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“AUNT WYCK JANE”: THE MATERIAL LIFE OF JANE REUBEN HAINES

by

Katherine Hall Molumby

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

Spring 2000

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“AUNT WYCK JANE”: THE MATERIAL LIFE OF JANE REUBEN HAINES

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ABSTRACT

“Aunt Wyck Jane”: The Material Life of Jane Reuben Haines

This thesis examines the material which Jane Reuben Haines, a Germantown, Pennsylvania resident in the latter half of the nineteenth century, left for future generations. I have focused my study on the correspondence, account books, artifacts and home of Jane Reuben Haines.

This thesis analyzes how Jane lived her life as a single woman in the nineteenth century, ran her household, managed servants and participated in the material marketplace of the nineteenth century. Wyck, Jane’s family home, defined Jane both by her nickname, Aunt “Wyck” Jane and by the way she lived her life. Both her home and the material artifacts (both in paper and in three dimensional form) which she left behind tell a more complete story of life in the second half of nineteenth century America.
The Centennial Exhibition held in Fairmount Park in Philadelphia from May to November 1876 was a major event for Philadelphians along with the rest of the country. In honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the United States, Americans felt compelled to celebrate this occasion through organizing and attending an event that would acknowledge new technological advances, products of national and international cultures and recent achievements. According to Dee Brown, the Centennial celebrated and showcased the theme of progress, most notably the numerous technological changes which had emerged. The Centennial highlighted

an increasing application of science to industry, the use of new energy sources for fuel and power, acceleration of transportation and communication, adoption of mass production techniques and the factory system, introduction of new agricultural machinery which would free millions of workers from the farms.¹

The United States’ appearance quickly changed in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, as evidenced by all of these changes.

The Centennial Exhibition became the most covered event by the press to date. The press documented the crowded hotels, the streets filled with over 100,000 people on May 10, 1876 arriving at the opening day of the exhibition.² Its visitors also documented the event as many people wrote home about their visit. Over eight million United States citizens, not to mention foreign visitors, attended the Centennial.³ Philadelphia’s reputation drastically changed outside of the city as it was viewed by a Chicago Tribune newspaper correspondent on May 1, 1876 that “Staid and peaceful Philadelphia has departed along with the century, and now there exists a city between the Schuylkill and the Delaware as cosmopolitan as Paris and as lively as Chicago.”⁴ A letter written to
Jane on January 29, 1877, from Mary E. Rassell offered an outsider’s perspective of the Centennial

All news we have about the Centennial Exhibition is to us very interesting . . . What a meeting of nations it must be productive of much good . . . how bright and busy your city would look and what a meeting of friends who had not seen each other . . .

This outsider’s view of Philadelphia during the Centennial illustrates how impressed people were in regard to this monumental event.

One of these visitors was Jane Reuben Haines, the subject of this thesis. Jane wrote about her visit and also kept track of her expenses at the Centennial in a ledger.

What did the Centennial mean to Jane Reuben Haines? Did it encourage her to look forwards or backwards? Living in the Philadelphia area, Jane would have read all of the newspaper accounts, and she would have discussed the event with her friends and relatives. Not only did Jane read about the Centennial, but also she attended the exhibition. Along with keeping an account book of her purchases, she also wrote letters to friends about the celebration. Pauline Henry, a friend of Jane’s wrote her in 1876, responding to an earlier discussion on Jane’s attendance at the Centennial. Pauline wrote that

Of course when you said you could not go to Cent. [Centennial Exhibition] you did not expect to live to go- but living you went . . . you would have regretted it. had you not gone, it might have been thrown up to you by the “posterity” for when you purchase the “Buffet” [Norwegian sideboard] that is striking out . . . and asserting one’s self . . . be only too glad to have the Norwegian incongruity. Why one such art jewel is sufficient to adorn “any plain old farmhouse,” such a thing can not be incongruous . . .

Pauline’s letter explained several things. First of all, the letter alluded to Jane’s poor health. Evidently at one point, Jane felt that she wouldn’t live to see the Centennial, or
did not have the strength to leave the house. Jane did attend the Centennial once and made many purchases there. Pauline also commented on one of Jane’s purchases—a Norwegian sideboard. Within the span of a letter, Jane’s situation seemed to change drastically from not expecting to attend the Centennial, to attending the event, and lastly, purchasing a large, showy piece of furniture. Pauline thought Jane made an assertive move in buying the sideboard as well as prominently displaying it among the plain interiors at Wyck.

Jane’s account book labeled *Private Accounts 1875-1876* specified her purchases at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. On October 4, 1876, she purchased a bamboo floor stand for three dollars. On October 13, she purchased a spool box from “Centennial” for thirty cents. Jane noted both October 13 and 19 as days that paid “For 5 people to Centennial 2.50.” On October 20 she purchased a Norwegian sugar bowl for $34.99. On November 2, Jane paid again for “Expenses to ‘Centennial’ 3.30” along with a Japanese box for $18.00. November 25 marked a prominent day in Jane’s account book with three entries related to the Norwegian sideboard. She paid “Tull & c. [company] for carrying Buffet 4.50,” along with $2.50 for a Centennial photograph and $473.00 for the “Norwegian Buffet.” Jane must have been quite taken with the sideboard as she paid a hefty sum for it.

Jane’s sister Margaret and her husband Thomas Stewardson found the “Norwegian buffet” at the Centennial and recommended that Jane should purchase it. On October 20, 1876, Jane wrote to her friend Lizzie (Mrs. Elizabeth P. Smith) about the possibility of purchasing the sideboard and told her that
My cook and housemaid spent the day at the Exhibition yesterday, and I was as tired as if I had been too, and had just gone upstairs . . . Meta and Tom [Jane’s sister and brother-in-law] have seen an old Norwegian “Buffet” at the exhibition which they are very anxious that I should buy and they want thy judgment about it. Does thee remember it I wonder? Very deeply carved with scenes from the life of the Saviour in oak about 300 years old? Tell me if thee does.9

This quote documented a broader segment of people attending the Centennial as Jane’s cook and housemaid visited the Centennial, perhaps part of the five people’s admissions that Jane paid between October 13 and 19. The quote also expressed the interest in collecting objects during this period. Margaret and Tom were close to Jane and probably had a strong interest in helping Jane decorate as evidenced by their enthusiasm for purchasing the sideboard.

Jane, a single woman and once a Quaker, did not seem a likely candidate for owning this sideboard — an ostentatious object to buy at the Centennial. Based on what we can infer from this letter, family members influenced Jane to purchase it. Jane’s friend, Pauline Henry commented on the sideboard’s overwhelming presence at Wyck, an ‘art jewel’ in a ‘plain old farm house.’ Jane’s decision to purchase this piece of furniture sharply contrasted to her own understated image along with the perceived image of Wyck as just a farmhouse. Unfortunately, the sideboard turned out to be either a revival or a fake object, not three hundred years old. In 1913, two years after Jane’s death, the family donated the sideboard to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The museum later determined that it was not an antique and deaccessioned it from its collection.10

Jane’s purchase of the sideboard illustrated her somewhat complicated religious life. Although Jane became an Episcopalian in the 1850s, Jane, raised as a Quaker, still
used the typical Quaker "thee." While the sideboard purchase presumably appeared ostentatious for a former Quaker, it also contained a statement of religious beliefs, perhaps justifying the purchase. Jane apparently did not have any qualms about the purchase of this elaborate and showy object that made a grand statement inside Wyck. Her conversion to the Episcopal denomination, a more permissive religious culture regarding the ownership of material goods. Jane, like many other Philadelphians, was also increasingly interested in international culture evident at the Centennial Exhibition.

The Norwegian sideboard towered over the rest of the furniture in the back parlor, which Jane used when she had afternoon tea (Figure 1). The sideboard, a specialized object in the nineteenth century for the home, had its place in the dining room. Jane placed her sideboard in a room for eating and socializing as well, though the back parlor did not have as much importance as a dining room. People viewed sideboards at international exhibitions, such as the Centennial, where, seen as a solitary object, they may have seemed out of place. Jane's sideboard not only increased importance of her back parlor, but also probably made a larger statement with its size and decoration.

In the photograph of the back parlor, one can see curtains on each side, drawn back to draw attention to the focal point of the wall, the sideboard (Figure 2). Reaching close to the ceiling of the room, a visitor to Wyck must have been taken aback by the ornate carvings on all of the surfaces of the sideboard. It appears that in the center of the back of the sideboard is a scene of the Last Supper. Other religious scenes depicting the life of Christ and what appears to be the Crucifixion above the Last Supper seem quite out of place within the walls of Wyck. While Jane hung framed photographs on her

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walls, there existed a great contrast between the simplicity of the photographs on the walls and the lavish surfaces of the sideboard. The sideboard did not match much of anything at Wyck, the majority of the furniture being family heirlooms, tasteful and understated in appearance.¹³

Jane’s more common emphasis on family history and heirlooms also had its counterpart at the 1876 fair. The Centennial Exhibition did not simply celebrate the present and the future. The changing face of the United States, with increased industrialization and an influx of European immigrants, fueled the interest of many Americans to embrace the colonial days of their forefathers. Through creating colonial room settings, both at the Centennial and in their homes, Americans reflected, and even tried to recapture their “heritage.” The movement, known as the Colonial Revival, had its conservative origins among middle and upper class Anglo-Americans.

At the Centennial, this revival impulse manifested itself in several ways. The United States Patent Office set up a colonial display at the Centennial of George Washington’s “relics” such as his breeches, uniform, pistols and portable table with dishes.¹⁴ The Connecticut Cottage, complete with an old fireplace and flax-wheel had a prototypical Colonial Revival period room.¹⁵ According to Karal Ann Marling, “Colonial meant cozy—a cozy home with a big kitchen, a broad chimneypiece, and ancestral relics strewn about in quaint profusion.”¹⁶ Most likely, these factors described the display in the Connecticut Cottage. While at the Centennial Exhibition, Jane Haines may have viewed the New England Kitchen Exhibit, which consisted of a log house complete with costumed women and antiques decorating the interior. Meant to revere the
eighteenth century, this display suggested to the Centennial’s visitors the importance of embracing the past history of the United States. In the more private world of the individual, those who decorated their homes in a colonial fashion often were expressing an awareness of their particular family histories.

Jane, like many other Americans in the late nineteenth century, felt a need to reflect upon her heritage, in the wake of industrialization, a divisive Civil War, the panic of 1873, and demographic changes resulting from an influx of immigrants from abroad. The face of the United States was changing at a much faster pace than it ever had in the last century. People turned to heirlooms from their parents and grandparents to recreate colonial days past, or, if they did not have family heirlooms, perhaps they purchased antiques to have a colonial feel to their home. Jane Reuben Haines, who had plenty of her own family’s heirlooms, thought that a pair of shield-back mahogany armchairs in the Hepplewhite style which her sister-in-law, Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines bought for her in 1883 were antique (Figure 3). Jane must have thought that the “historic” chairs complemented her family heirlooms. Ironically, these chairs were not made at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but were Colonial Revival chairs. Jane did not know that these chairs were revival when she incorporated them into her home. Perhaps if she had known this, she would not have placed them so prominently in her parlor at Wyck.

Perhaps Americans who embraced a colonial revival aesthetic thought that by retreating into their homes and surrounding themselves with colonial room settings they could escape momentarily, the social and technological challenges that they faced at the
turn of the century. According to Celia Betsky

Americans wanted to revive, mentally and somehow also physically to go back to and even go beyond, the old-fashioned interior depicted there, with old folks and the home hearth, maternal affection, family togetherness, and rustic old country furnishings. This they accomplished in the way they furnished their houses, by the objects they collected, the paintings they painted, and the novels they wrote. They used the interior as a means of entering history . . .

Jane embodied this philosophy and indeed, used the interiors at Wyck as “a means of entering history.” The account book that included notes and receipts from her attendance at the Centennial along with letters written to and from Jane concerning the Centennial were a small part of what Jane Reuben Haines left behind.

What did Jane Reuben Haines leave behind? Wyck, the Wistar and Haines family homestead still stands in Germantown, Pennsylvania today and is preserved as a historic home. It was passed down through nine generations to Jane Reuben Haines and later to her niece and nephew before it became an historic house museum. The Haines family retained many of Jane’s belongings and family heirlooms at Wyck. Along with the home and its contents, Jane left behind a collection of account books and letters. These letters, written to and from Jane, documented her interest in purchasing consumer goods in the nineteenth century along with her efforts in preserving her family’s history. The family left over 100,000 documents, the Wyck Papers, now housed in the manuscript collection at the American Philosophical Society. Jane’s papers, including bills and receipts, private and household account books, servants’ logs and letters to and from Jane
offer a well-rounded picture of this woman. Papers not only of Jane's but those of her family members include correspondence from Jane and other papers document a broader portrait of the Haines family.

This thesis utilizes both the paper and three-dimensional objects to tell the story of the life of a particular upper-class, single woman participating in the ever-changing culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the Philadelphia area. Jane was not an extraordinary woman. nor was she the only woman living in nineteenth century collecting, preserving and writing. Her home, the objects in her home, her letters, bills, receipts, and private and household account books are all important as they allow us to understand more fully how Jane conducted her life, made decisions about her purchases, hired and fired staff. and related to her family. These documents and artifacts also illustrate the great importance of Wyck, the family homestead, in Jane's life.

How did Jane Reuben Haines spend her time? How did a single woman in the nineteenth century run her household? How did Jane interact with men in regard to her personal finances? What did she purchase to decorate her home? What family heirlooms did she keep to incorporate in the room settings along with new furniture? Why did she have such an affinity to family heirlooms? What kind of relationship did Jane have with her many nieces and nephews? How did her siblings and their children view Jane? The sources Jane left behind help answer these questions. Many women lived comparable lives but few left as many details about domestic life. Jane lived on her own, responsible for a house. now a museum. With the help of the Wyck Papers and the objects in Wyck, we can better understand how Jane spent her time. This thesis will address how Jane
participated in the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, her role as family historian and caretaker of family heirlooms, how she cared for her extended family and for Wyck, the family home in which she lived, her consumer preferences, and how she managed the servants working for her. A major focus in this thesis centers on Jane's servants. Jane kept a servants' log from 1865-1907, documenting comments Jane made, wages she paid her servants, the relationship between employer and employee, and expectations Jane had for her servants. This information provides not only an interesting document of the relationship between Jane and her servants but also is important generally as it is a wealth of primary source material on servants in the nineteenth century. Although the material on Jane's servants is important, the other roles Jane held were equally important.

Born to Reuben Haines III and Jane Bowne Haines in 1832, Jane Reuben Haines was the seventh of nine generations to live at the Wyck property. Formerly the summer home for the Haines family, Wyck is located at the intersection of Walnut and Main streets in Germantown, just seven miles outside of Philadelphia. According to a pamphlet entitled Wyck: Witness to a Way of Life, Germantown was founded in 1683 and settled predominantly by emigrants from the northwestern and central regions of continental Europe, now Germany and the Netherlands. In the first years of settlement, the village of approximately nine square miles lay just over five miles from Philadelphia. Hans Millan, from the lower Rhine provinces, in Crefeld, settled in Germantown in 1689, drew lot #17 of about 50 acres in 1688 and built a log house soon after. In the early eighteenth century, a second house was built on the property. William
Strickland, a well-known architect, renovated the interiors in 1824, creating an enfilade of rooms and incorporating specially hinged folding doors to allow for flexible use of space. Wyck’s updated interiors consisted of a front parlor, conservatory, back parlor and dining room on the first floor with a kitchen attached to the rear of the house and four bedrooms, known as chambers, on the second floor.

In a 1860s photograph of Wyck (Figure 4), Jane and her cousin Mary Collins stand at the front door of Wyck. The large home was surrounded by a white picket fence. The muddy street in front of the white home illustrated how Germantown, in the middle nineteenth century, still had a rural atmosphere in contrast to urban Philadelphia. Nonetheless, the photograph depicted Wyck’s great size just four decades after Strickland’s work on the home.

