth century,... the person of ideas still typically regarded himself or herself as part of, indeed, as an exponent of, the wider culture... It was the self-imposed duty of the educated class to recognize quality in life, thus to serve its society... as guide in matters of values..."65

For Jane, the reflection of intellectual concerns in photographs of her home served to reinforce her and her family's identification with the educated class. Her concerns, as an intellectual, can, thus, be understood as concomitant to felt responsibilities, as a woman, to set standards of decorum and taste.

While the presence of old objects at Wyck suggests a conservative desire to maintain an existing order, the preponderance of contemporary forms manifests a paradoxical need to be considered fashionably modern. It is important to consider that in 1871-1873 replication of earlier styles of American interior decoration was not generally accepted. Therefore, the conveyance of gentility, intellectualism, wealth and an ordered family life through the symbolic use of objects had to be accomplished within a context of standard Victorian patterns of decoration. Jane Haines's decorating tastes were not idiosyncratic; forms which appear at Wyck were frequently described and illustrated by contemporary writers on interior decor. The Beecher sisters recommended in American Woman's Home, published in the 1860s, that a living room contain "thirty yards matting,
six chairs and a center table with cloth," (fig. 6). In 1852 Gervase Wheeler wrote in *Rural Homes* that wicker was well suited for summer use in country homes (fig. 7). Similarly Jane's use of assorted bric-a-brac, Brussels carpeting for winter, and camp and parlor chairs is consistent with decorating models proposed by other authors.

As Jane rarely left the house and does not appear to have purchased decorating manuals before 1883, it is difficult to ascertain where she acquired her standards of contemporary interior decoration. Entries in her accounts indicate that male family members made some decorating purchases for her from the 1860s until her death in 1911, suggesting her reliance on their taste, their cognizance of accepted patterns of decoration and perhaps their greater mobility. An entry in Jane's personal accounts, 1865, indicates that "R.B. Haines" (Robert Bowne), her brother, received one hundred dollars from Jane for furniture. On January 1, 1866, Jane paid just over $300.00 to "W.H.B." (William H. Bacon), her brother-in-law, for "Orne's bill for carpeting." Murray Bacon, Jane's nephew, wrote out a receipt to her dated September 22, 1875, which documents that Jane had given him one hundred and eighty dollars for "one set plush covered walnut parlor furniture viz: sofa, armchair, four wall chairs."

However, if one accepts that the ordering of home interiors came to reflect a way of life for nineteenth
century Americans of Jane's class, and that they attempted to disseminate standards of decorum, one cannot help but question whether, in fact, authors of decorating manuals derived their models from the "tasteful" homes of the socially elite. It seems reasonable to expect that these authors' conceptions of decorating paradigms would have been based on their experiential frame of reference. As many were themselves members of the American "Gentry," as Howe defines it, they would have been most familiar with the homes of friends, neighbors and relations, who shared a similar social status. Authors on the subject of home decoration undoubtedly forwarded styles which they found in use by those with whom they associated, reinforcing the correctness of that style of decoration and promoting what they perceived as a proper domestic environment to those outside their social circle. The convergence between authors of decorative manuals and the social class of which Jane Haines was a member, makes difficult the task of ascribing the direction of influence, and the origins of decorative preferences.

As domestic decorating texts received and transmitted styles, one is forced to leave unanswered this question of causality. However, a careful consideration of Victorian home interiors often reveals that differences in personal and educational backgrounds are reflected in the selection of forms and modes of decoration. In fact, deviations from the offered norms seem the rule.
The lush foliage which nearly obscures the entrance of to the winter parlor suggests itself as the most dramatic decorative element at Wyck in 1872 (fig. 10). Its presence demonstrates the need to consider idiosyncratic variables in all systems of ornamentation. For, in addition to societal pressures to be considered tastefully fashionable, Jane's familial and religious background encouraged an intense and deeply personal interest in horticulture.

Horticulture served as important function both as an avocation and as a scientific discipline for members of the Quaker sect. Ample evidence of its significance exists in their literature. As far back as the late seventeenth century, William Penn recommended that Quakers "study moderately such commendable and profitable arts as... husbandry... navigation... [and] gardening."\(^71\) Frederick Tolles suggests that Quakers used scientific study

... as a personal morality which kept them away from the playhouse, ballroom and gambling den... [Such study] had the virtues of being useful, of exercising the mental powers, and by revealing God's plan in the natural world of promoting a reverent frame of mind."\(^72\)

Jane's parents' fascination with horticulture would seem to reflect the extent to which Quaker doctrinal attitudes towards the science influenced their lives. Because of their interest, the study of horticulture and the practice of gardening also had rich familial associations for Jane. According to passages of letter of hers dated March 3, 1908, which
appeared in an article by Edwin C. Jellett, entitled "Gardens and Gardeners of Germantown," the garden at Wyck was laid out between 1821 and 1822 by Jane Bowne Haines, Jane Reuben's mother. Jellett notes that several rare trees in the garden had been planted as memorials to friends and other persons admired by Jane's father, Reuben Haines.  

Plants enjoyed enormous popularity in the last four decades of the nineteenth century. George Talbot writes that plants "were a kind of docile, exotic pet, rather like well-kept children, but more obedient and not worthy of grief when they died." However, Jane's writings exhibit an attachment to plants unaccounted for by fashion. On August 22, 1864, she wrote,

I sometimes think it is wrong in me to feel the loss of these trees so much as I do, when there is so much real sorrow in the world, but I have often said that I had rather lose the house than the trees as it could be restored and so I suppose I have cared too much about them, for we can make idols of even trees.  

Jane's interest in horticulture, while undoubtedly strengthened by contemporary enthusiasm for plants must also be seen as the result of the familial and Quaker attitudes towards the science. Further, one must consider that Jane lived in an age when a woman's most blessed role was to be a mother. The possibility that her plants served as child proxies does not seem incredible. By extension, their place on center stage in a photograph becomes understandable.
The stereoptic views of interiors at Wyck created in 1871 through 1873 primarily reflect one woman's relationship with her home. Through careful examination of the objects at Wyck and the manner in which they are presented in photographs, one can begin to comprehend the complex interrelationship of influences and concerns that determine image preferences. In analyzing the 1871-1873 photographs I have attempted to consider the social pressures felt by Jane Reuben Haines and those factors in her life which influenced her reactions and interests. The subsequent chapter, however, introduces two family photographers and a photojournalist: interpreters whose personal concerns and narrative purposes are conspicuous in the interior views which they created. Any analysis of their photographs must therefore involve consideration and estimation of that which influenced their image preferences, as well as those of the house's inhabitant and decorator, Jane Reuben Haines.
CHAPTER IV

A MULTIPLICITY OF INFLUENCES:
THE 1902-1906 PHOTOGRAPHS

More than thirty years elapsed between the 1871-1873 and the 1902-1906 photographs of Wyck, yet it would seem, upon first consideration, that there was little visible change in the interior of the house (figs. 12-17, 20-33, 38-40). Harry Lewis, a professional photographer, produced views of interiors in 1871-1873 which, by contemporary taste, suggested concern with intellectualism, the intimation of a family history, restrained voguishness, and the reflection of the inhabitant's personality. Interiors recorded by Jane H. Warder in 1902, the House and Garden photographer in that same year, and by Reuben Haines in 1902 to 1906 project similar qualities. Only the Victorian elements which appeared modern in the 1871-1873 pictures have assumed an old-fashioned air alongside the even more dated family antiques.

