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The Quaker Domestic Interior, Philadelphia 1780-1830: An Artifactual Investigation of the "Quaker Esthetic" at Wyck House, Philadelphia and Collen Brook Farm, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

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AN ARTIFACTUAL INVESTIGATION OF THE "QUAKER ESTHETIC" AT WYCK HOUSE,
PHILADELPHIA AND COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PENNSYLVANIA.

Sara Margaret Pennell

A Thesis

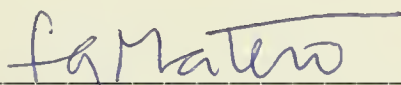
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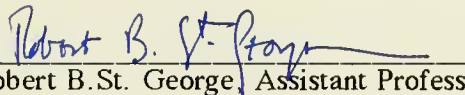
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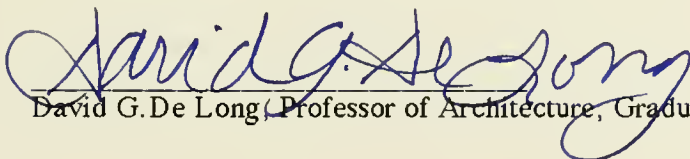
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AN ARTIFACTUAL INVESTIGATION OF THE "QUAKER ESTHETIC" AT WYCK HOUSE,
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

The following abbreviations have been used throughout the footnote text for frequently-occurring names, institutions, and collections:

- AH: Ann Haines, cousin to Reuben Haines III.
- CWH: Caspar Wister Haines I, fifth generation resident of Wyck, and father of Reuben Haines III.
- EB: Elizabeth Bowne, mother of Jane Bowne Haines.
- FHL: Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- HMH: Hannah Marshall Haines, mother of Reuben Haines III and wife of Caspar Wister Haines.
- HSP: Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- HSR: Historic Structures Report
- JBH: Jane Bowne Haines, wife of Reuben Haines III.
- JPP: James Pemberton Parke, friend of Jane and Reuben Haines
- MM: Monthly Meeting (i.e. Abington MM).
- PYM: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.
- RHIII: Reuben Haines III, sixth generation resident of Wyck.
- WP: Wyck Papers, Manuscript Collection #52, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

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PART I: INTRODUCTION:

Quaker domestic life is a neglected aspect of the socio-historical study of the Anglo-American sect; whilst the pacifism, business practices, philanthropy and behavioral ethics of the Society of Friends have all attracted scholarly attention, little consideration has been made of Quaker households, the routines and styles of domestic life adopted therein, and the concept of the home and household in Friends' prescriptive morality.

This thesis is an attempt to map the basis of a Quaker "domestic interior", to evaluate this idea theoretically and in practice, through the medium of two case studies: Wyck House, in Germantown, Philadelphia; and Collen Brook Farm, in Upper Darby, eight miles from central Philadelphia. The idea and historiography of the 'Quaker esthetic' will be engaged as it relates to the spatial and decorative practices in these surviving sites, just as these sites and their inhabitants will be located within the context of the contemporary Quaker community.

The condition of the American Society of Friends after the Revolution was less than sanguine, as the war brought the hitherto hegemonic Quakers virtually complete disinheritance from the Pennsylvanian political succession, and in a more localized but no less influential fashion, engineered their fall from administrative grace in Philadelphia.¹ The emergence of reformist proselytizers like John Woolman in the last decades of the eighteenth century, and more schismatically, Elias Hicks in the first quarter of the nineteenth, reinvested the American branch of the sect with a heightened introspective religiosity. At this point however, it was not merely a question of recollecting the straggling few and refocussing belief in an evangelizing manner. The Society was, by the notorious Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1827, irrevocably dissolved into several fragments, with

N.B. All referenced works are quoted in full, thereafter by name and year of publication where necessary. All Quaker style dates, e.g. "fourth month, first, 1801", have been converted to modern dates, i.e., 4/1/1801.

¹ For a detailed discussion of this period see Jack D. Marietta, The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1984.

degrees of compromise with the world as a major distinguishing factor between these factions; the entrance of the world into the enclosed hearth of the Society is thus viewed as a historical process peculiarly advanced in Philadelphia, the geographical focus for this study.²

The period of study is the half century following the Revolution (1780-1830) at a time when Philadelphia was at the shortlived height of its political and social fame as birthplace of the new Republic. Despite this renown, little has been written about the 'Federal' city;³ by focussing upon two Quaker families, the Haineses of Wyck and the Lewises of Collen Brook, both with some degree of prominence in their immediate communities and beyond them, and belonging to a religious group still exercising strong moral influence in the city and its hinterland, this research also discusses the esthetic *weltanschauung* of America's largest city in this period, and the interface of these families with it.⁴

To essay this investigation through the study of archival documents alone would be possible and plausible. The Friends were -- and continue to be -- a very literate and document-conscious group. However, interface with the world, arguably a dynamic behind and beyond such words, was the very condition to avoid. Thus this research has an artifactual dimension, taking the form of spatial survey of the houses under study, material

² For a detailed account of the events leading upto and including the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1827, see H.Larry Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN, 1986.