Millan’s granddaughter, Katherine Jansen, married Caspar Wistar, a native of Hilsbach, near Heidelberg, in 1726. Caspar Wistar became famous for his glassblowing factory, Wistarburgh Glass, in New Jersey. Caspar’s daughter Margaret Wistar married Reuben Haines I in 1760, hence the connection of two prominent and wealthy Quaker families. Jane’s grandparents used Wyck as a summer retreat from Philadelphia, but also as a retreat from the yellow fever epidemics in the 1790s, before moving to Wyck permanently. Jane’s father, Reuben Haines III, great-great-great-grandson of Hans Millan, married Jane Bowne of Flushing, Long Island in 1812. The Haines had eight children, six daughters and two sons. Two of their daughters died in childhood.

The remaining children were Elizabeth Bowne born in 1817, John Smith born in 1820, Hannah born in 1822, Robert Bowne born in 1827, Margaret born in 1830 and Jane
Reuben Haines born in 1832. Jane’s father Reuben died in 1831, months before her birth in 1832. Her mother died in 1843, leaving only two children at Wyck, Margaret and Jane, both under the age of sixteen.

The Haines children were cared for by Mary Ann Donaldson, a governess, even before Jane’s mother died. Jane’s mother spent an increasing amount of time with her family in New York after Reuben’s death. Jane’s cousin, Ann Haines, Reuben Haines III’s first cousin, spent time caring for the Haines children. Cousin Ann assumed more responsibility for the Haines children and became their full-time caretaker in 1843. A letter written to Ann from Mary Ann Donaldson documented the tension between the two women after Ann asked Mary Ann to vacate her position as governess in 1844. In the letter, Mary Ann expressed her feelings of betrayal by this action as Jane’s parents had told Mary Ann she should treat Wyck as her own home. She also declared that “...for fifteen years I had been considered as a member of the family, not merely as a governess of the children, but a partaker in all its domestic concerns and interests, consulted on all occasions...”23 Both Cousin Ann and Mary Ann evidently played an influential role in Jane’s early years. Cousin Ann probably had more influence on Jane as they lived together until Ann’s death in 1869.

By 1854, when Jane was twenty-two, all of Jane’s sisters and brothers were married.24 Of the five couples, the siblings which appeared to be the closest to Jane (as noticed in her correspondence) were her brother Robert Bowne Haines and his wife Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines, and her sister Margaret and her husband Thomas Stewardson, often referred to as “T.S.” or Tom. Her other siblings, Elizabeth Bowne
Haines and her husband John Aston Warder, John Smith Haines and his wife Mary Drinker Cope, and Hannah Haines and her husband William Henry Bacon rarely appeared in Jane's correspondence. Because she was the youngest and unmarried, her siblings, preoccupied with their own lives, felt Jane should live in the family home, having furniture provided by her older siblings. Jane had her own income; her siblings didn’t need to financially support her. However, Jane may have felt obligated, as the sole tenant of Wyck, to care for the family objects and the home her siblings allowed her to use during her lifetime.

Jane and Cousin Ann both never married. There were many single women in the nineteenth century. Many women lost husbands and suitors in the Civil War. Other women did not find appropriate suitors while some feared marriage, sexual intercourse, or childbirth. Many other women enjoyed new freedoms and independence with the opportunities open to women to attend school or pursue vocational interests. Still others had to care for family members, including the elderly and the young, especially if the mother had died. As caretaker for the younger Haines children, Cousin Ann fit the latter category. As the illegitimate daughter of Reuben Haines II, the uncle of Reuben Haines III, Ann was treated differently from other women and may have had problems finding suitors. Yet other women suffered illnesses, some physical, some mental, some just to escape the expectations placed upon them by society such as marriage and children. Jane suffered physical illness, but seemed to have a busy life despite her difficulties.
Despite freedom from marriage, children and other obligations, a single woman still depended on her family and was defined by it. The family aided in guiding her decisions, occupying her time, and offering opinions as to how she should run her life.26

Domestic expectations of women in the nineteenth century included caring for a home, a husband, and children. Without a husband and children, Jane still followed conventions of running a household with the aid of a cook, a housemaid and a gardener. Jane maintained Wyck mainly for herself instead of for a family. However, Jane did receive many visits from her family and friends, and the holiday gatherings she often hosted warranted substantial preparation.

Single women also acted as surrogate servants without pay as an “orphaned cousin or the maiden aunt helped – i.e. functioned in lieu of a servant – throughout the nineteenth century.”27 Cousin Ann functioned as an unpaid governess for Margaret and Jane while Jane later acted as a caretaker and nurse for Ann up until her death.

Single women also helped the needy in the community volunteering for welfare organizations, charities, reform associations, temperance societies and other related organizations.28 While Jane spent a great deal of time taking care of her extended family, we do not know if she volunteered for social service organizations. She did give money to various organizations including the Whosoever Gospel Mission and Rescue Home Association of Germantown whose objective was “The rescue of men who have been wrecked by sin and who are desirous, by God’s help, of living Christian lives.”29 She also gave donations to the Seamen’s & Landsmen’s Aid Society, the Pennsylvania Prison Society, the Germantown Boys Club, and the Philadelphia Society for Organizing.
Charity. She also gave miscellaneous donations to poor men and women who stopped at her door at Wyck and the “Coloured Home,” along with the Orphan’s Home and the Lutheran Orphan Asylum.

Spinsterhood in the late nineteenth century gave women independence from society’s predestined roles for them. These roles prevented many women from aiding social causes, pursuing intellectual interests, and having one’s independence. Virginia Lee Chambers-Schiller suggests that while spinster women were independent from a husband, they were dependent upon their immediate family for financial assistance. In return, these women offered their time to care for extended family members. We will later see how Jane devoted her time and money to her nieces and nephews along with hosting family gatherings at Wyck.

Having a home of their own allowed single women to express their personal taste and dictate how their own household should be run. These women had more freedom to express themselves in the decoration of their homes. Single women who lived on their own had the opportunity to have a retreat for themselves, even if their family dictated other aspects of their life. Jane had the fortunate situation of living on her own at Wyck as her siblings entrusted her with its care and the care of its contents. Jane was financially independent as she inherited money from her father but dependent upon her siblings for a place to live as the family owned Wyck. As Jane purchased furnishings on her own, these purchases allowed Jane to define Wyck on her own terms while continuing to care for family heirlooms and the family homestead under her siblings’ guidance.
Jane spent a fair amount of her time entertaining at Wyck. She also enjoyed reading and keeping abreast of current affairs. While Jane did not keep a journal of her opinions, thoughts, and observations, her many letters reflect some of the feelings she had as a single woman, on her relationship with her family, and her health. One of these letters in which Jane expressed her emotions documented her feelings just weeks after Cousin Ann's death. Jane wrote to one of her sisters on March 23, 1869 that

... As far as companionship is concerned, I have lived alone for more than a year, have not even had any one to sit down to table with me (which is the loneliest part of living as I do) so that though it does seem strange when I lie awake at night as I often do, to think of all those empty rooms + of their former occupants. I do not feel that any stranger would lessen the feeling ... 34

Despite her status as a single woman/maiden aunt/spinster, Jane, like her parents, made a mark on Germantown society. A book entitled Germantown History: Noted Women of Germantown written in 1913 included Jane Reuben Haines as one of these women. Along with a paragraph about Jane was a photograph of Jane resting her arms on a book (Figure 5). The photograph was taken January, 1903. Perhaps to illustrate that Jane kept up on current events or read the latest novels, Jane or the photographer spread several open and closed books on what appeared to be the center table in the front parlor. The entry described Wyck with its grove and gardens along with the short biography. The author described Jane as

a semi-invalid during the latter part of her life, the result of an accident, but her friends and many relatives loved to visit her. A pleasure it was to walk in her old-time, well kept garden, or sit with her in the sunny sitting room, talking over the events and literature of the day, for she was abreast of the times as well as having a retentive memory of affairs of the past. She was most spiritually minded and wrote beautiful letters: a Quaker born, but becoming a sincere member of the Episcopal Church.35
The quote documented several important aspects of Jane’s life along with Germantown society’s perception of Jane. People in Germantown knew that Jane was an invalid for a good part of her life, yet she had many visitors at Wyck. Wyck’s well-kept gardens had a reputation for its aesthetic beauty in the neighborhood. Despite Jane’s limitations, she had a strong knowledge of current affairs and enjoyed reading. She also enjoyed discussing current affairs and the books she read with her visitors. Lastly, her conversion to Episcopalianism was a well-known fact, a conversion that those in Germantown knew Jane took seriously.

There were several aspects to Jane’s illness. The first was physical. Jane wrote to her friend Lizzie on April 27, 1859 that “Mr. Atkins stopped to see me this morn and as he and Mr. Gregory, my two spiritual advisers approve of my going [to Europe] . . .” During her trip, Jane had an accident that physically affected her back. What happened on this trip is uncertain, but the letters Jane wrote to her friends describing her physical problems seemed to be quite serious.

In several letters, Jane’s back problems left her bedridden. She wrote to Lizzie on March 6, 1860 that “I am dressed + down stairs, but sitting up amounts to lying on the sofa. about as much as I did on the bed . . . Sometimes I feel a little discouraged for if Dr. Goddard fails. I see nothing before me but to float down the stream of life on my back.” Jane expressed her fears and frustrations in this letter about the possibility that she might be bedridden for life. Just several weeks later, on March 26, Jane wrote to “My Dear Nieces”: “I believe Meta [Jane’s sister Margaret] informed you of Dr. Wister’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 . . ."39 Her condition obviously necessitated surgery on several occasions. Her accident must have been a debilitating one.

In 1863, Jane traveled to Sharon Springs, New York to spend six weeks at the water-cure baths to receive medical consultation for her health problems. As late as the 1850s, over half of Americans did not bathe regularly.40 The latter half of the nineteenth century embraced cold baths as a method for treating diseases.41 The hydropathy cure was a popular way for Americans to obtain medical treatment from mineral baths, found predominantly in upstate New York. Water-cure establishments gained popularity following health advocates’ endorsement of the baths – the first one opened in 1844 and just ten years later, sixty-two existed. But by 1870, interest had declined in this particular practice.42 At these places, physicians treated patients in specialized areas for “treatment, packing, exercise and resting.”43 Affluent Americans visited these establishments for specialized baths for the nose, head, and eye.44

While at Sharon Springs, Jane wrote several letters to one of her sisters, describing her visit at a water-cure establishment. Jane wrote on Sept. 4, 1863 that

This is the first day that I have omitted my bath merely from inclination, but the last one I took, made me feel so very weak, & increased the pain in my side so much that I resolved that I would not take another . . .45

From this comment, it seemed that the baths did not help Jane much at all as they increased, not lessened the pain she felt. Jane also expressed dread in returning to her regular physician, Dr. Wister, and hoped that the “Sharon air . . . [would] carry out its good effects.”46 Jane may not have derived many health benefits by visiting Sharon
Springs as she experienced chills, along with the pain during her visit at the baths. Jane must have believed that there would be long term benefits from the baths, probably promised to her by the doctors at Sharon Springs.

One doctor contributed the chills to rheumatic symptoms aggravated by the water and the baths. Jane's letter dated September 18, 1863, included her own diagnosis for the chills. She believed that

my old back is still the imitating cause which keeps up the intermittent.
& the reason of its being so regular all the time I was at Sharon was from the effect of the journey; & the slight improvement in the last week there was because I was beginning to get over it ...  

Jane's back problems seemed to exacerbate other health problems she had. Despite the mixed effects of the baths at Sharon Springs, Jane visited Turkish Baths in Philadelphia in 1869. She also began taking daily baths, which her doctor, Dr. Ruschenberger approved.

Not surprisingly, Jane experienced emotional moodswings during the 1850s and 1860s. Part of her depression stemmed from her physical challenges. However, another facet of this depression may have been hereditary as Jane's father suffered as a manic/depressive and may have committed suicide. Jane's Cousin Ann suffered from depression as well. Part of Jane's emotional problems may have been related to her status as a single woman. Two letters which Jane wrote in the 1850s expressed the frustration Jane felt in dealing with her mental and emotional challenges. Jane wrote in one that

I am tired, very tired, but quite well. but oh Lizzie, I am still so mentally weak. It is just this time a yr. ago that I wrote that letter which cost me such an effort ... I think the saddest part of growing old, is discovering how much misery there is in the world, my prospect seems to widen every day.
In her twenties, Jane may have been depressed that she was not yet married or perhaps she was suffering from a general depression. Jane expressed her emotional mood swings in a second letter to her friend Lizzie. Jane wrote that

I should have gone to see thee, but the first of the week was so rainy (from the clouds, + the last three days from my eyes,) that I did not think it suitable to venture out. On 4th day . . . I felt so happy, that while singing a hymn I thought to myself, "it is very unusual for me to feel as I do, some reverse must be in store for me." In a few hours the presentiment was fully verified, + I felt as if the last drop of bitterness had been added to "an o’er full cup." That eve, and for the next three days, I felt overwhelmed, but today I am thankful to say, that I have been enabled to lay my cares aside.51

Different from the previous letter, this excerpt illustrates how Jane struggled with her emotions. Other Victorian women, according to John Demos, had emotional problems as well, suffering breakdowns and forms of hysteria. Demos explains that some Victorian women suffered these symptoms in direct response to their restricted roles as mother and submissive wife.52 Virginia Chambers defined this reaction as "nervous ills" by which women, especially spinsters

. . . internalized these attitudes [emotional and physical distress at certain times of the lifecycle] and felt a sense of loss during their late thirties, as friends devoted themselves to marriage and childbearing.53

Jane’s letters excerpted here seemed to express some of the "nervous ills" of the Victorian period. Unlike many of the women who allowed their emotional state to consume their life, Jane, even with her debilitating physical problems, seemed to overcome these challenges. In the letters Jane wrote in the 1870s and later, Jane gave little attention, if any, to her health. Instead, she focused on entertaining her family, preserving her family’s heirlooms and maintaining and updating Wyck. Perhaps Jane’s domestic and

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material responsibilities gave her a sense of purpose.

The death of Jane's parents when she was so young created a need for Jane to maintain family connections and preserve family history, family heirlooms, and the family home, Wyck. Without a family and husband of her own, Jane's nieces and nephews became her surrogate family. Along with Jane's focus on the family, she acted as the curator of Wyck, caring for the collections in the interior and exterior, to the point of physically attaching objects to the home. Jane felt responsible for preserving her family's history, perhaps out of interest, or because she was the one who had the time.

Jane, along with other established Germantown families, had a pressing need to use family lineage to protect their social standing among the up and coming wealthy families in the Germantown and Philadelphia area. These new families competed for social status with families like the Haines and Chews, but could not compete with the history of living in Germantown as early as the eighteenth century, and family heirlooms which documented their heritage. In the Haines' case, the family had lived in Germantown since 1689. According to William Seale, "While the colonial revival in interior decoration became a national style, it was always taken the most seriously by upper middle-class suburban families and the minor rich . . ." These supporters connected this revival with their own personal interest in genealogy. Seale's portrayal of these people accurately described Jane Reuben Haines who viewed family genealogy as a serious matter.

While both the popularity of the Colonial Revival and the preservation of old Germantown families' social standings flourished in Jane's neighborhood, Jane also had
personal reasons for preserving her family's heirlooms. After losing her parents at such a young age and being, in some respects, the orphaned sister and later the spinster aunt, the belongings of her parents and ancestors took on a deeper meaning. These objects connected Jane to her past — a link between Jane and her parents and a link to Caspar Wistar. Without a family of her own, it appears that Wyck and its contents became Jane’s family. Wyck also became a second home to her nieces and nephews, a safe haven of sorts, as Robert Bowne Haines, Jane’s older brother, referred to it as the “old Homestead” in the “1865 Division of Furniture” (see below). Wyck functioned as a space for family gatherings and holiday festivities. Jane, while living at Wyck, assumed many roles associated with the home, including family historian, caretaker/curator of family heirlooms and aunt to her many nieces and nephews.