However, a comparative analysis of intentions and content as inferred from the photographs suggests that certain attitudes and preferences had evolved, and continued to be modified in the first decade of the twentieth century. The 1902-1906 photographs of Wyck document an intensification of
concern with the presentation of objects which would identify the Haineses as members of an American gentry class: family lineage, education and cultivated sensibilities. Upon close examination they also demonstrate the effect of alterations in Jane Haines's personal beliefs and interests.

Whereas the 1872 winter photograph of the back parlor from the front parlor focuses upon Jane in a moment of quiet contemplation (fig. 8), a 1905 photograph of the same scene taken by Reuben Haines during the summer has as its main focus chairs emblematic of different generations of the Wistar and Haines family (fig. 22). The off-center picture plan in the latter photograph may merely have served as an artistic device to add interest to the photograph. On the other hand, by the use of this angle, the photographer has been able to include a print hanging to the left of the doorway which appears to be by a master artist (it resembles several works by Rembrandt). This signifies an awareness of those objects which, according to contemporary decorating sources, indicated refined taste and sensibility. Russell Lynes asserts that, aside from paintings, by the 1890s etchings, engravings or "autotypes" of famous works of art were the only suitable wall decoration in homes of the "well-bred." 76

Plants compose the greatest part of the picture frame in the 1872 winter photograph of the front parlor taken from
the back parlor (fig. 10). In a photograph taken on February 21, 1905 by Reuben Haines, plants function merely as a background offset against the closed parlor doors (fig. 23). The foreground stands out as the photographer's primary concern. Here, and in Jane Warder's photograph of nearly the same view, taken in the summer of 1902, piles of books on the table indicate intellectualism. Prints, plain walls, subdued carpeting, simple feminine parlor chairs, a small sculpture on the center table, in Warder's view, and the once fashionable lounge in Reuben's picture, bespeak cultivated tastes, and evidence a lingering interest in maintaining Quaker decorum.

The framed needlework resting on the table in Reuben Haines's photograph would have been known to family members as Margaret Wistar's work, as it is signed by her and dated 1738. The original needlework piece shows little fading, suggesting that it could not have been displayed for long in the manner presented in Reuben's 1905 photograph. This surmisal is substantiated by Jane Warder's 1902 photograph of the same view, which does not include the needlework. Thus, its deliberate inclusion in Reuben's photograph would seem to signal the family's increasing desire to intimate their connection with a distinctive past.

Conveying a continuing concern with education, books cover the center table in a photograph of the front parlor taken on February 4, 1905 by Reuben Haines (fig. 20). And,
a print after Benjamin West's classical "The Departure of Regulus" adorns the wall, as do several small somber portraits.

The front bedroom was photographed twice by Jane Warder in the summer of 1902 and four times by Reuben Haines, three times in 1902 and once on June 11, 1905. It appears in all photographs as an obvious commemoration of past generations (figs. 14, 15, 26, 31-33). Once occupied by her parents, Jane Haines used the front chamber only infrequently as a guest room. Both Warder's and Reuben Haines's photographs prominently display Reuben's portrait (Jane's father) by Rembrandt Peale, which hung above the fireplace. The photographer, Reuben Haines, includes Federal chairs, an eighteenth or early nineteenth century child's chair, Jane and Reuben's four post bed and an eighteenth century brass bed warmer (figs. 26, 31-33). In Jane Warder's photographs, the brass bed warmer appears in front of the fireplace on one view, and next to the bed in her picture of the other side of the room. In fact, in these photographs, the modernized Federal chest of drawers with later nineteenth century mirror, and fans over the fireplace are elements which seem out of place in an environment otherwise hermetically sealed at an earlier time (figs. 14, 15).

Reuben Haines's photographs of the dining room taken on August 15, 1906 feature the eighteenth century clock, willed to Robert Bowne Haines, but left at Wyck "because it had stood there for so many years" (figs. 24, 25). They

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exhibit a similar inclination to present interiors of the house as having an historical past.

The obsession of Jane Reuben Haines and the family members who photographed Wyck with the presentation of refined taste and the assertion of a long family lineage was, by the turn of the century, not idiosyncratic. As suggested previously, the need to locate and define a relationship to the American past and to promote what were perceived as traditional American standards of decorum, emerged as part of the nativist reaction to changing social conditions in the second half of the nineteenth century. As Richard Hofstadter argues, the country had long been accustomed to heavy immigration, "but the native American was not prepared for the great shift in the sources of immigration." Between 1860 and 1910 hordes of peasantry from central, eastern and southern Europe emigrated to America, contributing significantly to the urban population which multiplied almost sevenfold during the period.

In response, nativist Americans, descended from northern European settlers, sought to define themselves apart from the increasing numbers of non-English speaking, and from the nativist perspective, un-American immigrants. This definition by separation was achieved not only by the founding of political parties, and the creation of social organizations, but also by the symbolic use of objects in their homes.
However, as George Talbot explains, "an individual was not required to embrace the moral stance to incorporate the resulting objects into his own life. And as styles were popularized, their symbolic content was obscured." Around the turn of the century, many Americans, not only those of long American family lineage, developed an interest in objects reminiscent of times past. The increased popularity of the colonial revival style in furniture and in architecture, enthusiasm for "antique" collecting and the rise in numbers of historic house museums would seem to express the generalization of the taste for old things.

The increased display of antiques and objects representative of cultivation at Wyck reflected in the 1902-1906 photographs does not indicate a simple deterministic relationship between social change and image preferences. Rather, in decorating and photographing Wyck, Jane and family members would seem to have responded to the felt pressure of social change, to fashions generated and shaped by the contemporary social moment, to the growing public estimation of Wyck's value as an historical site and to those particular phenomena which effected their personal histories.