To her family, Jane was affectionately called “Aunt Wyck Jane.” A reproduction photo of an original daguerreotype of Jane, at eight, framed in Germantown and currently hung in the dining room at Wyck contains a label on the back which reads: “Jane R. Haines (‘Aunt Wyck Jane’), about 1840.” The frame itself appeared to have been completed around the first quarter of the twentieth century, most likely by one of her nieces or nephews who fondly remembered Jane by this nickname. The family called Jane “Aunt Wyck Jane” to make the distinction between her and Jane Bowne Haines II, her niece. This label illustrated that Jane was so closely identified with her house that the house, in a sense, defined her as “Aunt Wyck Jane.”

Jane had a strong connection to past generations, the family history with which Germantown families were so concerned. Jane, working with her brother-in-law.
Thomas Stewardson (husband of Margaret Haines), actively sought information concerning the Wistar and Haines ancestries. In one of Thomas’ letters to Jane regarding this interest of hers he wrote

\[
\ldots \text{if you are in the habit of keeping genealogical memor_a [memorabilia] the following may interest you} \ldots \text{It must be correct which is its only value, as you probably have the personal info. already. It is from a law case} \ldots \text{A.D. 1799 Johnson, Plaintiff in Error versus Haines’s Lessee} \ldots
\]

The letter included information on five generations including Caspar Wistar and later the intermarriage of Margaret with Reuben Haines. Other letters from Thomas in the 1870s addressed his findings about the Underhills, Jane’s ancestors, as well as pages of genealogy and a sketch detailing the family coat of arms. One intriguing letter from Thomas expressed interest in a Richard Haines of Burlington County, New Jersey, whom Tom queried to Jane as to whether or not Jane could “make him fit to our stock?”

Evidently, Jane involved herself quite deeply in matters of family genealogy and she and Thomas were determined to make as many connections as they could to the Wistar and Haines families.

Jane contacted potential family relations in England as well as in the United States. A letter to Jane from a C.M. Mintorn in Middlesex, England from 1905 responded to Jane’s query concerning a Richard Haines of Thombury, Gloucester. Mintorn wrote, “\ldots I was interested to hear that you knew of another form of my own name [Haynes] in the States. It is strange that there should be two connecting links between the two names, so far apart.”

Much closer to home, Jane had success in linking herself to her ancestry through the objects themselves, tangible pieces of Wistar/Haines
history. One wonders as to why did Thomas Stewardson involve himself in these ancestral ties? Did he want his children to be cognizant of their family history? Did the death of his wife in 1878 leave him with time on his hands to assist Jane in genealogy research? Unfortunately, we do not know the answers to these questions.

Jane’s two brothers, John and Robert, both lent Jane furniture while she lived at Wyck. Ironically, these were among pieces of furniture they inherited upon the division of her mother’s estate in 1843.59 Leaving the furniture at Wyck may have been Jane’s siblings’ means of leaving the furniture where it was “supposed” to be, or perhaps they did not really want it at all. Dated 1865, a list found in the Wyck Papers entitled “Division of Furniture,” detailed the furniture belonging to both brothers, and the location of each piece at Wyck at that time. John’s furniture included:

Marble top wash stand (front chamber). Large china foot tub (front chamber). High mahogany wardrobe (north room). Low mahogany wardrobe (north room). Small maple table (dining room) and two old chairs like his arm chair and formerly belonging to Margaret W. Haines. one in front entry and one in Jane Reuben Haines’ room

Robert’s list included:


A second list for Robert included much of the above along with:

Tall clock (dining room) single bed stead and bedding (middle garret) old hat stand Front garret Large chair Library Mahogany table (RBH [Robert Bowne Haines] took to his house) Soap jar in cellar Pr of brass andirons (middle room) Sofa in the back parlor bought by JRH [Jane Reuben Haines] The old mahogany chair given to me by M.W. Haines [wife of Robert Bowne Haines] (formerly belonging to her Grandmother) and the two old arm chairs which the former bought for
me in 1883, I leave to her, though not mentioned in my will. J.R. Haines
February 27, 1885.

These two lists of furniture illustrated Robert and John’s concern for Jane’s well being as
an unmarried sister living on her own. However, what would be the need for such a list?
Perhaps Jane did not want to be in the middle of relatives’ quarrels over certain pieces of
furniture. Evidently Jane wanted to be fair and have control over her house inventory
through thorough recordkeeping. At the same time, these lists illustrated Jane’s role as
caretaker of her siblings’ furniture. Her family knew Jane had both the time and the
interest to properly care for their objects. However, the loan from one brother came with
financial obligations attached. A receipt from Robert stated “Received from JR Haines
$100.(one hundred dollars) for use of furniture at the old Homestead [Wyck] belonging to
me.” Despite the family goodwill, Jane paid her brother Robert for the use of his
furniture. Maybe Jane did not want to be the coddled younger sister, and in renting
furniture from her brother, Jane had arranged a formal business deal. This way, Jane
could avoid being viewed as needy by her siblings, and instead, treated as an equal.

Family members turned to Jane to request family furniture, further strengthening
her role as caretaker of family objects. Just six years before her death in 1911, Jane
responded to a letter from her sister-in-law, Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines in regard to
furniture Jane borrowed from her siblings. Jane referred to the list of furniture she had
borrowed from Robert for $100 as well as other pieces from family members.

My dear Margaret, I have thy note, but am sorry to say that I have no
bureau not in use. Thee knows that I have paid Robert $100 for the use
of furniture which came to his share [after death of mother], during my
life. The only bureaus belonging to his share are, one small one in the
sewing room, and the very heavy one with a desk in it, in the hall chamber.
There were two small ones (making a pair) but I gave you one some years ago instead of one of these; but you want the one in the evening room, of course I can get something to take its place. The bureau that I gave William and Katherine [son and daughter-in-law of Robert Bowne Haines and Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines] was one that came to me in the division of Cousin Ann’s furniture and had belonged to her individually, never to my parents, or I should have not parted with it. There is an old circular stand that used to be in the corner of our front entry, which does not take up much room and which William might find useful to hang his coats on, that belongs to you and if you care to take it, it is ready to go.”

Not only does the passage confirm that Jane actually rented furniture from her brother Robert, but explains the business arrangement between the two. Robert made the furniture available to Jane to use during her lifetime. Evidently, Jane had no qualms about parting with furniture from Cousin Ann. This correspondence also illustrates Jane’s sentimental feelings attached to furniture previously owned by her parents. Jane’s attempts to create a connection to her parents through their furniture continued as Jane made ancestral connections with other pieces of furniture at Wyck.

Jane greatly treasured and fiercely protected a number of family heirlooms, making sure that they remained in the house. One prominent example of Jane’s vigilance as family historian involved the tall case clock (Figure 6) located in the dining room at Wyck. Made around 1740 by Edward Duffield of Philadelphia. Caspar Wistar, Jane’s ancestor who began Wistarburgh Glassworks in New Jersey, had owned the clock during his lifetime and inevitably later generations used it while they lived at Wyck. As previously mentioned in the 1865 inventory of furniture that Jane rented from her brother, Robert for fifteen dollars a 1912 inventory listed its value at one hundred dollars. In her will dated June 26, 1906, Jane noted
The old clock in the present dining room came to my brother, Robert B. Haines, at the division of the furniture after our Mother’s death, but at the time of his marriage my sister Margaret and myself bought him another clock, which he accepted in its place, and I trust that the old one may be permitted to remain where it has stood for so many years.63

Jane valued the clock not for its monetary value but because Caspar Wistar had owned it in the 1740s up to his death in 1752. Not only did the clock offer a great deal of sentimental value to the point that Jane and her sister purchased a new clock for her brother so that the old one could stay at Wyck, but Jane valued it even more than that. The last sentence Jane wrote in regard to the clock suggested, but did not describe, the effort to which Jane took in guaranteeing that the clock would remain in its appropriate place for years to come. Jane actually bolted the clock to the dining room wall so that it would take a great deal of effort and thought into removing it from its designated spot. Jane’s reason for bolting the clock to the wall may have been to make sure her sister-in-law, Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines, did not remove it from the home as she held a strong interest in family heirlooms as well. While Jane could not have control over the clock after her death, she did everything in her power to prevent it nonetheless.

Jane also enjoyed using two of the four Queen Anne walnut side chairs (Figure 7), which had also once belonged to Caspar Wistar. Possibly made in Philadelphia, the elegant chairs with their high bow shaped back, scrolled crest rail, fiddle shaped splats, and cabriole legs with shells on knees, stood out at Wyck. Jane often mixed furniture from different style periods, prominently placing Caspar’s chairs in both the front parlor (Figure 8), next to the center table, as well as in the back parlor (Figure 2), off to the right of the Norwegian sideboard. Included in the furniture loan from her brother John, Jane

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listed the chairs as "two old mahogany chairs like his arm chair, formerly belonging to Margaret Wistar Haines [Caspar's daughter]." While Jane did not bolt these chairs into place as she did with the clock, she evidently held them in high esteem, as they appeared in many of the photographs which documented room settings at Wyck in the early 1900s.

Jane treasured a smaller and more decorative heirloom from Caspar Wistar, which she often displayed on her Norwegian sideboard. Made at Wistarburgh Glassworks in lower Alloways, New Jersey between 1740-1776, the schnappshund (Figure 9), a glass vessel in the shape of a dog supposedly contained the breath of Caspar himself. Glassblowers created pieces like these, sometimes called whimsies, at the end of the day with leftover glass. Further evidence of the family's belief that the schnappshund contained Caspar's breath surfaced with a letter written to Jane in 1899 by Thomas Stewardson, her brother-in-law, asking "when the photo_r [photographer] comes, tell him to take a picture of the old glass containing the breath of your ancestral glass-blower ..." Obviously Thomas felt the object was important enough for a photographer to document it as one of the many artifacts from the family history.

Jane's interest in genealogy transferred to researching heirlooms as well. In 1872, Jane wrote to a Mr. J. H. Treadwell, a ceramics researcher, in response to his advertisement requesting information on ceramics for his upcoming book. She queried as to whether a tin-glazed earthenware plate inscribed "HWS 1659" should have a match elsewhere. Jane believed that the plate, "which has been in our family for many years but although it has the initials of our name we have no tradition or history connected with it by which we can trace its origin ..." Treadwell confirmed in his response that the plate
could be identified as “old Delft,” which may have pleased Jane in knowing that yet another object in her possession could have a history attached to it.67 Having the plate analyzed by a professional helped confirm Jane’s role as family historian, by documenting the provenance of Wyck family heirlooms. The research on specific objects may have helped Jane in justifying display space for objects without a direct family connection, like the schnappshund.

As the unmarried sibling in the family, Jane held the roles of surrogate mother and spinster aunt to her twenty-eight nieces and nephews. Jane, who had inherited considerable sums of money from her father’s estate, could afford to be generous with her assets. Numerous receipts found in the Wyck Papers documented birthday and Christmas presents Jane bought for her nieces and nephews, along with silver wedding gifts for many of them. In 1890, Jane sold the barn, located on the Wyck property behind the house, to Mantle Fielding, a Philadelphia architect and developer who turned the barn into his residence and built two houses behind it.68 As a result of the sale, Jane gave many of her nieces and nephews a cash gift of fifty dollars for Christmas 1890.69 It is not known whether or not Jane gave money to all twenty-eight of them as only thirteen thank you notes exist, representing children from three of her five siblings. Evidently, Jane referred to the gift as a “golden beam” or a “golden shingle” as many of the notes reflected those words in reference to the barn. Mary Morton Haines, daughter of Robert, wrote “My dear Aunt Jane I never knew that barns had such large and generous “shingles.” and I am sure none ever did before - Thee is entirely too generous I think to this one of thy nieces - indeed the possession of such wealth quite appalls me.”70 Jansen
Haines informed his aunt that he would "... start a house with my shingle and then look for some one to put in it!" 71 A third barn reference to Jane’s gift came from Francis Cope Haines, son of John, who thanked Jane for "thy valuable beam" and told her that he felt as if he received "... a veritable timber from the old building." 72

Not only did Jane give them the monetary gift but evidently also offered suggestions for using the money. William Warder wrote that he "... was very glad you [Jane] suggested I might invest it - for one does not like so to dispose of a present, usually." 73 The money also came in handy for Anna Aston Warder, who wrote that she thought she would put "part into a set of dining room chairs which we have been needing for some time." 74 A nephew who followed Jane’s interests, Robert Bowne Haines, Jr., suggested that in his eyes, "... as a memento of the old barn the "shingle" should be whittled into a sort of heirloom [sic] or relic not that exactly but into something that would be a permanent memento of that part of the old Wyck property. can thee suggest anything suitable?" 75 The gift functioned in part as a tangible object, a representation of an outbuilding at Wyck. While the previous thoughts expressed by Jane’s nieces and nephews exuded gratitude for the gift and ideas as to how they would spend it, one nephew expressed a sentiment which Jane may have hoped would transpire through the gift. John Haines Warder wrote that he planned to invest the money in stocks or something similar “that would yearly give us an ‘interest’ in the ‘Old Barn’ - and thus keep up in a permanent way our associations with you and Wyck ...” 76 By giving them this “shingle” or money gift as a memento which would benefit all of them after the sale of the barn, Jane succeeded in making a connection between Wyck and the generations to
come. Jane seemed to find success in transferring her ideals of preserving memories and family history to her nieces and nephews, Jane’s surrogate children.

Jane involved her nieces and nephews in her passion for family history in other ways. Passing down objects from one generation to the next characterized Jane’s intent in maintaining her nieces’ and nephews’ interest in their ancestry. Jane expressed this intent when she gave an oak tea caddy (Figure 10) to her niece, Jane Bowne Haines, as a gift for her seventeenth birthday. Jane Reuben Haines had inherited this box from her mother. Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines documented this gift in her diary in 1886 stating that “Tomorrow is Jeannie’s birthday ... her Aunt Jane Haines also presented her with a box made of a piece of one of the old Flushing Oaks, under which Geo. Fox preached to a multitude of people in the year 1672.” George Fox founded the Society of Friends, known as Quakers. The Bownes came from Flushing, Long Island so the gift then took on special significance.

Jane, in her will, designated that three unmarried nieces and nephews, Caspar Wistar Haines II, Jane Bowne Haines II, and Mary Morton Haines, all siblings, would inherit Wyck so that they, like Jane, would have a home in which to live. Jane provided for these three in the same way her siblings provided for her at Wyck. This act assured Jane that Wyck would stay in family hands, cared for by people like herself, who would have both the time and the interest to care for Wyck and its family heritage.

In one instance, Jane’s interest in sharing her wealth contradicted her preservationist philosophy. Jane’s actions angered her sister-in-law, Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines, who wrote to one of her sons that
“Aunt Jane” sent me some word some time ago that through T. Stewardson she had received an offer of $75 for a copper coin in grandfather Haines’ collection and wo’ I be willing that she should sell it for the benefit of the family - I thought she had better not - as it was increasing in value with added years - but some members of the family who do not care for relics and preferred the money urged and yesterday she asked me again if I objected to the sale - Finally I said if the family all wished to sell it, of course, I would withdraw my objection as I did not wish to block the sale - so I suppose it will go and the money $75 - will be divided into 6 parts [for Jane and four living siblings. with the sixth possibly for Thomas Stewardson] and distributed - It is a pity but cant [sic] be helped. I did not wish to make myself obnoxious by standing out.” 

Jane, usually so predictable in these matters, acted uncharacteristically in this instance.

Tensions obviously existed between Margaret and Jane as Margaret was both Jane’s sister-in-law and cousin. According to Wyck family history, the family nicknamed Margaret “Tigress of Cheltenham.” She and her husband, Robert, lived at Heidelberg, their home in Cheltenham, located just north of Philadelphia in Montgomery County.

In most instances, Jane maintained a good relationship with the family, based upon letters documenting family gatherings and events. Wyck functioned as the family meeting place and Jane hosted these events. In one instance. Jane described a visit from her brother. Robert, and his wife. Margaret, with four of their children. including baby Jane and her nurse. Jane wrote to one of her sisters on December 12, 1869 that

I found that to prepare my old maid’s habitation for an additional family of seven. (including the nurse) was more of an undertaking than I had anticipated. and I do not think I ever was so utterly used up by mere bodily exertion as I was the day they came, on the 1st of December. Cleaning out the wardrobes and bureaus seemed an interminal job... and I think almost everything in this house has passed through my hands in the last six or eight months. Then too, arranging for the children has brought back my childhood so strongly. I had to have Mother’s bed turned round as it used to stand, to accommodate the crib, which has never been in that room since I discarded it 35 years ago... However, I had
everything in order and Mary [Leavens; housemaid] and I congratulated ourselves that they did not once come into possession of much dirt...81

This letter expressed so much about Jane in such a short summary. Jane acknowledged herself as an unmarried woman at the age of thirty-seven, in this passage. characterizing Wyck not as a family home, but the domain of a single woman. Preparation for a family visit meant an overhaul of rearranging and making space for other people. Accustomed to an empty house, a visit from family forced Jane to make some major changes. Never being in good health to begin with, cleaning and preparing for the family visit from her brother Robert obviously took a toll on Jane. The passage also illustrated collaboration between Jane and her servants: in this instance, working with Mary Leavens, her housemaid.

Preoccupied with sentimentalism about her parents and her childhood, various objects triggered old memories in Jane’s mind. Rearranging her mother’s bed in the manner in which Jane remembered suggested Jane’s intent in preserving memories of her mother through the bed itself. Likewise, in rearranging the bed to accommodate the crib, which Jane stopped using at the age of two, Jane acknowledged that moving these pieces of furniture in preparation for her nieces and nephews, recalled her own childhood.

Jane recognized her marital status as an “old maid” when this large family was about to invade her home. Jane expressed the huge amount of work that went into preparing Wyck for the visit and the fact that she needed her housemaid to assist her. Jane also reminisced back to her childhood in referring to the crib, which she used from her birth in 1832 until the age of two (Figure 11). The crib appeared in Jane’s will, valued
at five dollars in the 1912 inventory. Despite Jane’s personal identification with the crib. Jacob Super made the “maple crib with slats” sometime in 1813 for eight dollars and fifty cents as accounted for in Reuben Haines’ [Jane’s father] Waste Book on December 21, 1813. With the dating of the crib, Reuben probably ordered the crib for the birth of his first child, Sarah. Jane, the ninth child to use the crib, felt that it connected her to both her parents and her childhood.

Not only did Jane host family gatherings but she also participated in her extended family’s lives by helping with projects outside of her home. Several years after her sister, Margaret, had died. Jane assisted her brother-in-law, Thomas Stewardson, in moving. Her sister-in-law, Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines, noted in a letter to a family member that

I saw Aunt Jane day before yesterday - She had just come from T. Stewardson’s house, where she had packers and furniture men to take out all the furniture and china to be stored - as the house has been sold. It was a trying task for her [Jane] and made her almost sick but it was necessary.

The family meant a great deal to Jane and she spent a great deal of time assisting Thomas with his children. In turn, Thomas helped her with her business affairs, as did his sons later in her life. She enjoyed being with the family so much that she even endured poor health while hosting a Christmas gathering in 1892. Again Margaret [V.W. Haines] wrote

This year Aunt Jane was able to have us here, though she was only barely able - for she was on her lounge upstairs the day before Xmas and the day following -and indeed for several days afterward.

Five years later. Jane hosted the family for Thanksgiving dinner as Margaret V.W. Haines described to one of her sons that on November 24th

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"we have had a pleasant visit at Aunt Jane's today where 22 of the family were assembled - our family, as usual, turned out in force (seven), Bacons (five), Stewardsons (five), Whitalls (seven), Haines (two) and Aunt Jane herself made twenty-seven - I think it was supposed to be an introduction to Mrs. Emlyn Stewardson [daughter-in-law of Thomas and Margaret] whom several present had not met."

Although quite a large crowd for one woman to host, meeting at the family homestead meant a great deal to everyone.

The family made a tradition of spending the holidays at Wyck. Not surprisingly, Jane expressed disappointment to her friend Lizzie when she had to forgo a Christmas celebration. In January 1868, just a year before Cousin Ann’s death. Jane wrote that

> It has been a quiet and not very cheerful one [season] to me, for I was obliged on Cousin Ann’s account to give up our usual family gathering at Christmas, which was sad as the breaking up of an old custom which probably may never be revived.

Hosting the holiday family gatherings meant a great deal to Jane. It evidently bothered her that the tradition had been interrupted. However, once Ann died. Jane felt a different type of sadness about the holiday season, that of loneliness and uncertainty. She wrote to one of her sisters on December 11, 1869 that

> I do not know yet what I shall do with myself at Christmas, for I do not want to be here unless I am head of the house, so think somewhat of making Lizzie Smith the visit I had promised her this winter at that time. for they do not have their family party until New Year’s. Or perhaps I may go to town [Philadelphia] to try the Turkish baths . . .

Jane, saddened by Ann’s death, did not want to be alone at Wyck, nor did she want to be at Wyck unless the whole family came for Christmas. Her tone in this letter seemed to suggest that no one in the family had planned to visit Wyck during Christmas for the second year in a row. At the same time, without family visiting or caring for Ann, Jane
had the freedom to do what she pleased. Just a year earlier, Jane’s feelings toward being alone were quite different. An earlier letter to one of her sisters in 1868 communicated Jane’s relief in having some time to herself. She wrote

> It is growing late and the household has all retired except myself. My evenings are very lonely and yet my pleasantest time, for Cousin Ann goes to bed immediately after tea and as not once in three months anybody comes in of an evening I am often down stairs alone until nearly midnight, but after that it grows eerie...

Expressing ambivalence about being both happy and sad at having time to herself, Jane must have been relieved at times that the caring she did for Ann was over for the day, and that Jane could have some quiet time. On the other hand, Jane felt lonely with no one to talk to after Ann retired to bed. Jane found herself alone just a year later when Cousin Ann died. No wonder Jane focused a great deal of her time and energy in being involved with her nieces and nephews on both a social and financial basis.

Jane also cared for others, including her nieces and nephews. In a letter to her friend Lizzie, Jane wrote that

> In the afternoon I heard that Sister Hannah [sister of Jane] was sick. and going round there found her in bed. company staying there, and things generally in confusion, so that I brought the two little girls. Lizzie and Sallie [Elizabeth Warder Bacon and Sarah Minturn Bacon] home with me. and ever since then I have been acting as a child’s nurse...

Jane transformed herself into a maternal role while caring for her nieces for a period of time. Wyck seemed to take on the atmosphere of an inviting, comfortable home for visitors, especially family. Evidence of this safe haven appeared in a letter concerning a young girl from a boarding school, away from home. Jane noted that

> ... on Seventh day I just put down the last mat, and was preparing to lie down, when I got a note from Mrs. Gardel asking if it would be convenient
to have Mary Hartshorne [family member] spend a day or two with us [Jane and Cousin Ann] as she had the measles . . . so finding yesterday that she seemed to be losing rather than gaining, I felt I could not bear the responsibility, so took her back to school." 59

Why would Jane, after dedicating herself to her nieces and nephews and hosting large family holiday gatherings, not be able to handle taking care of this girl? Perhaps Jane worried about the seriousness of the girl’s measles, or that the responsibility of directly caring for a child, foreign to Jane, put unneeded pressure on her.

Along with collecting and preserving objects, Jane also considered her garden of great importance. She spent a great deal of time preserving her mother’s rose garden, and maintaining new plants. Jane allocated a good part of her income to her gardens. Numerous account book entries document Jane’s maintenance of the garden, caring for the trees, fences and arbors at Wyck. She continued the Haines tradition of displaying potted plants on the lawn in the summer. Two gardeners worked for Jane. Leonard Christian Weaver (1866-1882) and John Nichols (1882-1897). Jane preserved the “parterre” arrangement of the garden which Jane Bowne Haines, Jane’s mother, began. She commissioned one of her nephews, John Stewardson, in 1886, an architect, to design a gardener’s cottage and hired a full-time gardener to maintain the gardens. She patronized local merchants for her garden needs from seeds to bulbs, and plants, shopping at the store of Albert Woltemate, a florist and gardener, in Germantown, along with Henry A. Dreer. Seedsmen and Florists, in Philadelphia. It appears that in one instance Jane purchased fifteen dozen flower bulbs for her garden from Dreer.92 She hired Thomas Meehan and Sons, landscape gardeners, for pruning trees and other various projects. Perhaps Jane purchased the Chinese garden seat (Figure 12) displayed in

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several photographs, both in winter and fall, from an importer of foreign goods in Philadelphia or at the Centennial Exhibition. The photograph taken in October, 1871 (Figure 13) illustrates the openness of the hall and its direct entry to the gardens. Notice that Jane positioned the garden seat next to the table, suggesting that Jane or her guests may have used the seat in good weather. While Jane may have created a contrived setting for the photographer, she may have used the setting as portrayed. The photograph taken in February, 1873 (Figure 14) illustrates how Jane brought her fruit trees and plants indoors during the winter, storing a small potted plant atop of the garden seat. The hall took on a different use in the winter, that of storage for the plants, when the furniture could not be enjoyed as it could in the warmer weather. From 1870 to her death in 1911, Jane maintained the garden, had the fence whitewashed every year, purchased seeds for planting, employed a gardener, paid someone to carry the plants outside in the spring and bring them back inside in November. Jane, a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, followed in both of her parents' footsteps. Her father, the first Corresponding Secretary of the Academy, as well as a founder of the Horticultural Society, passed on to Jane an interest in science and horticulture. Jane followed her mother's interest in managing the garden, supervising the planting and the maintaining the rose garden. In her will, Jane stipulated that Wyck "shall remain unchanged as to its external appearance." This intent Jane's descendants carried out both inside and out. Perhaps the photograph of Jane sitting in her rose garden reading a book, most likely a posed photograph. (Figure 15) illustrated the importance the rose garden held for Jane.
While Jane embraced the past, she lived her life in the present. Jane did not keep the interiors of Wyck frozen in the eighteenth century, nor did she continually change the interior look at Wyck. Instead, Jane combined both the old and the new. Magazines of the nineteenth and early twentieth century such as *Ladies Home Journal* and *Century Magazine* communicated interior decorating suggestions. Jane subscribed to both magazines, and may have relied on these sources in decorating her front parlor.

Wyck was not a showcase home, but a family home, filled with ancestral heirlooms. Jane did not need to purchase much furniture as family members kept their furniture at Wyck for her. Jane combined different furniture styles, mixing objects both old and new to make a more modern statement acknowledging her heritage along with her up-to-date taste. Although the impact of Quakerism on consumerism is not clear, probably Jane’s growing interest in purchasing material goods and decorating Wyck commenced in the 1870s, following her Cousin Ann’s death.

As Jane mixed furniture from various periods, Caspar Wistar’s [Jane’s great-great-grandfather] mid-eighteenth century Queen Anne chairs from Philadelphia figured prominently in her parlors. Jane decorated the front and rear parlors in a similar style, as seen in both photographs. Jane left the walls bare, save for a few photographs and a framed picture, which is what one would expect for the decorative restraint of a Quaker family. Most Victorian homes had many of their wall surfaces covered with pictures and framed art. The front parlor contained a mix of chairs, including a Federal style ribbon-back chair, along with one of Caspar Wistar’s Queen Anne chairs, and two Gothic style upholstered chairs. Notice that during the winter, Jane moved her Chinese porcelain garden seats, used in the hall area during nice weather, and occasionally to hold plants.
during the winter season, to the front of the fireplace, flanking each side. Jane covered the center table, the focal point of many Victorian parlors, with a patterned rug and over twenty books. From the existing books at Wyck, the photograph of Jane resting on a stack of books, and the household ledgers which contain entries for a variety of newspapers and magazines, we know that Jane read a great deal of books and kept up on current literature. Jane subscribed to *House of Industry*, the *Inquirer* (probably the *Philadelphia Inquirer* newspaper), *Tastes Home, The Nation, Living Age, Century Magazine, Atlantic Monthly, Lippincott’s, and Ladies Home Journal.*94 By examining the photographs of the front and rear parlors, we can more clearly see the interest Jane held with furniture from her ancestors, along with her interest with gradually updating Wyck’s appearance with several modern objects.

Jane purchased the center table for the front parlor, the focal point of Victorian homes (Figure 16). Probably made in the second half of the nineteenth century, it served as an often-used piece of furniture in many Victorian homes. Because it often held a lamp, as did Jane’s, the parlor was, in many homes, the brightest spot for reading and a natural gathering place. Parlors, according to Thomas J. Schlereth, functioned

... as a stage for special domestic events ... as the repository of a family’s treasured possessions, and as the exhibit space in which the lady of the house demonstrated her (and, by association, her family’s) artistic and cultural refinement.95

Jane displayed her most prized family heirlooms, including Caspar Wistar’s eighteenth century chairs, in the front parlor. By displaying a stack of books on the center table, Jane may have been illustrating her knowledge of current literature of the nineteenth century, and therefore demonstrating her cultured background. Katherine C. Grier, in her book,
Culture & Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery 1850-1930, devotes a whole chapter to parlor furnishings, specifically on the importance of the center table and the draping that often covered it. A common covering for tables, “Turkey work,” according to Grier, illustrated the homeowner’s wealth. Like other Victorian homes, Jane covered the table with a “Turkish embroidered tablecloth for which I [Jane] paid $75.00 about 1850.” This was quite a sum of money in 1850 to spend on a tablecloth, but obviously Jane felt it important enough to cover her table with something decorative and tasteful. Women covered objects in their parlors with different fabrics for both decorative and protective purposes. According to Harvey Green, “Parlors reflected the family’s wealth, dignity and cultural development. They also symbolized both the closeness of the family group and its social communion with friends.” Since Jane documented in letters to friends her annual family Christmas gathering at Wyck, along with the fact she spent a great deal of her life at home. Jane must have used her front parlor quite often to entertain family and friends.

Another piece of furniture that Jane used in her front parlor she received as a hand-me-down from her Cousin Ann. A Chinese lacquer table, to which Jane attached a Japanese mirror, combined both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century furniture along with mixing international styles (Figure 17). Made circa 1815. Jane stated in her 1910 will that Ann bought the Chinese writing table “... about 1838 when the Chinese museum was established in Philadelphia by N. [Nathan] Dunn.” Jane also noted in her will that she displayed the writing table in her front parlor, where it still stands today at Wyck (Figure 6). Unfortunately, Jane did not note when she added the Japanese mirror to the
Chinese writing desk. Jane may have purchased the mirror during the Centennial Exhibition or purchased it from Tyndale and Mitchell Company of 1217 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Advertising as “Importers of China, Glass and Earthenware, they later advertised in 1881 that among other things they sold “Chinese and Japanese Goods.”

The Centennial influenced many Americans to commence buying international decorative arts objects, and encouraged merchants to sell them.

Jane purchased new objects for her home and left a record of these purchases in her private account ledgers and receipts from stores. Jane recorded years of shopping in both Germantown and Philadelphia from the 1870s until her death in 1911. Being the careful recordkeeper that she was, Jane noted on the reverse side of the majority of the receipts to whom Jane gave a gift or for which room at Wyck Jane purchased the item. Jane noted if she purchased a wedding present, birthday, or Christmas gift.

In 1881, Jane’s name appeared in the Philadelphia Blue Book, a precursor to today’s telephone directory, among a list of the twenty thousand most socially prominent families in Philadelphia. The Blue Books listed Jane’s name every year from at least the 1881-82 edition to her death in 1911. Jane owned at least two issues of the book: volumes from 1881 and 1899 still remain at Wyck. Thomas Stewardson, Jane’s brother-in-law, also owned two of them, and donated his copies from 1884-85 and 1896-97 to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Knowing that Thomas assisted Jane in purchasing objects for Wyck, he, along with Jane, may have been influenced in his decisions by the advertising in the Blue Books.
On the other hand, Jane may not have had the social connections to be included in the *Social Register*, unlike several of her siblings and their families. One reason Jane may have been excluded during the late nineteenth century was that the *Social Register* did not include single women. For several years, the *Register* did not include some of Jane’s unmarried nieces while it listed their parents and brothers. Their later inclusion as a married woman correlated with the already established social standing of their parents, along with their change in marital status. Perhaps the death of her parents forty or fifty years prior to this change in inclusion, along with the fact that Jane remained single, contributed to Jane’s exclusion from the *Social Register*.