Wyck had first been included in a public survey of historical buildings in Germantown, when John Richards drew it and labeled the house "Revolutionary War Hospital" in the 1850s. However, evidence suggests that through the 1860s
Jane Haines perceived Wyck as significant primarily because of its rich familial associations. She wrote to her sister in 1869 regarding her solitary life after "Cousin Anne's" death:

I have lived alone for more than a year... so that it does seem strange when I lie awake at night as I often do, to think of all these empty rooms and of their former occupants... happily I am not at all afraid of man or ghost. 85

In the fourth volume of the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography published in 1880, an article appeared on the settlement of Germantown. Jane received a copy from her brother-in-law, Tom Stewardson, sometime after. Writing to thank him, she noted that she had learned from the article that the Wyck property had originally belonged to Hans Millan and not Dirck Janson, as she had thought,

So you see this gives us a new ancestor and makes me the seventh generation occupying the ground, which I consider entitles me to be called the 'oldest inhabitant,' as I doubt if there is another person in the town who is the seventh possessor in direct descent. 86

In succeeding years, Jane's letters and private accounts indicate a growing interest in Philadelphia's past which parallels heightened public concern with local history. 87 Jane added the Pennsylvania Magazine to her list of yearly subscriptions. She bought books such as Quaint Corners in Philadelphia published in 1883, which contained illustrations of historic buildings and their interiors in Germantown and Philadelphia, undoubtedly reinforcing Jane's evaluation of the
symbolic importance of old objects in denoting her own family's past. In 1883 she paid two dollars for photographs of Wyck, and on October 2, 1884, purchased "Two pictures of Wyck" for four dollars, all of which are lost.

Jane's awareness of the unique position of her home and family in Germantown apparently intensified as Wyck received increased attention from writers and groups interested in local history. Captain Williard Glazier described Wyck in his book on Philadelphia released in 1886: "A house, now quaint in its antiquity... used during the Revolution as a hospital and amputating room." In 1889 the Reverend S.F. Hotchkin included an account of the Haines homestead in his volume Ancient and Modern Germantown, Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill. He writes that, "the casual passer-by cannot but be struck with the quaint beauty of the old white two story rambling mansion. The house is a delightful antique, and the air of antiquity has been well preserved." (Italics mine.) Hotchkin continues,

The antique, dull looking Wistar goblet is yet in its old home... The fine old door, with its strap hinges, has been worn at the handle by the many who have opened and closed it in the years that are gone. The stone step is deeply indented where generations have trodden upon it.

He concludes his remarks by suggesting that Wyck is the oldest house in Germantown, and reminds his readers of its role as hospital in the Revolutionary War and scene of the reception of Lafayette in 1825.
Before the turn of the century, two organizations demonstrated an interest in Wyck as an historic house. Both groups, significantly were composed of nativist American women. In 1894 Thomas Stewardson noted in a letter to his nephew, "Aunt Jane is threatened with a visit from four hundred Colonial Dames..." A letter from the Vice Regent of the Pennsylvania Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution to Jane in 1899 indicates that they also sought to tour the house.

Jane's increasing concern with the commemoration of the family's past is documented by the fact that entries in her private accounts for photographs of Wyck greatly outnumber those of herself or relatives. On May 25, 1888, she paid for one half dozen photographs of the family homestead, and spent nearly twenty five dollars for fourteen photographs of Wyck of which she gave away at least eight as presents. Further evidence of Jane's concern is revealed by family correspondence. In 1890 the barn which had stood on Wyck's property for a century was sold (fig. 42). Jane chose the opportunity to give a memorial of the family homestead to each of her nineteen nieces and nephews. Called "beams" or "shingles" in Jane's accounts and thank you notes which she received, these gifts cost one hundred dollars each. It seems likely that they were either replicas of parts of the barn or cash presents. In 1895 Jane purchased four copies of books about her ancestors the Wistars. She undoubtedly
also distributed at least some of these as reminders of the family heritage.

Roderic Blackburn wrote of the Van Rensselaer family in Albany and their attitude towards their home Cherry Hill:

The family held a conviction that their history and possessions had a significance beyond the confines of the family, [and] that although these were their own possessions, they felt a responsibility to maintain and preserve them as a memorial to the family's [past]... 

This seems equally applicable to Jane Reuben Haines in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and also represents the attitude which she encouraged and, indeed, developed in her extended family. Significantly, photographs of Cherry Hill in the 1880s reveal interiors similar in intent to those of Wyck taken in 1902 through 1906.

Both the author of Quaint Corners in Philadelphia, purchased by Jane in 1883, and William Glazier, Peculiarities of American Cities, published in 1886, include an anecdotal definition of late nineteenth century Philadelphia society, which although clearly exaggerated, provides further insight into Jane and her family's increased interest in their family lineage. Glazier writes:

The Society of the Quaker City bears the reputation of great exclusiveness. While culture will admit to the Charmed Circle in Boston, and money buys a ready passport to social recognition in New York, in Philadelphia the door is closed to all pretensions except those of family... Boston asks "How much do you know?" New York "How much are you worth?" but in Philadelphia the question is, "Who was your grandfather?"
Indeed, identification with a socially elite sub-culture in Philadelphia seems to have become increasingly important for Philadelphians and particularly for the Haines family in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The Social Register of Philadelphia was issued in 1891 to record "for the use of families, the full names, addresses and club memberships of those who compose prominent families...," defining in print the boundaries of the 'proper set.' In the first few years of publication, among Jane's closest family, only Caspar Wistar Haines, Emlyn and John Stewardson, Jane's nephews and Thomas Stewardson, Jane's brother-in-law were listed. The 1894 edition includes Jane's brother, Robert Bowne Haines, his wife, and their children, Dirck Jansen, and Jane Bowne. Mary Morton Haines, Robert's daughter, was added in 1895. It seems important to note that although she had many nieces and nephews, Jane eventually chose to will the house to Caspar Wistar, Jane Bowne, and Mary Morton Haines, all of whom were listed in the Social Register.

Given these factors, the felt need to present Wyck within a context of historical stasis shown in both Jane Warder's and Reuben Haines's 1902-1906 photographs becomes readily understandable. However, while Reuben Haines's photographs of Wyck taken from late in 1902 until 1906 present a vision almost totally dominated by a desire to reflect a colonial tradition, a number of Jane Warder's photographs...
taken in the summer of 1902 reveal a more personal presentation of Jane and her home.