*Boyd’s Blue Book*, otherwise known as “*The Elite Private Address Directory and Ladies’ Visiting and Shopping Guide*” offered a whole section on endorsed Philadelphia retailers. The 1884-85 edition stated that “We would respectfully recommend our lady patron to consult the Shopping guide before making their purchases, as the houses herein contained are superior in their respective lines.” While this statement confirmed that women functioned as the primary shopper in the family, men could utilize an address guide as well. Perhaps appealing to the advertisers or to the consumers wishing to maintain their social status, *Boyd’s Blue Book* also acted as a helpful tool. The 1883-84 edition stated in its preface to the shopping section that

> the Philadelphia Blue Book as an Advertising Medium, is considered to be Unequalled for those desiring to reach the Upper Circle of Society. Being a parlor ornament, its circulation is not confined to one family, for it is seen and read by ALL THEIR VISITORS. IT CIRCULATES among those WHO CAN AFFORD TO BUY what they see advertised. If the article is NEW AND USEFUL, they are a CLASS who want it; or, if it is an IMPROVEMENT or something they have, they are able to discard the old article and buy the new.”

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Jane Haines could and did afford to buy what they saw advertised, however, she did not usually discard the old and buy the new, as seen by the majority of her furnishings, passed down from earlier generations. However, this advertisement probably succeeded in convincing many consumers, predominantly women, the importance of buying the latest in decorative taste to maintain their social status.

The *Blue Book* may have influenced Jane to “buy what they see” as a result of a half page advertisement for the Hale and Kilburn Manufacturing Company in Philadelphia in the 1887-88 edition. According to its advertisement, the firm specialized as “extensive makers of fine furniture and decorative upholstery; artistic designs; durable work; elegant finish; and reasonable prices located at 48 & 50 North Sixth Street.” The advertisement (Figure 18) illustrated three furniture forms - on the left, a closed folding bed; on the right, another folding bed, also closed; and in the center, a “wash stand.” That same year Jane purchased a cherry washstand for forty dollars for her niece, Mary Morton Haines (Figure 19). Typical of Jane’s careful receipt notations, the back of the receipt read: “furnishing M.M.’s bed - room.” Perhaps the washstand illustrated in Hale and Kilburn’s advertisement helped Jane to decide she should purchase a washstand at their establishment. While we do not know whether the washstand illustrated matched the one Jane purchased for her niece, Mary; quite possibly the advertisement influenced Jane.

Jane patronized numerous establishments in Germantown as well. Only one out of twenty-four merchants Jane used in Germantown (those merchants for which Jane kept her receipts) were advertised in the *Blue Book*. In contrast, sixteen out of twenty-four
merchants whom Jane frequented in Philadelphia, approximately two-thirds, advertised their stores in the book. A pattern appeared in the types of services that she patronized in Germantown and Philadelphia. All of her upholstery and redecorating, (done by S. Harry Ladley) along with paper hanging, excavation, carpet cleaning, furnace work, plumbing, tin and sheet iron, carpentry, teamster/stable, dry cleaning, roofing, florist and apothecary Jane purchased from or used the services of merchants in Germantown. Jane visited Philadelphia for carpet purchases, dry goods, silver, furniture, antiques, jewelry, china, furs, stationery, books, watches, banking, investments, her lawyer and broker. Germantown did have similar stores but those stores with a stronger reputation and a more upscale inventory were located in Philadelphia. Wealthy families from outlying areas shopped “in town” in Philadelphia for special items. In examining these lists, we see that the more stylish and expensive objects Jane purchased in Philadelphia, despite the fact that she lived in Germantown. Jane must have felt that these types of objects were worth a trip to Philadelphia while the more practical and day-to-day objects Jane purchased from those whom she knew in Germantown.107

The draw of Philadelphia for more “luxury” goods may have been due to the changes in shopping in the nineteenth century with the emergence of department stores, including the 1876 debut of Wanamaker’s in Philadelphia. Glass counters, stools for shoppers to rest and view the contents of the glass counter displays, and the presence of electric lights all added to the success of the new department stores.108 Department stores drew women from all over Philadelphia along with people like Jane Reuben Haines from Germantown. Department stores glamorized this new type of consumerism and made an
event out of shopping “in town” for items other than necessities.

Unfortunately, no records exist to document Jane’s opinions of nineteenth-century fashions or the quality of the objects that she purchased. The fact that she utilized the services of S. Harry Ladley over a ten-year period and continued to purchase sterling silver wedding gifts from either J.E. Caldwell and Company or Wilson & Son Silversmiths seemed to indicate her satisfaction as a customer. Ellen Rosenthal, in her master’s thesis, suggested that Jane may not have done much shopping on her own. Due to Jane’s lack of mobility at times, and the appearance of receipts for goods purchased by nephews and in-laws, Rosenthal theorized that Jane might have depended on them to shop for her. Whether or not Jane shopped on her own at times, she would never have to bring her purchases home with her. Shoppers received their packages delivered in horse-drawn wagons or sent by parcel post. Merchants delivered merchandise the next day in distinctive paneled trucks with their store names on the sides. However, the fact that receipts do exist for Jane’s purchases illustrate her tastes at the time.

In the 1881-82 Blue Book, merchants which Jane patronized included Tyndale and Mitchell, Wm. Wilson and Son Silversmiths, John Orme, a carpet dealer, and Sheppard, Arrison, and Sheppard, a fabrics dealer. In the 1883-84 version, J.E. Caldwell, Ferdinand Keller, and Hale & Kilburn appeared among the merchant listings.

The majority of the receipts for tableware were wedding gifts for family members, specifically nieces and nephews. Jane patronized William Wilson and Son Silversmiths in Philadelphia in Feb. 1882 purchased a wedding gift for M.H. Bacon, niece married the previous Oct. Purchased: “2 dozen sterling silver teaspoons. 2 dozen
sterling silver dessert spoons, 1 dozen sterling silver tablespoons for a total of
S168.00."\textsuperscript{111} She also purchased a similar wedding gift in June 1887 of sterling
silverware from J.E. Caldwell in Philadelphia as well, a wedding gift for a niece, J.H.
(Jane Haines) Bacon.\textsuperscript{112}

Several receipts exist for decorative pieces Jane bought for herself. Jane also
bought fabric for clothing and redecorating her home, buying an occasional piece of
furniture. In March, 1891, she purchased from Tyndale and Mitchell a decorative China
tea set, along with a dozen cups and saucers, tea plates, sauce plates, butter plates, a
pitcher and a bowl with other miscellaneous pieces for thirty-three dollars and seventy-
five cents.\textsuperscript{113} With all of the entertaining Jane did at Wyck, Jane must have needed a new
set. She also may have wanted the latest in design, replacing what she had earlier used at
Wyck or what her Cousin Ann had chosen to use during Jane’s younger days. A second
ceramic set that Jane purchased for herself came from Wright, Tyndale & Van Roden.
Like so many other merchants, this store used sumptuous graphics in its receipt.
Specialists in “Porcelain, Pottery & Glass.” they also sold china “decorated to order in
any color or design.”\textsuperscript{114} Jane purchased a chamber set in yellow from them on March 3.
1893 for fourteen dollars. On the reverse of the receipt, Jane noted that she purchased
this chamber set for the “Hall Chamber” A third decorative object that Jane purchased
from a Philadelphia merchant came from Ferdinand Keller. His receipt, even more
decorative than the previous one, had two empty suits of armor flanked by the variety of
objects on view. Keller stated on his receipt that he was a “Importer and Dealer in
Foreign and Domestic Antiques” along with furniture, “china, silver delft and BRIC-A-
Perhaps the pair of brass candelabra that Jane purchased for twenty-five dollars fit into the latter category.

While both the Centennial and the Colonial Revival influenced Jane in purchasing the sideboard and preserving her family heirlooms, Jane also patronized many well-established and socially-approved contemporary businesses in both Germantown and Philadelphia.

Nineteenth century society charged women with the responsibility to care for their husbands, children, and their home. Without a clean, welcoming atmosphere, the Victorian home could not suffice as a social gathering place, a safe haven for the children, and a strong, moral environment. The condition of one’s home indicated how well one cared for her family. Society expected women, especially upper class women, to be well read and well versed in how a home should be decorated and maintained. Housekeeping in the nineteenth century entailed cooking, baking two to three days a week, cleaning every day, laundry once or twice a week, and sewing. Most women canned vegetables and fruits for the winter months, and butchering livestock took place in both urban and rural families.

Housekeeping guides proliferated in the nineteenth century. Several women writers attempted to instruct and guide women in maintaining the interiors of their homes. In caring for their homes, these women were, in turn, caring for their families. Along with Catherine Beecher, a well-known author of household prescriptive literature. Eliza Leslie also wrote on this subject. Her guide, The House Book: Or, A Manual of Domestic Economy For Town and Country written in 1841 covered such topics as laundry,
housecleaning, running a kitchen, lighting and fires. Prescriptive literature of the period defined the domestic responsibilities for women and made clear-cut directions as to how one should clean during each season, how to clean specific areas of the home, and proper procedure or method for these areas. While Jane may or may not have followed Eliza Leslie's suggestions, Jane did follow certain patterns of housekeeping, many of which Leslie enumerated in her book. Perhaps Jane followed housekeeping advice from Mrs. Mary Virginia Hawes Terhune's guide, *Housekeeping and Home-making*, published in 1883, and included in Jane's library at Wyck. Either way, prescriptive literature was not always an accurate gauge of how women actually cleaned their homes.

Jane, along with other women in nineteenth-century households, took part in spring and fall housecleaning. The two established housecleaning and seasonal changeovers took place in spring (April/May) and fall (September/October). Women faced a variety of challenges in keeping a house clean. Lamp soot, along with fire soot, coal dust, ash, mud, manure and other outdoor dirt permeated the home, creating a necessity for spring and fall housecleaning. Beating rugs was necessary to get rid of dust as was dusting all of the decorative objects usually found in a Victorian home. One task that we take for granted today, maintaining light in the home, consumed a great deal of time in the nineteenth century. Women had to take care of "... daily chimney wiping and wick trimming, weekly washing of chimneys and shades, and periodic rewicking." Ignoring those duties would limit the amount of the light in one's home. Women also had to haul buckets of water inside for cooking and bathing.

Having two parlors, a hall, a dining room, a kitchen and three bedrooms at Wyck...
necessitated a great deal of attention to the floor and window treatments for each room. While we cannot ascertain if Jane followed a housekeeping schedule suggested by prescriptive literature of the day, the receipts that exist document this type of schedule. The receipts pertain to carpets, matting, curtains, and labor costs for seasonal changes, spanning the period from the 1870s up until Jane’s death in 1911. Evidently, in maintaining the interiors of Wyck year after year, Jane made this task a priority in her life. She may have changed textiles along with rearranging furniture. Eliza Leslie described the housecleaning routine as follows: “... the usual custom in America is to have the house completely cleaned from top to bottom twice a year: late in the spring and early in the autumn.”

Spring cleaning entailed removing carpets, cleaning curtains, washing windows and floors, cleaning out cabinets and the furnace, removing the winter stove, and painting the house and fences. In the place of carpets, it was common to have matting — woven grass mats, on the floors (See Figure 13). One receipt in Jane’s files documents this spring cleaning of the carpet. Jane used the services of F.H. Good, owner of Germantown Carpet Cleaning Works, on May 13, 1886 to “Cleaning, Taking up, and Laying 65 yards Carpet” for the sum of $2.60. A cheap investment in light of the price paid for the carpet itself, cleaning a carpet and putting them away in storage for the summer offered Jane the opportunity to give Wyck a seasonal look along with prolonging the life of her carpets. Many steps were involved in storing one’s carpets; cleaning and proper storage both extended their wear. It was necessary to beat and shake the rugs, folding and wrapping them in sheets and camphor to prevent moth damage.
Spring cleaning also refreshed the home, allowing inhabitants to look forward to spring, and offering an opportunity to expand one’s living space. Jane expanded her living space with the sunroom, opening the wide doors onto the front lawn and onto the rear rose garden. Jane’s sunroom gave her additional light in the winter when people usually retreated into smaller, darker, warmer places. Jane moved her plants at these times as well, based on period photographs and receipts documenting labor costs for moving her plants indoors and outdoors in November and May for a price varying between seventy-five cents and a dollar. The hall glass-paned pocket doors allowed lots of light to enter the space. In the spring and summer Jane could open windows and doors out onto the garden at Wyck. With the plants inside in the winter, the hall resembled a conservatory. In the 1880s and 1890s, Jane purchased bulbs from Henry Dreer in Germantown every October. She also purchased seeds in the spring.

Jane utilized the services of S. Harry Ladley, a general upholsterer located in Germantown for many of her semi-annual projects. Ladley’s business, located at No. 88 East Haines Street in Germantown, included “Carpets taken up cleaned and re-laid. etc. / Mattresses made over / Window shades / Furniture re-upholstered.” Receipts that exist from Ladley’s work at Wyck span from the 1894 to 1911. In these receipts, services were completed by Ladley over several months. Jane used Ladley’s services to lay matting in the summer and carpets in the fall. Jane did not write about her working relationship with Ladley, however seventeen years of hiring Ladley for projects at Wyck reveal either Jane’s satisfaction with Ladley’s work or her unwillingness to risk using a different firm.
Spring and fall housecleaning also necessitated extra servants. On June 14, 1877, Jane entered charges for housecleaning for six dollars—three times the cost of employing a housemaid for a week at Wyck. Joanna Leavens, the daughter who substituted for her mother whom Jane characterized as "no worker" most likely could not do all of the housecleaning on her own. During this same month, Jane listed "Painters bill $27.75" and, in July, "Furniture Covers $18.06." Faye Dudden characterized the late nineteenth-century practice of hiring extra dayworkers for the seasonal cleaning as being "... maintained if not expanded for these households indulged in more elaborate interiors and upheld higher standards of Cleanliness." Dudden quoted Leslie’s housekeeping manual on the same subject: "Besides the assistance of your own domestics, you will find it necessary to employ at least three other persons: a whitewasher, a scrubber, and a man to take charge of the carpets." Jane’s records did not reflect hiring the first two people but, as mentioned in the previous section, she did have the carpets cleaned.

Jane also became quite involved in working on keeping Wyck clean. despite the fact she had servants. Jane wrote to her friends complaining on several occasions about the amount of housework at Wyck, insinuating that she completed it herself, whereas most likely she had directed servants to do it. Jane’s friend Lizzie learned about Jane’s cleaning projects at Wyck. In one undated letter to Lizzie, Jane described the cleaning project as well as how much energy she needed to complete the job:

Ever since last 4th day I have been doing to the extent of my strength, and to day there being no further call for my exertions I feel utterly weak, but if I am able, to. must go to town this afternoon. Three days last week I was cleaning house which with inefficient help, is no trifle in our old house."
Despite the fact Jane employed servants, they either were not doing their job or in
Jane's eyes, were not achieving Jane's standards for cleanliness.

On May 3, 1867, Jane apologized for not seeing Lizzie as she was "... in the
agony of housecleaning, and so tired, that as soon as I had seen my carpets safely stored
away, I went to bed at five o'clock in the afternoon and did not get up until after
breakfast this morning."\(^{135}\) It was appropriate that Jane was cleaning house this May day,
spring being the suggested time to do this sort of seasonal work. It is notable that she put
the housecleaning as a priority over seeing her friend.