Jane Warder and Reuben Haines: Alternative Visions

A comparison of the photographs taken by Warder and Reuben Haines immediately calls attention to this divergence in desired effect. Warder includes pictures in her album of Jane in her garden, and a view through the conservatory looking into the back parlor showing oriental fans and feathers, objects with which Jane was fascinated (figs. 11, 13). She also features Jane's lounge with pillows and coverlets in one photograph of a corner of her bedroom (fig. 17). Another view of the same room from another angle focuses on Jane's shawls, coverlets, dressing screen and other dressing paraphernalia (fig. 16). Reuben's photographs of the same room taken in 1903 and 1905 show it stripped of most contemporary and personal objects (figs. 27, 28). A Japanese screen hanging in the hall in one photograph, barely visible to the casual observer seems somewhat anachronistic. His second photograph is similarly barren, including only an additional Federal chair, a wicker chair and a dated folding camp chair.

The differences in intention and content which these two sets of photographs exhibit suggest questions concerning discrepancies in motivation and image preference. When one considers Reuben's closer geographical and emotional relationship with his Aunt Jane, it seems reasonable to expect that
he would have attempted to reflect her presence through personal articles. As for the most part, he did not, the greater degree of stylization in Reuben's photographs might initially imply his own idiosyncratic preferences. It might also reflect the preferences of the Germantown family circle, by which Warder, who lived in Ohio, would not have been so strongly effected. His photograph album, in fact, includes pictures of other family homes demonstrating similar image preferences. A photograph of the library at his own home in Germantown includes books, master artists' prints, reproductions of antique sculpture and a Queen Anne chair (fig. 34). Photographs of the hall and stair way at Oak Ridge, near Rahway, New Jersey, present objects once owned by ancestors as their primary focus (figs. 35, 36).

Photographs taken by Reuben of a commemorative event at Wyck in 1913, pasted in a booklet published for the occasion, reflect the extent of general family interest in maintaining contact with its colonial past. Family members dance the Minuet, dressed in eighteenth century garb.

One might also consider that, as a man, Reuben may have been conditioned to perceive the inclusion of feminine personal effects in a photograph as indecorous, and the similar display of objects expressive of feminine faddishness, such as the oriental fans, inappropriate.
It is equally possible that the article on Wyck which appeared in *House and Garden* in November 1902 after Warder's photographs and before Reuben's may account for divergences in the types and forms of their photographs. Gilbert Hindermeyer, the author, presents Wyck as an historic house. His introduction to the article seems intended to elicit a response from any reader in the magazine's national audience, who believed in the mythic purity of America's past and perceived the problems of urban society as peculiar to the nineteenth century. He writes:

Many of Germantown's historic houses have been rudely marred by the encroachment of the city on that venerable suburb. One at least remains unspoiled and even untouched, standing today as quietly dignified and invitingly beautiful as before the electric car clanged its boisterous way over a Belgian block street, or modern Gothic Churches, suburban office buildings and apartment house craned their ambitious necks to peer over its high palings at the cool shade, the blossoming garden and spotless white walls of their older and statelier neighbor.105

Of the front bedroom, Hindermeyer writes, "Beside the riot of effeminate draperies, profusion of rugs and needless ornaments, with the necessary accompaniement of rich and heavy coloring characteristic of a modern chamber, this one is so quaintly simple as to seem almost Puritan."106 (Italics mine.) The photograph of the room which accompanies the text presents objects representative of the Haineses' history: Peale's portrait of Reuben, the brass bedwarmer, the child's chair, Reuben and Jane Bowne's bed (fig. 38). It is taken from an angle from which the large fringed bed valance obscures the
Federal chest's added Victorian mirror. Similarly, photographs of the back parlor and front stairhall with entrance present colonial settings (fig. 39, 40). The only obvious late nineteenth century elements portrayed are the colonial revival chairs which seem to blend into the interior.

That Reuben Haines's photographs come closer in intent than Jane Warder's to those of the *House and Garden* article suggest that the article may have heightened Reuben's and the family's estimation of the familial homestead and influenced his perception and interpretation of its interiors.

**The Norwegian Sideboard**

The photograph taken by Reuben Haines of the back parlor at Wyck dated July 25, 1903 stands in startling opposition to the image of quietism which prevails throughout his other photographs of the house (fig. 29). For, the enormous, ecclesiastical buffet seizes the viewer's attention and dominates the photograph's composition. The buffet was purchased at the Centennial Exposition from William Gram, "Dealer in Books and Antiquities," from Christiana, Norway, by Jane's brother-in-law, Thomas Stewardson who then gave it to Jane. At the time of the Exposition, the buffet was described by the dealer as a "chest of oak... very handsomely carved and inlaid, about 300 years old, from Bergen in Norway" and priced at $430.00. The *Historical Register of the United States Centennial Exposition, 1876*, includes a description of this
piece of furniture:

The largest piece [exhibited by Norway] is a buffet of oak, about eight feet wide by ten high. If this be really a buffet, the subjects designed upon it are strikingly inappropriate. These include the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Vision of Zacharias, the Circumcision, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion. While upon the bars supporting the panels are carved heads of the apostles. The carvings are artistic and finely finished.108

That the buffet was described as "finely carved and artistic" and "300 years old" provides two clues as to why this seemingly outlandish object appears in a Wyck interior. In Tom Stewardson's letter to Jane in 1901, in which he expresses concern for the disposition of the buffet after Jane's death, we find another clue. He writes, "I had felt afraid it might find its way to someone that would care not for it as an artistic object or not having room for it might store it in some unsuitable place... 99 women out of 100 would, I think, exclaim at once... 'It's not suited for a piece of domestic furniture.'"109 Tom Stewardson's belief that the Norwegian sideboard was, in fact, a masterwork of art manifests late nineteenth century attitudes towards that furniture form. Kenneth Ames maintains that no other single piece of furniture was considered as suited to the expression of the cabinetmaker's and carver's arts in the nineteenth century.110

While the buffet's stylishness and artistry reflect an acceptance of popularized taste, the piece's Norwegian
provenance and close resemblance to seventeenth century "Last Supper" cupboards of Schleswig-Holstein suggests Jane Haines's desire to display objects allusive of her Teutonic ancestry. Pieces of ceramic which decorate the sideboard are not by chance nineteenth century German revivals of seventeenth century forms; they were probably also purchased at the Centennial, at which time they were described as "Antique German Vessels (figs. 44, 45)." The German peasant-cum-Victorian parlor chair which appears in Reuben's photographs of the front parlor (in corner) and Jane Warder's photograph of the hall would seem to indicate a similar intention (figs. 20, 13).

Jane and Tom Stewardson's identification with the family's Germanic origins may have developed as a result of their concern with family history. However, it seems likely that the expression of that interest was made more acceptable by contemporary popular and intellectual literature which praised Germanic customs, morals and crafts. Through the 1880s Anglo-Saxon Americans conceived of themselves as descendants of the Teutonic tribes and members of the Teutonic race. In 1878 Harriet Spofford illustrated many Teutonic objects in Art Decoration Applied to Furniture. She introduced her third chapter with a Germanic parable:

From the day when the priests succeeded in prevailing upon the Gaul—who was in the habit of making himself the husband of as many wives as he could afford to care for—to imitate his German neighbor who was the husband of but one wife, they made the marriage ceremony a thing of splendid note...
Perhaps the most significant reason for the buffet's purchase is indicated by its obvious religious decoration and its presentation as an altarpiece, framed by curtains and elevated on a platform. For Jane and Tom, the buffet may have reflected their new commitment to Episcopalianism. Jane's private accounts prove that she had a photograph of the cabinet made for the minister of her church (fig. 43). Thus, a careful consideration of this ostensibly bizarre piece of furniture reveals that its quality of workmanship, acceptance as a status conveying form in the period, resemblance to Teutonic cupboards and explicitly religious theme make its purchase in 1876 quite understandable.

Its conclusion in Reuben's 1903 photograph is not so easy to comprehend. For, it seems antithetical to attitudes conveyed by his other photographs of the house. Displayed as an altarpiece, but festooned with assorted bric-a-brac, the buffet indicates not only a breach of decorum, but an outrageous sacrilege, from the Quaker point of view. In addition, while in 1876 Germans and germanic objects were still popularly accepted by the American gentry class, the tremendous influx of German peasantry in subsequent decades encouraged many nativist Americans to reconsider their previous self-conception as members of the Teutonic race. They then labored to elucidate dissimilarities between the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic peoples, and not coincidently the popularity of German-style articles declined. Significantly, the photograph of the back
parlor included in the House and Garden article excludes the buffet from the photograph, suggesting that it would not have been acceptable to House and Garden readers.

That Jane Warder had chosen not to photograph it indicates she did not perceive the buffet favorably. A 1901 letter written by Thomas Stewardson, the purchaser, implies that other family members shared Jane Warder's point of view, as he suggests that finding a family member who would accept the buffet as an inheritance was not an easy task. He writes, "I should like to think of it in the house of one who would value it, if not for its own sake, at least for yours and mine." Although evaluated by Thomas at two thousand dollars in 1901, in 1913 the oak buffet was listed and priced in the "Schedule of Distribution" of Jane's estate along with "Prints, [and] Pictures" at $69.50. 115

Contemporary local interest in the German cultural heritage of the area must be considered as a possible reason for Reuben Haines's inclusion of the buffet in his pictures of the house. Despite the pervasive nativist dis-association with Teutonic origins, local Germantown historians focused on the first hundred years of Germantown history as peculiarly German, exaggerating the morality and courage of its settlers, the romance of hardship, and the Germanic contribution to the positive aspects of the American way of life. However, it seems more plausible that Reuben, respecting Jane and her
commitment to Episcopalianism, conceded to photograph an object which she valued as a work of art and as a symbol of her religious devotion. Jane had herself paid twenty-two dollars for "Photographs of Cabinet & Self" in 1900 (fig. 43). 116

Jane Haines's Increasing Autonomy

As discussed earlier, a limited number of elements indicative of Jane's personal tastes in contemporary decoration appear in the 1902-1906 photographs. Japanese screens appear in Reuben Haines's photograph of the front parlor and back bedroom, while in Jane Warder's photograph of the hall what appear to be oriental fans hang from the wall and an exotic feather fan rests in the corner (figs. 21, 27, 13). As these photographs suggest, oriental goods dominated Jane's expenditures on ornamentation for her home. Her first acquisition of this kind occurred in 1875 with the purchase of "Japanese China & tray." In succeeding years she records the purchases of a bamboo floor stand and Japanese box, 1876, two Japanese cabinets and a Japanese box for gifts, 1877, a Japanese tray and basket, 1878, a Japanese screen, 1888, Japanese ware, 1890, Syrian bed and table covers, 1892, Japanese cups and tea pots, 1895, two Japanese pictures, 1903, and five Japanese dolls, 1904. 117

Jane's passion for oriental goods was reflected and undoubtedly reinforced by a similar contemporary vogue for such items. Katherine Menz writes,
Arbiters of taste such as The Decorator and Furnisher, and the household advisors by Harriet Spofford, Ella Rodman Church and many others recommended the use of Oriental draperies and materials, tiles, mats, scrolls, and hanging cabinets with unusual draperies.\textsuperscript{118}

Illustrations which appeared as early as 1880 in The Century Illustrated Magazine, to which Jane subscribed, present Japanese objects within artistic interiors. Russell Lynes suggests that although the fad for oriental things began soon after the Civil War, it was intensified by such painters as Whistler and Mary Cassatt in the 1890s.\textsuperscript{119} Jane's attitude towards Oriental objects can, however, only be partially accounted for by fashion. In 1892 her niece, Mary Morton Haines, to whom she eventually willed Wyck, traveled to Japan to become a Quaker missionary, suggesting that this personal contact may have heightened Jane's previously established curiosity.\textsuperscript{120}

As the display of the buffet, and oriental fans and feathers might suggest, Jane's desire to have personally satisfying articles in her home seemed to become less tempered by her concern with family wishes as she matured. Not coincidentally, while the voice projected by her correspondence of the 1860s and early 1870s, when she was in her late thirties, is demure and apologetic, letters written, when she was approaching seventy, present a more assertive, stubborn, discriminating personality. By the turn of the century Jane appears to have become increasingly less concerned with fulfilling that which she apparently previously accepted as her
feminine role (fig. 41). A letter from Tom Stewardson in 1893 provides evidence that she was taking greater responsibility for her own business concerns. Jane also wrote letters to the editor of *City and State*, a nonpartisan political magazine, which were published in 1898 and 1901. She signed them "J.R.H., Wyck, Germantown," and thereby, publicly announced her political position in aggressively direct prose.