In the receipt for July 1, 1899 for work completed at Wyck. S. Harry Ladley had
spent the last six months repairing various window coverings around the house. Ladley,
more importantly, in May, during the spring changeover, did a great deal of work on floor
treatments for Wyck. On May 3, 1899, his firm completed the following:

Laying matting on Small Bedroom, Sewing Room; laying Linen on Spare
Room; laying Matting on Bath Room; 60 yards of Carpet cleaned; Fitting,
Sewing and Laying necc. and Matting on Parlor, Conservatory - 92 yds at
5cts yd. = 4.60; 92 yds of matting at 40 cts yd. = 36.80; 30 yds. of Binding
sewed on at 8 ct. yd. = 2.40. On May twenty-ninth, Sewing 9 yds. Of
Binding on Strip for Dining Room, 50 yds. carpet cleaned 2 cts. yd. = 1.00.\(^{136}\)

Ladley's work during these visits cost Jane a total of $51.50 for this spring visit. This
receipt illustrates the breadth of work involved as Ladley installed matting in many
rooms of the house in preparation for the summer. Grass matting was the cheapest form
of floor covering and popular during the summer. The binding, as referred to in the bill
above. may have referred to a common practice of using the mats over wall-to-wall
carpet. by sewing the mats together, and binding the edges with decorative tape.\(^{137}\)
However, since the bill does not detail how the mats were laid, they could have been the
only floor covering and tacked to the floors. Popular throughout the 19th century, the cost of matting greatly ranged in price per yard.\textsuperscript{138} As seen in the above bill, Jane spent only 5 cents a yard on one portion of the matting along with 40 cents a yard on another. Perhaps the more expensive one was for the parlor, or for more substantial matting for the conservatory where there would be more entertaining and wear during the warm months. Before the matting could be laid down, the carpets needed to be removed. Before buildings were air conditioned, it was necessary to rid rooms of extra heat and carpets were one of the prime sources. Not only did carpets retain heat but also, according to Eliza Leslie, they were "... uncomfortable to the feet when the shoes and stockings are off, and causes an accumulation of dust which seldom fails to produce insects."\textsuperscript{139} These additional reasons may have been convincing arguments for nineteenth-century consumers to use matting in their homes. Cost was another consideration.

There are several occasions during the fall Jane occupied herself with house cleaning. Fall housekeeping took place usually between mid-October and mid-December. Similar cleaning to the spring schedule took place in the fall along with replacing carpets, bringing out winter clothes, preparing the stove and obtaining stove supplies for the winter.\textsuperscript{140} An October 26th letter Jane wrote to Lizzie sometime in the 1870s noted that "... all last week I was so occupied with housecleaning that I was busy all day and by evening too tired even to think."\textsuperscript{141}

The work Ladley completed between September to December 1894 consisted of the fall season changeover. Ladley laid the existing carpet in both the front chamber and parlor for $1.00 and $1.25 respectively in September.\textsuperscript{142} Jane followed advice Eliza
Leslie offered - “it [matting] should be taken up and replaced with the carpets before the middle of September.” Perhaps due to the size of Jane’s home or the project entailed in doing alterations and replacement work to Jane’s carpets, the carpet installation extended into November. In October Jane kept Ladley busy with “laying carpet on small chamber and sewing room, refitting and laying carpet on bathroom, altering part carpet for dinning [sic] room and laying the same, laying carpet for back stairs. 68 yds of new carpet fitted sewing and laying with border and 48 yds carpet lining 10c per yd.” In November, Ladley “refitted oil-cloth in front hall, laying conservatory carpet” as well as doing re-upholstery work into December on an armchair and four wall chairs in the parlor. Jane purchased new carpet for the back parlor from McCallum and McCallum. Importers and Retailers of Carpetings on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia. She purchased Brussels carpet, border and stair carpet on October 24, 1893.

A receipt from Ladley on December 5, 1896 documented a similar fall changeover. However this time Jane purchased carpeting directly from Ladley instead of another retailer. Between September 23-30th Jane purchased 86 yards of “Best Body Brussels” carpet and carpet padding from Ladley. In October, Ladley re-laid carpets throughout the rooms at Wyck. Ladley had his hands full with work requests from Jane who continued to revamp Wyck time and time again.

Instances in which Jane redecorated during the fall/winter season consisted of redoing either carpets or curtains. Jane purchased Brussels and Borace carpets from John F. Orne’s Carpet Warehouse in Philadelphia on September 24, 1880. The total cost for 50 3/8 yards of Brussels at $1.90 per yard, 28 1/4 yards of Borace at $1.50 per yard and
another 6 yards of Brussels at the same price was $147.09 which she noted on the back of the bill designated the costs for the “Back-parlor carpet.” This costly sum for carpeting reflects the high price for current fashions.

Jane purchased new curtains from Sheppard, Arrison, and Sheppard of 1008 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia who sold “Upholstered Goods, Curtain materials, lace curtains, linens, White Goods. Ladies Underwear & Embroideries also blankets, muslins and flannels, housekeeping dry goods.” Jane purchased yards of cretonne, silesia, fringe, and more silesia for “number curtains for front chamber” on December 1, 1882. Also included on the bill was an entry for “Gosline’s bill for curtains” in Jane’s handwriting. The cost for Gosline to make the curtains, $10.00, was more than half the cost of the curtain material which cost Jane $14.53.

A third example from eight years later, in 1890, documented curtains purchased for the front parlor. On December 17th. Jane used the local firm in Germantown of Wilson Woods and Bros. General Upholsterers, located at 4769 Main Street, who specialized in “Hair and Spring Mattrasses [sic] Carpets Made and Laid. New Steam Carpet Cleaning Works.” Jane purchased thirty-six yards each of silesia and “c.flannel” [cotton flannel] for the “Front-parlor curtains.” Jane kept the interiors at Wyck updated and gave the rooms a new look by taking advantage of installing new textiles – carpet, rugs, curtains, and matting during the spring and fall housecleaning.

Years earlier, Jane described an indoor project at Wyck of a different nature. She wrote to “Nannie” on April 25, 1865 that

... just now I have undertaken a troublesome affair in having the water pipes taken into the West-chamber for bath &c. Last fall I resolved that if Abraham
Lincoln was reelected I would have it done this spring, and although I felt but little inclined for such an undertaking, I have been so much of an invalid for the last two months, that I have felt the need of it more than ever. It will involve the taking up of the kitchen floor and the giving up of the range for several days, so that I persuaded Cousin Ann to go to Robert’s [Jane’s brother], last 5th day to stay for a month or so, until we get settled again, for I could not do it if she was here, and I hope to be able to get through the house cleaning whilst she is away.”\textsuperscript{151}

While Jane would not have done the plumbing work herself, it appeared from this letter that Jane was involved with the planning and direction of the project. Most likely she supervised the work, which would inevitably have helped her maintain control over the household, despite the turmoil which resulted from the project. Jane’s involvement with a project of this scale was probably unusual for a woman during this time, but her comments illustrate her perseverance in getting tasks accomplished at Wyck. Not only did this project displace Jane’s cousin, but it also prevented Jane’s cook from using the stove for several days. Lastly, the project gave Jane an opportunity to do substantial housecleaning while Ann was out of the house and out of the way. By updating Wyck with plumbing Jane brought Wyck into a more modern age.

Along with this initiative, three decades later Jane advanced sanitary conditions at Wyck with the introduction of toilets. Two receipts from John Armstrong, Plumbing, Gas and Steam Fitting located at 5069 Main Street in Germantown, from 1894 and 1910 illustrate the differences in toilets in their receipts, along with the projects Jane had completed. The receipt for work completed October 6, 1894, billed Nov. 14, is for a galvanized iron boiler along with a variety of lead and brass pipes, and a brass spigot. The toilet illustrated in this receipt appeared characteristically Victorian with ornate detail around the seat and on the surface of the tank.\textsuperscript{152} The receipt for work completed
April 27, 1910, but billed May 13th, details an actual purchase of a toilet: “1 Vitreous China syphon water closet, 1 Vitreous china low tank” for a total of $24.00. plus “1 White pyralin seat and lid, brass floor flang and bolts. 20 ft. 4 in. Iron pipe, 1 Sanitary tee fitting . . .” along with other items needed for this installation. Just sixteen years later the style of toilets changed. The Victorian style toilet in 1894 with its ornate features, disappeared by the first decade of the twentieth century, appearing to be more streamlined and similar to today’s toilets. By 1910 Armstrong’s moved his business to 6021 Main Street, below Walnut Lane, very close to Wyck. The project took two days to complete as noted on the receipt and the total bill for this project cost Jane $67.91.

What do the receipts from Armstrong tell us? They explain that despite Jane’s interest in preserving Wyck’s structure and contents, she had an interest in modernizing personal hygiene and plumbing by allowing for the convenience of indoor plumbing. During the mid-nineteenth century, developments arose in urban and rural areas in installing water pipes in the streets. Changes in public opinion towards plumbing stemmed from an interest in health reform, hydropathy (water cures), better sources of water, and better technology. Some people adopted health regimens of bathing back after visiting water cure establishments. In turn, water cures created a demand for plumbing. Investing in technological innovations for the household such as modern plumbing was not popular in the first half of the nineteenth century. By the middle to late nineteenth century, people viewed plumbing as a necessity. Maureen Ogle states that “housekeeping manuals and many periodicals began devoting space to the subject of plumbing” as the 1840s and 1850s saw public health reform emerge as a concern.
Indoor plumbing was an offshoot of this interest, especially with the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in the 1790s. Benjamin Latrobe designed waterworks in Philadelphia in 1801 that utilized steam pumps, wooden pipes & street hydrants, showcasing new technology.

Jane was probably at the forefront of indoor plumbing in her neighborhood, installing pipes in 1865 for a bath. Just two years earlier she had spent at least a month at Sharon Springs, NY for the curative hydropathy baths. It would not be surprising if her visits to New York precipitated, in some degree, the plumbing installation at Wyck. As Ogle states in her article on *American Household Plumbing*:

> Hydropathy, for example, was a medical treatment based on the curative powers of water that first gained American popularity in the 1840s. Some adherents probably adopted running water and water fixtures in their homes as part of their regimen; however, it is unlikely that every plumbing user was also an adherent of hydropathy, so this health fad cannot account for the popularity of plumbing. Nonetheless hydropathy’s popularity provides important insights into the nature of midcentury society, insights that in turn help explain the appearance of plumbing.

While comparisons to Jane’s neighbors in terms of installing plumbing are not known, it appears that Jane kept abreast of current technological advances, turning to local businesses to install these conveniences. While completing all of these home improvement projects, Jane kept detailed records of her expenditures in private account books and by keeping her receipts.

In order to continue to allocate money for home improvement projects, Jane had to keep track of her finances. Along with managing the household, Jane managed her business affairs, with the assistance of her brother-in-law, Thomas Stewardson. Jane did not have a husband to manage her business affairs so she had more control and
knowledge of them. She needed to be aware of estate information, real estate dealings
and investments. Tom acted as her financial advisor and also as an intermediary for those
businessmen who were not comfortable conducting business with women. In a letter to
Jane dated July 26, 1888, Tom wrote:

My dear Jane, The enclosed, from Bockius, you need not return. Before
agreeing to sell, we ought (I think) to try whether we could move an
advantageous exchange of their lot (cor. Cedar Lane) with the Catholics,
in order to get a frontage on Cedar Lane. But if this be found quite
impracticable, then according to the best judgment I can form, it would be
wise to sell, especially for cash, as we shall need funds for opening of
street, paving, curbing, surveying, conveyancing, and the partition.159

Obviously Jane had some control over all of these decisions. Interestingly, the
relationship between family members appears in another letter to Jane from Tom just a
month later. He writes on Aug. 3

I am now quite satisfied that we ought to sell - The present bidder is the only
one, and I do not know of another person who wants the lot. If we lose this
chance, we doubtless lose the sale, at least for a long time - we shall need the
money - It is unfortunate that the consent of every one of the family must be
had for every move of this sort - why will they not give a power of attorney
to somebody!160

Three days later, on Aug. 6th. Tom writes again, detailing the family involvement in the
process, suggesting that Jane has some swaying power in the matter:

I understand that five of us are willing to sell the Chelten Ave. lot at $1.80
[a foot] and as you think that Sister E. [Elizabeth Bowne Warder] will
undoubtedly agree, I propose to go ahead. [5 inc. John, Hannah, Robert,
Margaret [TS' wife], and Jane]. As Robert’s consent, however is evidently
a reluctant one. I should feel obliged if you would, where opportunity offers
(as I do not know his address) say a word that may help to ______ his
objections. He does not want to “depreciated the value of the property” in
that neighborhood, nor do I. But this is the only offer ever received for the
lot. There is no competition for property in the vicinity...Every sale that we
can make is a partition, as far as it goes, on a basis the equality of which
cannot be impeached... It seems to me to be a very great advantage to our

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remaining property to have an owner of some means, living in his own house, whose property will join that of the Catholics as well as our own, and whose interest will always be identical with ours, in preventing inquiry by the favorable disposition of the Church power . . . 161

This letter related to the lawsuit Thomas Stewardson brought against his in-laws over his one-sixth share of the Haines estate. The lots were eventually divided up evenly with the understanding among the siblings that Jane would receive the lots that contained Wyck, the coach house, and the barn. If Jane did not receive these lots, they would trade with her to assure that she had a place to live for the remaining years of her life. Attesting to Jane’s involvement in her business dealings was documented in a letter to Jane also written by Tom. On June 7, 1893, he wrote

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. Moreover you have a local importance in Germantown, like a town pump. - I don’t see why a town pump should have importance after it has ceased to work . . . Nevertheless it is my intention to call upon Mellor. not in any conceit that this could fortify your position, but to satisfy your old world prejudice . . . in favor of the potency of masculine interference in matters of business. 162

While Jane was an independent woman, she obviously still preferred that men handle business affairs, not women. Letters from the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives & Granting Annuities [Trust and Safe Deposit Company] of Philadelphia, written to Jane in the early 1900s detailed her investments. One letter, dated October 21, 1902 read

Dear Madam Your favor of the 20th instant received. Accept our thanks for the Power of Attorney which we will use in collecting the principal of your West End Bonds. We would suggest for the investment of your $2000.00 . . . [listing of three different things] . . . On Oct. 2nd we received for your . . .
account 6 months interest on $2000.- Philadelphia Electric 5's = $50.00.
Kindly advise us if you desire us to continue to collect the interest on
these bonds. Yours truly, Jarvis Mason Trust Officer.  

A later letter from the same company, written by the vice president, dated Aug. 11. 1911, just before Jane died stated the following:

It is a matter of very sincere regret to us that after your long and valued patronage you should feel any cause for annoyance or lack of confidence. The mistakes which have occurred in your account ought not to have occurred and I assure you we will do everything in our power to save you from any annoyance in the future. Would it not be convenient for you to have a list of your securities, showing the interest periods so that you may know exactly what to expect when you write for your income, or, perhaps, it might be well to fix upon a quarterly period or some other regular time for remitting the income and with each remittance we would send you a statement of the collection which have been made.” Thos. Gates. V.P.  

A later letter written to Jane just four days later confirmed that the Pennsylvania Company was “glad to learn that you approve of our suggestion that the balance of income be sent to you at regular intervals.” Jane’s self-sufficiency is illustrated here in that the Pennsylvania Trust company solicited Jane’s opinion about her accounts and about buying new bonds. These letters document a great deal of financial interest Jane holds with her own affairs. Despite the fact that she has financial advice from relatives, it is significant that during the nineteenth century a woman, let alone a single woman could have such a hold on her financial future and be so involved with her estate.

With all of the house maintenance and redecorating projects Jane supervised, she also needed the assistance of servants to run Wyck. Jane managed many servants including two gardeners, twenty cooks and thirty-nine housemaids over the forty-two year span during which Jane kept her servants log. Entitled the Account Book of Wages, Jane kept a ledger from four years prior to Cousin Ann’s death to four years before her
own death, from 1865-1907. Jane recorded not only who worked for her but how long they worked, their wages, and upon their departure. Jane's candid comments about their performance and personalities. Jane divided this book into sections according to her cooks, housemaids, and gardeners. Jane also listed her housemaids as chambermaids and laundresses. Jane evidently had tight control over the management of Wyck's servants as illustrated in her comments. This document found among Jane's papers not only provided an insight into the household at Wyck but reflected Jane's opinions and attitudes toward her staff, mainly immigrants. The book also serves as a way to date some of Jane's undated letters. As Jane often mentioned names of her servants one could look up the dates that a particular servant worked and pinpoint the date of Jane's letter.