Jane's ability to make personal decorating choices is understandable as a consequence of her secure financial position. That she chose to assert her preferences, as well as to redefine her role as a woman towards the end of the nineteenth century, can be understood, in part, as a consequence of her aging. As by the turn of the century Jane was well beyond the age thought suitable for marrying, she may have been freed of expectations that she behave in a traditionally passive and dependent feminine mode. One might also consider that women were becoming increasingly visible in spheres other than that of the home, and that, to a greater degree, their activities were perceived as acceptable, suggesting that changes in Jane's behavior may have been reinforced by alterations in the contemporary definition of the feminine role. Jane's increased assertiveness, which is reflected in photographs of her home, in fact, must be seen as the result of both factors named above, and, undoubtedly many more yet unconsidered.
It has been my purpose to demonstrate that the objects which decorated the Haineses' homestead and which they chose to include in photographs reflect preferences which bear a relationship to social and psychological needs: among them, the desire to assert a genealogical history, to promote class values, to reflect both a relative economic position, as well as social and intellectual status, and to demonstrate the fulfillment of familial obligations and perceived duties. Further, I have sought to suggest that these needs were conditioned by, and altered in response to a variety of cultural factors, social pressures and personal experiences.

Rather than adopt and seek to apply a strictly casual explanatory model, I have intended to present and examine personal preferences and the dissemination of values and taste from a point of view which recognizes that personal and "historical change always take place in a multidimensional social space in which the lines of causation are so numerous and so tangled that it is only with the greatest difficulty that their relative significance can be fully understood." I hope that my study has contributed toward the reader's respect for that complexity.

Finally, while I recognize the limitations of my study, I should like to think that it has demonstrated that photographs, when considered as a primary artifactual group in
conjunction with documents, are a potentially rich source of cultural information.
FOOTNOTES


2 I am indebted to George Talbot for elucidating the basic purpose of house interior photographs of the Victorian period in At Home: Domestic Life in the Post-Centennial Era 1876-1920, the catalogue of an exhibition held at The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, spring 1976-fall 1977 (Milwaukee, 1976), pp. iv-vi.

3 I have used the phrase "Haines family" here and throughout this essay to include all first, second and, in some cases, third generation descendents of Reuben Haines (1786-1831).

4 According to information printed on the front and back of the stereopticon cards which are at Wyck, the photographer was Harry Lewis, "Artist and Photographer," 2225 Ridge Avenue, Philadelphia.


6 Letter from Mrs. H. Eastburn Thompson to the author, dated July 3, 1978. I again thank Mrs. Thompson for information. According to her, Reuben Haines, the photographer, was the son of John S. Haines (1820-1886) and Mary Drinker Cope. The album of his photographs and glass plate negatives are at Wyck.

7 Pp. 549-559.


Information concerning Wyck and the Haines family's past is from Wyck: Witness to a Way of Life (pamphlet), (Philadelphia, 1974?), unless otherwise noted.

Claussen, p. 59.

Wyck: Witness to a Way of Life, p. 2.


Claussen, p. 8.

Claussen, p. 3. This supposition is also supported by Sandra Mackenzie's research on Reuben Haines.

I am grateful to Sandra Mackenzie for this information.


Information concerning Jane Reuben Haines's early life and her family during that time from Claussen, pp. 128-160.

I have surmised this from correspondence. In a letter to her brother Robert B. Haines dated July 8, 1848, Margaret Haines writes "In this occupation [keeping house] I am becoming quite expert having determined to learn all that I can during Cousin Anne's absence." All documents currently in the Wyck manuscript collection will hereafter be denoted as Wyck papers.


Inferred from Jane's correspondence and that of other family members.

Letter to "Dear Brother William" from "JRH," Tunbridge Wells, dated July 3, 1859, Wyck papers.

Jenkins, Guide, p. 76.
Letter to "Dear Miss Haines," Wyck papers. Pauline Henry writes, "Spinal affinity between us! Perish the thought ... My illness came from inside: yours from outside, an accident (if 'cause I don't believe anything an accident,)" emphasis her own.

Letter to "My Dear Nieces" from "Aunt Jane," March 26, 1860, Wyck papers.

Entries similar to the following were made several times each year. Jane writes in her Private Accounts, January 1883, "Dr. Wister's bill... $255.00," Wyck papers.

Jane Reuben Haines, Private Accounts, provided documentation for this assertion.


"The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," American Quarterly, XVIII (Summer 1966), p. 152. Although Welter makes this assertion concerning the period 1820-1860, other authors have found the same criterium operative after 1860.

See Haller and Haller, pp. 46-87.


Dimity Convictions, p. 11. See also Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture (New York, 1977), pp. 3-17, for an analysis of Little Eva in H.B. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Claussen, pp. 165-166.

Security, bond and real estate reports indicate that William Bacon, Jane's brother-in-law, and Robert Haines, Jane's brother, served as her trustees, Daniel B. Smith and James P. Parke, as guardians, and "The Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives," as granting annuities attorney for Jane until well into the 1880s, Wyck papers.

Letter to "My dear sister" from "JRH," Wyck papers.

Information and quote from Jane Reuben Haines, Codicil to Will of June 26, 1906, dated November 29, 1910, Register of Wills, Philadelphia, Pa., #2607, 1911.

Letter to "My dear Miss Haines," Wyck papers.
41 See Talbot, At Home.


43 Howe, pp. 11-12.

44 Howe, p. 3, 12, 22, 23.


46 Jane's financial situation is difficult to comprehend. Although the inventory of her estate taken after her death in 1911 lists her total real and personal estate as $121,396.11, her private and household accounts indicate that Jane lived on a moderate fixed income. According to Jane's private accounts, she received $5903.39 in 1879, $7570.13 in 1878, $8838.98 in 1880 and $9376.43 in 1881 (Wyck papers). From this income she apparently paid most expenses, including $1000.00 a year for rent of Wyck, wages for her servants, food, household goods, etc. Jane contributed more than half of her income to charities. However, her outlays for several years exceeded her income suggesting that she may have been able to draw up on her holdings for additional funds. It seems important to consider that Jane's finances may have been completely controlled by her trustees and guardians, although further research into the legal rights of unmarried women in the nineteenth century has not been possible in the time allotted for this essay.

47 Kingston, N.Y., January 29, 1877, Wyck papers.


49 For information concerning the motivation behind the preservation movement see Rhoads, The Colonial Revival.

50 Quakers and the Atlantic Culture (New York, 1960), p. 76.
51 Tolles, p. 62.


53 (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 73. William Claussen notes that the family became concerned with the increase in German-town crime and the safety of their homes beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.

54 Benjamin, p. 9.


56 Benjamin, p. 50.

57 That Margaret and Thomas Stewardson became Episcopalian around the same time is suggested by their correspondence. The Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1963), v. 18, p. 2, notes that John Stewardson, their son, was Episcopalian.