Jane depended upon her servants to help her run her household, cooking and serving, and also to help her with her collection of objects. Jane, as a consumer of material goods, needed servants to help clean and move her objects if she wanted to rearrange her rooms. With the proliferation of goods in the nineteenth century and the rise of consumerism, Victorians found themselves filling their homes with decorative objects. For a certain class of Victorian consumers, servants seemed necessary to maintain the home and the goods - rugs, furniture and many other objects that filled a room. The number of servants which Jane had also conveyed status: she could afford to maintain a cook, housemaid and gardener. Judith Rollins argued that nineteenth-century middle and upper classes hired a considerably higher number of servants based on "... the appearance of housewives' manuals, training schools for domestics." She claimed that "regular articles on the subject in popular magazines indicate that in the
urban United States, as in Europe, domestic servants were not only ubiquitous but also of great concern.\(^{166}\)

Jane functioned as both employer and manager, taking responsibility to hire and fire servants and to instruct them in properly running Wyck. Jane was, as Eliza Leslie suggested, “enabled to instruct unpractised domestics, or, in case of emergency, to assist personally in forwarding the indispensable work of the family.”\(^{167}\) On occasion, she did have to fill in for her servants when several domestics left her employ without notice.

Jane paid money to local employment agencies such as Mrs. M. O'Brien's Employment Bureau in Germantown for a chambermaid and a waitress in 1911.\(^{168}\) She also hired a servant from the Germantown Industrial Home for Colored Women on August 1, 1911.\(^{169}\) Perhaps this was one way she found servants. Jane also found her servants through friends' referrals, employment agencies and social missions. Some of these sources may have provided Jane with excellent help, however many of Jane's comments illustrated her dissatisfaction with the quality of the help. The servants Jane found were not always up to Jane's standards. Women who needed servants often found them through personal contacts however growing urban areas and the influx of immigration thwarted some of this interaction.\(^{170}\) Instead, women began to use newspaper advertisements and intelligence offices where both employer and employee had to pay registration fees.\(^{171}\) The intelligence office acted as a go-between the employers and employees, an employment agency that specialized in providing women in need of household jobs to those women who needed servants.\(^{172}\)

How much pay did servants receive in the nineteenth century? David Katzman
compiled a chart on wages, "Average Daily Wage Rates in Selected Cities and States and Nationally, 1889-1923, Table A-22" (It appears that the author meant to use the term weekly, instead of daily as the chart lists weekly wages). He documented that in Philadelphia in 1897, employers paid their servants an average of $3.67 a week. In the United States in 1899, employers paid their servants between $3.42 - $4.06 a week. In the 1890s, Jane paid her cooks and housemaids between $3.00 and $3.50 a week, on average with the national pay in 1890.

Who were servants in the nineteenth century? According to Thomas Schlereth, "In 1870 the first census carefully recorded working women: one-half of all female wage earners worked as domestic servants: roughly one million women servants made up one-twelfth of the total labor force." Immigrants supplied the majority of the servant labor pool. Immigrant women had limited vocational opportunity, faced with household labor as the only option for them. Katzman calculates that "From 1870 through 1910, the number of female domestic servants rose from 960,000 to 1,830,000." More than a third of the immigrant servant population in Philadelphia were of Irish descent in 1880.

We do not know whether or not Jane held stereotypical views towards her Irish servants, although she was not happy with those servants who drank alcohol. We do know that Jane hired Irish help, but we do not know how much of Jane's criticisms related to the people themselves or to their lack of experience or lack of interest, rather than their ethnic heritage. Irish servants became scapegoats for the "servant problem" so prevalent in the middle to late nineteenth century, sometimes through no fault of their own. According to Faye Dudden, many Irish women never learned proper housekeeping...
methods and lesser standards of cleanliness.\textsuperscript{177} "Even the charge that immigrant women were 'unwashed' may have contained a grain of truth. Certainly the conditions on immigrant ships may have resulted in just such a state among the newly arrived. More to the point, immigrant women probably brought with them standards of cleanliness that were unacceptable to their employers."\textsuperscript{178} Irish women were often viewed as the servant problem, stereotyped as incompetent, dirty, drinking.\textsuperscript{179}

A counter-argument to this, David Katzman believes that many Irish women were limited by job opportunities in Ireland yet housekeeping was one profession open to women.\textsuperscript{180} Many women had previous training, although not everyone. Irish women may have been trained or had the housekeeping profession open to them, however, the standards in rural Ireland, where the standard of living along with the standard of cleanliness fell way below that of Victorian America, due to the potato famines in Ireland.

Jane had positive comments for several of her Irish servants, even after they left. Anne Borland, a housemaid who worked for Jane from 1891-1895, left to return to Ireland. Jane thought Anne was "a nice girl and excellent housemaid."\textsuperscript{181} Another servant, Cassie McIlhenny, who left Wyck for Ireland for several months, returned to Wyck, and then left again to care for a sick sister. Jane noted that Cassie was "... a very nice girl. willing girl, quick clean and thorough and I hope she will return to me."\textsuperscript{182} A third woman, Harriet Thompson, left Jane's employ as a housemaid in 1885 to return to Ireland. According to Jane, Harriet "... left to go to Ireland very unexpectedly. Good seamstress and quick worker."\textsuperscript{183}
A negative experience Jane had with one of her servants seemed to encourage the alcoholic stereotype among Irish. Jane hired Bridget McAleer in 1877 to cook for her. She stayed until 1891 when she left due to inflammatory rheumatism. However, Jane saw this instance as a good time for Bridget to leave as Jane had

... resolved to part with her [Bridget] because she had broken her solemn pledge to abstain from drinking. She was for ten years a faithful and excellent servant, but she then took to drinking and though I had forgiven her many times, I found I could not safely keep her any longer."184

A second negative experience with Irish help came from Fanny, a cook in 1876 whose "great fault was her abusive tongue which gave me much trouble after she came back from Ireland."185

It was a burden for Jane to manage a staff and deal with the high turnover and training issues involved with servants. Jane wrote to one of her sisters on January 28, 1868 about her concerns in being out of town while her servants ran Wyck. Jane wrote that "... I knew that I ought to come home, for though my servants are perhaps better than common, they do not do well more than a few weeks at a time without a head, as they all aspire to that position in my absence."186 From this letter, Jane seemed not to be able to trust her servants, and perhaps they resented taking orders from her. Perhaps Jane did not have success in managing her servants all that well if she is worried what they might be doing during her absence. Eliza Leslie wrote about housekeepers' concerns regarding managing their servants and stated that "... unless she is blessed with excellent servants, she will find herself unable to depend upon them, in this or in any other part of their duty, without frequent personal inspection from herself."187 As Jane was not always successful in hiring good help, she herself needed to be a strong
Relationships between employers and employees during the nineteenth century often had a personal connection as most employers attached their personal feelings about their staff with their professional assessments. Jane expressed her personal preferences about her servants in her log. One factor that contributed to the complicated relationship between the female employer and female employee was the fact that most women were not experienced in training and supervising their staff. Instead, the employers supervised their staff based on personal issues rather than practical matters. Katzman acknowledges that while many employers were kind to their servants, acting in a maternal manner, their expectations for their servants extended to "dedicate themselves to the families they served rather than to their own lives, their own interests, their own families." Employers were disappointed when servants left to get married. Jane expressed her disappointment when some servants left, but she was happy for others. Jane must have been relieved when Hester Coyle Wilkinson left without incident after five months at Wyck. Jane noted that Hester was "... a capable woman, but a dangerous one, perhaps insane." With this knowledge, one wonders why Jane allowed Hester to remain at Wyck that long, yet Jane might have overlooked some factors in the necessity she faced in maintaining staff at Wyck.

The "Servant Problem" became a popular discussion topic in the late nineteenth century among women and in women's magazines. Women focused on the shortage of good, trained servants but also on the working environment and treatment of servants. Many servants were isolated, rarely received visitors and worked long hours. These
factors did not help to retain servants. We do not know what kind of conditions in which Jane’s servants worked, but the fact that several staff members stayed for years at a time, suggest that perhaps Jane and these servants found a good fit between employer and employee.

Jane depended upon her servants for information. In one letter to her friend Lizzie, Jane wrote on October 20, 1876 that “My cook and housemaid spent the day at the Exhibition yesterday, and I was as tired as if I had been there too, and had just gone upstairs . . .” From this comment, it seemed as if her servants expressed in detail to Jane what they saw and did at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. This comment illustrates Jane’s willingness to allow her servants a day off to explore something enjoyable in the area.

Consider the case of Mary Leavens, who began working at Wyck as a housemaid on May 3, 1866, left and returned in 1869 and stayed until 1879. Although Mary worked for Jane for over ten years and “. . . was a very good laundress and clean and neat about her work”. Jane also noted that Mary “. . . had lived with me [Jane] for so long that she had become very disrespectful, and it was on this account that I had to part with her.”

Why did women leave Wyck? Servants left Wyck for various reasons. One woman fell ill and could not fulfill her duties. Another girl left Wyck to learn dressmaking, probably more profitable than housecleaning. Annie Dripps left Wyck to learn dressmaking just a week after she began her job. Instead of being upset that she left Wyck, Jane offered positive words for Annie by noting that she “. . . was the most satisfactory housemaid, I ever had, and no fault to be found with her.”

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One instance when Jane was happy for a cook who left less than a month after Jane hired her, can be seen in the comments on Margaret White. Jane wrote “Clever old woman, clean and good cook. Got married!!”¹⁹⁶ Jane, who was 45 at the time she wrote these comments, referred to Margaret White as an old woman. One wonders if Jane believed Margaret was too old to marry, or was shocked that she was marrying. On the other hand, perhaps Jane was happy for this woman. Nonetheless, in light of numerous negative comments Jane made about various servants, especially those who did not stay too long, Jane’s response to this woman’s departure was fairly benign. Nowhere else in Jane’s correspondence is there evidence of Jane’s opinion towards marriage.

Short job tenure became a facet of domestic servants in one’s home. Jane Haines faced this turnover among her staff. The average length of time a servant spent at Wyck varied. Between 1865-1909, fourteen of Jane’s servants left in under a month while sixteen left after one to three months. Nine servants stayed for three to six months, six stayed for six to nine months and six stayed for nine months to a year. Five servants stayed at Wyck for one and a half to two and a half years and only five servants stayed for a longer period of time – between six and fifteen years. The majority of the servants at Wyck left after working for under three months. Many women left households for better positions as the demand for servants in the late nineteenth century grew to high proportions. ¹⁹⁷ Sometimes a clash of personalities resulted in turnover. Jane documented many of these clashes in her Account Book of Wages.

In letters to her friend Lizzie, Jane expressed her concerns over both the management and the retention of servants. An undated letter to Lizzie demonstrates that
Lizzie assisted Jane in finding new servants. Jane wrote that she

\[
\ldots\text{was much obliged to thee for thinking of me in regard to Priscilla Lukens, but in the meantime I had heard of another person, whom I have since engaged. What her faults may be, they will not be the same as Mrs. Milner's...} \]

She [new servant] can not come for a fortnight, and in the meanwhile I am expecting a new cook in a few days and a new man in a week or two; so that altogether I feel almost ready to faint beneath my burden in prospect but shall no doubt find strength for the days as they come.\textsuperscript{198}

While Jane for the most part was able to replace servants within a day or two, here was an instance during which Jane had to fend for herself at Wyck. It is not known why there was so much turnover at Wyck with the servants but perhaps Jane had high standards or maybe the servants were ill trained. Jane, who spent a great deal of time in her letters documenting her various illnesses, surprisingly documented times in which she did housework on her own without the help of servants. Occasionally servants left on short notice, leaving Jane unprepared for a shortage of staff and forcing her to pitch in.

Sometimes, however, the problem was that Jane's staff did not measure up to Jane's expectations.

Jane wrote positive comments for those women who left for better job opportunities, marriage, or new skill training even if they only stayed for a short period of time. Annie Kirke, a housemaid who worked for Jane in 1890, left Wyck for a job as a child's nurse. Jane noted that Annie was "a very neat, agreeable girl & good housemaid, with whom I had no fault to find, except her leaving me at a week's notice."\textsuperscript{199} Eleanor McCammon began working at Wyck as a housemaid in 1896. She left four years later to get married. Jane characterized Eleanor as "a very nice, clean, gentle girl & I was sorry to part with her."\textsuperscript{200} Another woman, Isabella McCurdy, worked for two and a half months...
before she left to "... go to the city". Most likely, this was Philadelphia. Minnie, a housemaid at Wyck in 1901, only stayed for several weeks - "a very nice person who left because she had an opportunity to study nursing."\textsuperscript{201}

Faye Dudden offers an example of a nineteenth century woman who fired servants not living up to her expectations without any concern for their wellbeing. Her servants arrived and left in the same way. Jane Haines held a similar detachment concerning her servants as she expressed her feelings or lack thereof. Dudden continued with this example stating that "Mrs. White was not consistent, wanting sometimes a business and other times a personal relationship."\textsuperscript{202} This contradiction also prevailed at Wyck as Jane’s notations documented her interactions with her staff. While we do not have a daily documentation of the interaction between Jane and her servants, we can infer a certain amount of information based upon Jane’s comments concerning her employees. "Women’s supervisory activities in the household imitated those of entrepreneurial men: hiring and firing, instructing and driving."\textsuperscript{203}

Jane had specific standards for her servants, many of whom evidently did not reach her expectations. Jane highly criticized servants who were unskilled or had an attitude problem. Matilda Allinson worked for two months during the summer of 1880. Jane described her as "Not honest, but good seamstress and laundress, but rather careless about her work, and very rough in her manner and ways."\textsuperscript{204} Nancy Archibald, was, according to Jane, a "Capable, honest girl and very quick about her work, but with a very sullen, disagreeable temper and having visitors or going out constantly."\textsuperscript{205} Jane Culbertson, a housemaid in 1883 did not meet Jane’s intellectual standards as she was a
"clean, respectable woman, and good waitress, but very slow and not very intelligent." 206

One housemaid, Sarah Lyons, only lasted a week, probably because Jane thought she was "stupid, ignorant and lazy!" 207

Sarah Fulton's lack of a work ethic did not please Jane. Sarah "left because she was too careless about her work. A pleasant, good-tempered, lazy girl, very thoughtless about her work and utterly indifferent to it." 208 Another servant with a poor attitude did not get along with Jane - Jane fired Elizabeth Scott in 1886 after about two and a half months because "she did not suit me. A good seamstress and laundress, but a poor worker and with a very disagreeable temper." 209

Jane, able to hire new cooks soon after firing the previous one or receiving notice from one, maintained similarly frank comments about her kitchen staff. Jane had problems with many of her cooks. While Mary Whitehead was a good cook, and good-tempered, she only lasted at Wyck for two weeks "on account of being too old and deaf." 210 Annie Linden was also a decent cook, nice, and clean, like Mary Whitehead, but "with a very disagreeable temper & probably not quite right in her mind." 211 Kate McIlhenny was also clean and respectable but "... not sufficiently experience in cooking and too fond of dress." 212 Ellen Clarken only lasted a month as a cook at Wyck because she was an "extravagant cook." 213 As long as her servants were clean, pleasant, well tempered and good at what they did, those servants pleased Jane. They lasted much longer than those disagreeably tempered, inefficient, and less educated women.

Mary Ann Hamilton, a cook, worked for two weeks from Saturday, March 25 until April 4, 1876, when Jane dismissed her because she "could not cook and was not
honest.” Jane wrote in one of her many undated letters to her friend Lizzie about the chaotic servant situation that took place on Easter Eve. Jane had “dismissed my dishonest cook on Tuesday [Hamilton] and the same evening one that I had engaged, came to tell me that she had changed her mind, so I was left without any prospect of one. . . . the kitchen range got out of order, and worst of all my good Mary [Leavens, the housemaid] got out of order and we seemed nearer parting than in ten years before!”

This passage from Jane’s account book of wages portrays one of the many challenging instances in which Jane dealt with the turnover of servants, their lack of performance, personality clashes between Jane and her servants and the result of servants leaving Wyck on little or no notice. In other words, chaos reigned at Wyck when servants left her short of staff.

Sometimes, Jane’s servants left her instead of being asked to leave. Della Curran’s abrupt departure in 1889 greatly inconvenienced Jane as Della “left me at a day’s notice (when I had guests in the house) without any reason.” Della had positive and negative attributes as a housemaid as she “was a capable girl and very good seamstress, but with a bad temper and utterly untrustworthy.” One wonders if many of these problems Jane had with her servants stemmed from Jane’s own attitude and prejudices, not to mention her desire for particular personality traits among her staff.

Of the three men who worked for Jane, we know the most about the gardener, Leonard Christian Weaver. He started at Wyck on March 8, 1866 at $40.00 a month with an occasional three dollars deducted for board, confirming that he lived at Wyck. Leonard Christian Weaver started as a gardener on March 8, 1866 at forty dollars a
month with an occasional three dollars deducted for board, confirming that he lived at Wyck. By September, 1866, Jane raised his wages to forty-two dollars a month, and by 1867, forty-three dollars. However, from 1874 to 1882, Jane listed his wages as twenty-four dollars with board. Jane commissioned her nephew, John Stewardson, of Cope & Stewardson, Architects, to design a gardener’s cottage. Constructed in 1886, the cottage was located across the street from Wyck on Germantown Avenue.\(^{218}\)

Lived with me for more than (16) years, and was a sober, industrious man, a good gardener and kept the place in good order, and was especially good at mowing grass. His great fault was an utterly ungovernable temper, making Everybody about the place uncomfortable and rendering sometimes very impertinent to me. I forgave him repeatedly at his honest solicitation and promise to do better, but in April he was worse than ever, and I was obliged to dismiss him and found since that it was quite time.\(^{219}\)

Jane had no qualms about making brutally honest comments concerning her servants. Leonard’s replacement, John Nichols, worked at Wyck as the gardener from 1882 to 1897, and paid thirty-three dollars a month. It appears from Jane’s notes that she may have fired Nichols as she noted that “He had grown very careless about his work and though a capable man, was very untrustworthy.”\(^{220}\) An Edward Sadley worked for Jane in 1865 and 1866, but she did not note what he did at Wyck.

Jane held firm opinions on each and every one of her servants, good and bad. Her comments are a valuable resource for historians wishing to examine relationships between the manager of the household and the servants, and offer insight into the dynamics of Jane’s extended household at Wyck.

Many of the objects that Jane left behind communicate information about her life and the lives of those around her. Jane’s Account Book of Wages helps us to better
understand the relationship between servants and their employers, wages during that period, and employers’ definitions of good and bad employees. Jane’s letters help the reader understand the life of a single woman and the illnesses Jane faced, some illnesses shared by other Victorian women. The letters also explain the relationships she had with her family and friends, along with telling us how Jane lived her life. The family heirlooms which Jane left at Wyck illustrate both Jane’s commitment to assuming the role of the family historian along with the identity of “Aunt Wyck Jane” linking Jane to her family home. The purchases which Jane made in Philadelphia and Germantown, many of which remained at Wyck, document her consumer choices. All of these facets of Jane’s life could only be assembled due to Jane’s careful notations of her purchases, her household expenses and employee ledgers, and the letters which she wrote.

Despite the fact that Jane did not leave a diary, the information that we do have from her papers and objects offers us a broader perspective of the material life of a single woman in the nineteenth century. The wealth of information which Jane Reuben Haines left for future generations will assist historians in gaining more insight and knowledge into Victorian material culture.
Figure 1. Norwegian sideboard. Wyck. 1900. J.M. Elliot, photographer. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 2. Back parlor and Norwegian sideboard, Wyck, July 25, 1903. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 3. Shield-back armchair, Wyck. Jennifer Merritt Swope, photographer. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 4. Jane Reuben Haines and her cousin, Mary Collins standing in front of Wyck, 1860s. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 5. Jane Reuben Haines. Wyck. January, 1903. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 6. Tall clock. Wyck, August 15, 1906. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 7. Queen Anne side chair, Wyck. Jennifer Merritt Swope, photographer. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 8. Front parlor, Wyck, February 4, 1905. Reuben Haines, photographer. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 9. Schnappshund, Wyck. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 10. Tea caddy, Wyck. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 11. Crib, Wyck. Jennifer Merritt Swope, photographer. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 13. Hall looking into garden at Wyck, October, 1871. Harry Lewis, Philadelphia, photographer. Original at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 15. Jane seated in garden at Wyck. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 16. Center table, front parlor, Wyck. Jennifer Merritt Swope, photographer. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
Figure 17. Chinese writing desk, front parlor, Wyck. Jennifer Merritt Swope, photographer. Courtesy of the Wyck Association and the Wyck Charitable Trust.
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ENDNOTES


2 Brown, 112-113.

3 Brown, 133.

4 Brown, 113.


6 Undated correspondence between Pauline Henry and Jane Reuben Haines. Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 45. Folder 750.

7 Private Accounts 1875-76, Jane Reuben Haines, Wyck Papers, Series IV, Box 130. Folder 54.

8 Ibid.

9 Jane Reuben Haines to Lizzie Smith (Mrs. Elizabeth P. Smith). Series II, Box 44. Folder 737.


12 Ibid., 76.


15 Marling, 35.
16 Marling, 34.


18 Division of Jane Reuben Haines’ Furniture, February 27, 1885, Wyck Papers, Series V. Box 215, Folder 202.


23 Mary Ann Donaldson to Ann Haines, Wyck Papers. Series II. Box 27, Folder 420.

24 Two children died in childhood: Sarah (1813-1824) and Margaret (1815-1816).


26 Chambers-Schiller, 211.


28 Chambers-Schiller, 40.


31 Private Accounts 1875-76, Jane Reuben Haines, Wyck Papers, Series IV, Box 131, Folder 54.

32 Chambers-Schiller, 69.

33 Ibid., 73.

34 Jane Reuben Haines to unknown sister, March 23, 1869, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 734.

35 Sarah Wheeler Johnson, *Germantown History: Noted Women of Germantown*, (Written for the Site and Relic Society of Germantown and read at the meeting of April 4, 1913 Germantown: Published by the Society, 1916), 48-49.

36 Jane Reuben Haines to Lizzie Smith, April 27, 1859, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 729.

37 Rosenthal, 11.

38 Jane Reuben Haines to Lizzie Smith, March 6, 1860, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 730.

39 Jane Reuben Haines to unknown nieces, March 26, 1860, Wyck Papers, ibid.


41 Ibid., 58.

42 Ibid., 58.63.

43 Ibid., 65.

44 Ibid., 60.

45 Jane Reuben Haines to unknown sister, September 4, 1863, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 731.

46 Ibid.

47 Jane Reuben Haines to unknown sister, September 18, 1863, Wyck Papers, ibid.

48 Jane Reuben Haines to Lizzie Smith, July 8, 1869, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 734.

50 Undated correspondence between Jane Reuben Haines and Lizzie Smith, Wyck Papers, Series II. Box 44. Folder 729.

51 Ibid.


53 Chambers-Schiller, 159.


56 Thomas Stewardson to Jane Reuben Haines. March 18, 1868. Wyck Papers, Series II. Box 45. Folder 747.

57 Undated correspondence between Thomas Stewardson and Jane Reuben Haines. Wyck Papers. Ibid.


62 1752 Caspar Wistar estate inventory page 14: “Household Goods In the Parlour a Clock and Case 14 pounds.”


64 Ibid.
Thomas Stewardson to Jane Reuben Haines, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 46, Folder 761.

Undated correspondence between Jane Reuben Haines and J.H. Treadwell. Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 726.

J.H. Treadwell to Jane Reuben Haines. January 23, 1872, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 45, Folder 748. John M. Groff, Executive Director, Wyck. noted that rather than Delft, the plate was likely made in Lambeth, England. Most of the old tin glaze in that era was identified as Delft. Notes to the author. April 5, 1999.

Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 45, Folder 753: letters October 30, December 4, 1890; Folder 755: December 23, 1892.

William Warder to Jane Reuben Haines. December 26, 1890 mentions amount of $50. Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 45, Folder 753.

Mary Morton Haines to Jane Reuben Haines. December 25, 1890. ibid.

Jansen Haines to Jane Reuben Haines. December 25, 1890. ibid.

Francis Cope Haines to Jane Reuben Haines. December 26, 1890. ibid.

William Warder to Jane Reuben Haines. December 26, 1890. ibid.

Robert Bowne Haines, Jr. to Jane Reuben Haines. December 26, 1890. ibid.

Anna Aston Warder to Jane Reuben Haines. January 23. 1891. ibid.

John Haines Warder to Jane Reuben Haines. December 24. 1890. ibid.


The Bownes were a very prominent Quaker family in New York and in the stationer and printer business. John M. Groff, Executive Director. Wyck. letter to author. April 5, 1999.

Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines to unknown son, May 25. 1900, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 37. File 558.
Jane Reuben Haines to unknown sister, December 12, 1869. Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, File 734; Bed owned by Jane Bowne Haines and crib owned by Jane Reuben Haines.

Jane Reuben Haines 1912 will, Wyck Papers, Series V, Box 215, Folder 203, page 1.

Reuben Haines Waste Book, December 21, 1813, Wyck Papers, Series IV, Box 124, Folder 10.

Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines to Caspar Wistar Haines, May 6, 1881. Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 36, Folder 537.

Ibid., January 12, 1892, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 36, Folder 548.

Ibid., November 24, 1897, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 36, Folder 553.

Jane Reuben Haines to Lizzie Smith, January, 1868, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 733.

Jane Reuben Haines to unknown sister, December 11, 1869. ibid.

Ibid., January 28, 1868. ibid.

Undated correspondence between Jane Reuben Haines and Lizzie Smith. Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 728.

Ibid.


Seale, The Tasteful Interlude, 22. For further examples of interior images of Victorian parlors with elements existing at Wyck during Jane’s life, see this book.

Private Accounts 1883-1893, Jane Reuben Haines, Wyck Papers, Series IV, Box 131, Folder 55.


Grier, 86.


101 For a further study on decorating and Wyck and Jane’s interest in Japanese decorative arts. see Rosenthal, *The Interior View*.

102 This conclusion is based on the fact that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania only has *Blue Books* as early as 1881.


104 Ibid. 1883-84 edition.

105 Ibid. front pg. of 1887-88 edition.


107 For a further discussion of consumerism and decorating at Wyck see Rosenthal, *The Interior View*.


109 Rosenthal. 27.


113 Receipt. Tyndale and Mitchell. April 1, 1891, ibid, Folder 249.
114 Receipt, Wright, Tyndale & Van Roden, September 1, 1893. ibid. Folder 250.

115 Receipt, Ferdinand Keller, May 1, 1898. ibid.


120 Schlereth, 132.

121 Strasser, 61.

122 Leslie. 336.

123 Harvey Green, *Light of the Home*, 77.


126 Leslie, 177.


129 Ibid., Folder 55.
130 Receipt, S. Harry Ladley, January 29, 1894, Wyck Papers, Series IV. Box 147, Folder 250.

131 Household Accounts. 1876-1879, Jane Reuben Haines, Series IV, Box 130, Folder 55.

132 Ibid.


134 Undated correspondence between Jane Reuben Haines and Lizzie Smith. Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 44, Folder 728.

135 Jane Reuben Haines to Lizzie Smith, May 3, 1867. Series II. Box 44, Folder 733.


137 Helene Von Rosenstiel and Gail Caskey Winkler. 120.


139 Leslie. 178.

140 Green. Light of the Home. 78.

141 Jane Reuben Haines to Lizzie Smith, circa 1870s. Wyck Papers. Series II. Box 44. Folder 735.


143 Leslie. 184.


146 Receipt. McCallum and McCallum, October 24. 1893, Wyck Papers, Series IV, Box 147. Folder 250.
147 Ibid., Folder 251. Winkler and Moss, define a “body Brussels” carpet in the 1880s, “in which the colors were woven to form the pattern—cost about ninety cents a yard. while a
“tapestry Brussels”—in which specific areas of the continuous strand of face yarn were
dyed to form the pattern—cost about half that. Body Brussels were “a universal sort of
carpet, not too rich for the poor, not too poor for the rich,” Harriet Prescott Spofford
assured her readers...” in Victorian Interior Design, 153.

148 Receipt. F. Orne’s Carpet Warehouse, September 24, 1880, Wyck Papers. Series IV.
Box 147. Folder 246.

149 Receipt. Sheppard, Arrison, and Sheppard, December 1, 1882; Jane C. Nylander
describes cretonne is “a stout cotton cloth, usually unglazed, printed on one or both sides.
usually in dark. rich colors. Popular in the last half of the nineteenth century for window
curtains, sofa covers and chair coverings.” Silesia is “twilled, thin linen cloth or a cotton

150 Receipt. Wilson Woods and Brothers. General Upholsterers, December 31,
1890.Wyck Papers. Series IV, Box 147, Folder 248.

Series II. Box 44, Folder 732.

Wyck Papers. Series IV, Box 147, Folder 250.

153 Ibid. May 13, 1910. ibid., Folder 257.


155 Ogle. 34-35.

156 Strasser. Never Done. 90.

157 Ibid. 92.

158 Ogle. 37.

159 Thomas Stewardson to Jane Reuben Haines, July 26. 1888, Wyck Papers. Series II.
Box 45. Folder 752.

160 Ibid. August 3, 1888. ibid.
161 Ibid., August 6, 1888, ibid; Partition of Reuben Haines III Estate, 1889, Wyck Papers, Series V, Box 211, Folder 131.

162 Thomas Stewardson to Jane Reuben Haines, June 7, 1893, Wyck Papers, Series II, Box 45, Folder 756.

163 Jarvis Mason to Jane Reuben Haines, October 21, 1902, Wyck Papers, Series IV, Box 147, Folder 763.

164 Thomas Gates to Jane Reuben Haines, Wyck Papers, Series IV, Box 147, Folder 769.


167 Leslie, 3.

168 Receipt, Mrs. M. O’Brien’s Employment Bureau, August 7, 1911, Wyck Papers, Series IV, Box 147, Folder 260.

169 Receipt, Germantown Industrial Home for Colored Women, August 1, 1911, ibid.


171 Katzman. 98.

172 Schlereth. 72.

173 Katzman. 310.

174 Schlereth. 71.

175 Katzman. 46.

176 Ibid., 66.

177 Dudden. 65.

178 Ibid., 67.

179 Strasser, Never Done, 166.
180 Katzman, 69.

181 Account Book of Wages, 1865-1907, Jane Reuben Haines, Wyck Papers. Series IV, Box 130, Folder 52.

182 Ibid.

183 Ibid.

184 Ibid.

185 Ibid.

186 Jane Reuben Haines to unknown sister, January 28, 1868, Wyck Papers. Series II. Box 44, Folder 733.

187 Leslie, 227.

188 Katzman, 150.

189 Ibid., 153.

190 Ibid., 159.


192 Katzman, 226.

193 Jane Reuben Haines to Lizzie Smith, October 20, 1876. Wyck Papers. Series II. Box 44, Folder 737.

194 Account Book of Wages, 1865-1907, Jane Reuben Haines. Series IV. Box 130. Folder 52.

195 Ibid.

196 Ibid.

197 Katzman, 138, 140.

198 Undated correspondence between Jane Reuben Haines and Lizzie Smith, Wyck Papers. Series II. Box 44, Folder 730.
Account Book of Wages, 1865-1907, Jane Reuben Haines. Wyck Papers. Series IV, Box 130, Folder 52.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Dudden. 58.

Ibid., 163.

Account Book of Wages, 1865-1907, Jane Reuben Haines. Wyck Papers. Series IV, Box 130, Folder 52.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

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Ibid.

Ibid.

Undated correspondence between Jane Reuben Haines and Lizzie Smith. Wyck Papers. Series II. Box 44. Folder 734.


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220 Ibid.
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