58 Margaret W. Haines described Jane Haines's funeral, November 14, 1911, in her Journal 1911, indicating some small degree of conflict due to religious differences among family members. "Out of consideration to the Friends present the service was not begun until there had been 15 minutes of silence. Then Rev. Mr. Arndt read the Episcopal burial service ... She was laid to rest... [at] Laurel Hill Cemetery... close to her dear sister Margaret H. Stewardson," Wyck papers.

59 The figure has been identified as Jane by family members.


62 Letter, January 28, 1868, Wyck papers.

63 Letter to MHS (Margaret Haines Stewardson) from JRH, January 1868 and letter to "My dear Tom" (Stewardson) from JRH, July 23 (no year given), Wyck papers.
Jane Reuben Haines, Private Accounts, years 1865, 1875, 1876, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881. Jane does not subscribe to a magazine written exclusively for women, Ladies Home Journal, until 1883, Wyck papers.


March 16, Wyck papers.

Private Accounts, 1865.

Wyck papers. Additional example: In December of 1889 Jane wrote in her household account book that she had paid $33.00 for a washstand and wardrobe from "R.H.," undoubtedly Robert Haines, her brother. She later crossed these lines out and wrote merely "Wardrobe and Washstand $33.00." (Household Accounts 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, Nov. 1889. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Manuscripts, on loan).

Quoted by Frederick Tolles, Quakers and the Atlantic Culture (New York, 1960), p. 70.

Tolles, p. 70.


Talbot, At Home, p. 22.

Letter "To My Dear Nonnie" from JRH, Wyck papers.

The Tastemakers, p. 170.

I would like to thank Sandra Mackenzie for pointing out how little the needlework piece shows the effects of exposure to light. The family might also have been aware of the sampler's existence as Jane had had another identical piece by Margaret Wister reframed in December of 1875 to give to her sister Margaret. She also had her own piece photographed in July of 1899: Private Accounts, Dec. 31, 1875, "Framing old sampler for MHS... $2.00," July 14, 1899, "Three photographs (sampler, &c)... $6.00," Wyck papers.


82 At Home, p. vi.


84 Drawings at the Germantown Historical Society, Germantown, Pa. I would like to thank Raymond V. Sheperd, Jr., Administrator, Cliveden, Germantown, for bringing these drawings to my attention.

85 Letter to "sister" from Jane Reuben Haines, dated March 23, 1869, Wyck papers.

86 Letter dated July 23, no year given, Wyck papers.

87 In the limited time allowed for this essay I have not been able to examine the reasons for growing interest in local history. One might theorize that it arose, at least in part, from a similar reaction to changing social conditions in late nineteenth century America.


Letter to "My dear Mr. Vorhees" from Thomas Stewardson, April 24, 1894, Wyck papers.

Letter to "Miss Jane Haines" from Elizabeth E. Moody, April 20, 1899, Wyck papers.

Private Accounts, 1888, Wyck papers.

Private Accounts, 1891, December 25, 1891, Wyck papers.

Private Accounts, 1894, July 3, 1895, Wyck papers.


P. 397.

Social Register, Philadelphia, 1891 (New York, 1891), preface.

Social Register, Philadelphia, 1892 (N.Y., 1892), pp. 34, 69.

Social Register, Philadelphia, 1894 (N.Y., 1894), pp. 40, 84.

Social Register, Philadelphia, 1895 (N.Y., 1895), pp. 41, 42. It must be noted here that Jane Haines's name never appears in the Register. One might speculate that this was because she was an independently supported unmarried woman.

Reuben was Jane's nephew, and Jane Warder her great niece. She willed $3,000 to Reuben, while only $2,000 to Jane. However she notes in her will that Jane Warder was receiving more than some of her other great nieces because her father William Warder had died. Will #2607, 1911, Philadelphia Probate Records. Reuben also took a photograph of Jane's portrait the year after her death, fig. 18.

It is interesting to note that in 1899 the architect Emlyn Stewardson, Jane's nephew, designed Lloyd Hall for Haverford College. Though subsequently altered, the original design was clearly based upon Wyck as remodeled by William Stricland, and may therefore present further evidence of family interest in Wyck as a symbol of their past. (See William Stewardson, "Cope and Stewardson, The Architects of a Philadelphia Renascence." Unpublished Senior Thesis, Princeton University, 1960, pp. 106-107). Considering Jane's interest in promoting the values of her class, it is not surprising that a contemporary architectural critic wrote that the firm of Cope and Stewardson "stood for and is standing for nationality, for ethnic continuity and impulses of Christian..."

104 The photographs, which are unfortunately too poor for reproduction, are pasted in the copy of Charles Jenkins, "Wyck": One of the Oldest Homes Still Preserved in Germantown (Germantown, 1913), at the Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

105 Hindermeier, p. 554.

106 Hindermeier, p. 557.

107 Per note on the back of a large photograph of the buffet at Wyck and Specification and Price-Current of Antiquities at the Exhibition in Philadelphia 1876 from Wm Gram Dealer in Books and Antiquites (Christian, Norway, 1876), unnumbered.


109 Letter dated October 25, 1901, Wyck papers.


112 I believe Jane may have purchased the German stoneware made by Merkelbach & Wick, Grenzhausen at the Centennial Exhibition, as she lists in her Private Accounts 1875, on December 12, 1876, "pd. J.S. for Austrian Vases... 37.50," Wyck papers.

113 (New York, 1878), p. 91.

114 Jane's private accounts include a note on June 19, 1900 that she had a photograph of the cabinet made for "Rev. Dr. M."

115 Letter dated October 25, 1901, Wyck papers. Tom Stewardson writes that, "according to Mr. Gade it now has considerable money value—say $2,000 and will not depreciate—such objects have become so scarce." Information concerning the cabinet's value in 1913 from Jane Reuben Haines's will folder, #2607, 1911, Phil. Co. Probate Records.

116 Private Accounts, Wyck papers.
Documented by letters at Wyck to Jane Reuben Haines.

Letter to "My dear Jane" from "T.S." (Thomas Stewardson), Chestnut Hill, June 7, 1893, Wyck papers. Stewardson writes, "I'm glad that you wrote to Mellor—that was far better than a visit from me would have been; he knows that I don't amount to anything and doesn't yet know that you don't—that is... the business man has not yet got quite used to the business woman, and is a little afraid of her, not being sure how much she may know and how far it is safe to presume upon her ignorance..."

City and State, vol. 4, n. 33, May 19, 1898, p. 575, and vol. 11, n. 23, December 5, 1901, p. 362. Copies of these published letters are at Wyck, in manuscript form.


SOURCES CONSULTED

Primary Sources

Most of the primary material used for this study is in the possession of Wyck, Germantown (Philadelphia), Pennsylvania. Largely uncatalogued and stored throughout the house, these materials include: the letters of Jane Reuben Haines, family members and friends, 1859-1908, miscellaneous household bills, 1875-1910, business memoranda, tax reports, securities statements, and other business related papers, 1877-1909, Jane Reuben Haines's *Private Accounts*, 1865-1910, Margaret W. Haines's *Journal* 1911, and the "Schedule of distribution, [of the] estate of Jane R. Haines, deceased, in accordance with [the] adjudication, February 11, 1913." Photographs used in this study are also in the possession of Wyck. These include: stereopticon views of Wyck, 1871-1873, by Harry Lewis, a photograph album, "Photographs by Reuben Haines, 1902-1904," glass plate negatives for photographs of Wyck 1902-1906, attributed to Reuben Haines by the author and other family members, and a photograph album, "Wyck 1902" by Jane Haines Warder, later Mrs. George C. Hodgson. Other photographs used in this study are also at Wyck, as indicated by figure captions.

66
Other Primary Sources

Haverford, Pa. Haverford College Library, Quaker Collection. Photographs by Reuben Haines, of a garden party, Wyck, 1913. (Pasted in Charles Jenkins, "Wyck": One of the Oldest Homes Still Preserved in Germantown [Germantown, 1913].)


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Local history, Wyck and the Haines Family


_______. "Letter to the Editor," *City and State*, v. 11, n. 23, December 5, 1901, p. 362.


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The Social Moment


**Women in the Nineteenth Century**


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**Correspondence**

Mrs. Howard Blake to the author, April 2, 1978.

Mrs. George Hodgson (Jane Haines Warder) to Mary (T. Haines), February 19, 1956.

Mrs. R.S. Taylor to the author, March 26, 1978.


Mrs. R.S. Taylor to the author, April 7, 1978.


Mr. John Stewardson to the author, May 15, 1978.
Fig. 1. Floorplan of Wyck (generalized). Plan of first floor based upon that contained in Harry M. Tinkcom, Margaret B. Tinkcom and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 86.
Fig. 2. Wyck in a watercolor attributed to Le Seur, c. 1831. Paper bears an 1830 watermark. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 3. Wyck, 1860s. Jane Reuben Haines and her cousin, Mary Collins stand beside the door. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 4. Jane Reuben Haines, May 29, 1869. Broadbent and Phillips, Philadelphia, photographers. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 5. Wyck, October, 1871. Harry Lewis, Philadelphia, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 6. Hall looking into garden, October, 1871.
Harry Lewis, Philadelphia, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 7. Hall and front parlor from back parlor, October, 1871. Harry Lewis, Philadelphia, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 8. Back parlor from the front parlor. Jane Reuben Haines sits beside fireplace, 1872. Harry Lewis, Philadelphia, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 10. Front parlor from back parlor looking through hall, February 28, 1873. Harry Lewis, Philadelphia, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 11. Jane Reuben Haines in garden, Wyck, 1902. Jane Warder, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 12. Front parlor looking into back parlor, Wyck, 1902. Jane Warder, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 13. Hall looking into back parlor, Wyck, 1902. Jane Warder, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 14. Front bedroom, Wyck, 1902. Jane Warder, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 15. Front bedroom, Wyck, 1902. Jane Warder, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 16. Back bedroom, Wyck, 1902. Jane Warder, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 17. Back bedroom (?), Wyck, 1902. Jane Warder, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 18. Portrait, Jane Reuben Haines, in oil on oval stone or semi-porcelain, c. 1850. Reuben Haines, photographer, June 9, 1812. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 19. Jane Reuben Haines in the hall, Wyck, c. 1902. Attributed by author to Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 20. Front parlor, Wyck, February 4, 1905.  
Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 21. Front parlor and hall from back parlor, Wyck, July 25, 1903. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 22. Front parlor and back parlor, Wyck, August 22, 1905. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 23. Hall from front parlor, Wyck, February 21, 1905. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 24. Old clock and dining room stairs, Wyck, August 15, 1906. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 25. Dining room, Wyck, August 15, 1906. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 26. Front bedroom, Wyck, June 11, 1905. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 27. Hall chamber, Wyck, September 3, 1903. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 28. Hall chamber, Wyck, June 13, 1905. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 29. Back parlor and cabinet, Wyck, July 25, 1903. Reuben Haines, photographer. Negative at Wyck.
Fig. 30. Dining room, Wyck, 1902-1904. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 31. Front bedroom, Wyck, 1902-1904. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 32. Front bedroom, Wyck, 1902-1904. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 33. Front bedroom, Wyck, 1902-1904. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 34. Library, home of Reuben Haines, 1902-1904. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 35. Dining room and front door, Oak Ridge, near Rahway, N.J., 1902-1904. Built by Richard Hartshorne, 1806. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 36. Old stairway in back of dining hall, Oak Ridge, N.J. Richard Hartshorne's chair, cane, spy glass and old flintlock musket, 1902-1904. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 37. Exterior, Wyck, 1902. From Hindermeyer, "'Wyck': An Old House and Garden at Germantown, Philadelphia," House and Garden (Nov. 1902), p. 558. (Reproduced with permission of Conde-Nast Publications, Inc.)
Fig. 38. Front bedroom, Wyck, 1902. From Hindermeyer, House and Garden (Nov. 1902), p. 556. (Reproduced with permission of Conde-Nast Publications, Inc.)
Fig. 39. Back parlor, Wyck, 1902. From Hindermeyer, House and Garden (Nov. 1902), p. 556. (Reproduced with permission of Conde-Nast Publications, Inc.)
Fig. 40. Hall, Wyck, 1902. From Hindermeyer, House and Garden (Nov. 1902), p. 557. (Reproduced with permission of Conde-Nast Publications, Inc.)
Fig. 41. Jane Reuben Haines, January, 1903. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 43. Norwegian Sideboard, Wyck, 1900. J.M. Elliot, photographer. Original at Wyck.
Fig. 44. Stoneware vessels manufactured by Merkelbach & Wick, Grenzhausen, c. 1875. Wyck, Germantown.
Fig. 45. Stoneware vessels manufactured by Merkelbach & Wick, Grenzhausen, c. 1875. Illustration from The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1876), v. 2, p. 105.