³ See the essays by Richard G.Miller, "The Federal City, 1783-1800", and Edgar P.Richardson, "The Athens of America, 1800-1825" in Russell F.Weigley, ed., Philadelphia: A Three-Hundred Year History, W.W.Norton and Company, New York, 1982; pp.155-208; and Beatrice Garvan, Federal Philadelphia: the Athens of the Western World, 1785-1825, Princeton Polychrome Press for the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Princeton, 1987.

⁴ Both families also owned and inhabited the sites continuously from the early eighteenth century through until the 1970s; Wyck was conveyed in 1973 in trust to a non-profit organization which operates the site as a historic house museum; Collen Brook was partially deeded in trust by the Smith family to Upper Darby Township in 1970. The house, currently occupied by a private tenant, is maintained jointly by the Township and by the Upper Darby Historical Commission.



Plate 1. *Wyck House, Germantown, Philadelphia; south elevation*

[Photograph courtesy of Eric Mitchell and Wyck House].



Plate 2. *Collen Brook Farm, eastern wing, built circa 1794; south elevation*

analysis of selected surface finishes, and where possible, an investigation of surviving domestic objects relevant to the sites during the study period.

I.I. METHODOLOGIES:

This thesis does not attempt to draw conclusions about the practical struggle to retrieve and resuscitate a Quaker domestic 'golden age' in nineteenth century America. Yet by studying a particular household and set of historical and religious circumstances governing that household, the degree of success and the difficulties encountered in the attempt can be assessed, and a critical discussion of the plausibility of a theory of Quaker domestic interiors undertaken.

Richard Bauman, a linguistic historian, in his intriguing essay upon Quaker speech patterns and the symbolism of silence within Quaker vocabularies, suggests that in the modesty of their words, Quakers were encouraged to let "their lives speak", daily conduct becoming an additional and powerful layer of articulating activity within the realm of silence.⁵ Where written primary documentation is scant or displays a distorting normative character, by undertaking an artifactual analysis, the researcher can not only "...circumvent [his] own cultural perspective" in the act of interpretation, but also complement the dominant contemporary literate values that construct the recorded world.⁶ In the context of the Philadelphia Quakers, an historical myth of confusing proportions has been propagated from the recorded words of prescription, testimony, Discipline and diaristic self-examination, which evidence a religiosity bound to the verbalized and written constraints of belief. That myth, of dour, drab-dressed shrewd businessmen and proselytizing wives, of sparse angular meeting houses and ascetic wandering ministers, has some substance; but to

⁵ Richard Bauman, Let Your Words Be Few: The Symbolism of Speaking and Silence Among Seventeenth Century Quakers, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1983; p.31.

⁶ Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: an Introduction to Material Cultural Theory and Method", Winterthur Portfolio, 17:1 (1982) pp.1-19; p.4.

form that image purely from words, both internally generated and externally recorded, is to catch merely the conventional historical perception.

The purpose of this thesis on a methodological level is to consider the history of an interior as the sum of more than just its tangible parts. The term 'interior' is adopted to denote not only the literal fabric of the household - decoration, furnishings, architectural organization - but also the spatial and "interiorized" philosophical perception of the household/home as a locus for realizing Quaker ethical ideals. The interior of the soul and its cultivation, the illumination of the "inner light" is foundational in the Quaker belief system, and withdrawal from the realm of the base and worldly the central dictum for spiritual life. Hermeticism is however abhorred, and thus interface with that world inevitable; management of that interface is attainable only in certain loci, of which the home is foremost. The meeting house is also a locus, but determines the institutional environment in which such ideals are evoked, framed and prosecuted. Thus what happens in the home, from what dresses the walls to what is set upon the table, and to how that table is set, becomes more than a simple matter of 'routine'; each act may instead comprise a reiteration of belief in acknowledged dictates, thereby enriching the appropriateness of those dictates.⁷ The home was undoubtedly the chief locus of Quakerism, outside of the meeting house. To neglect to attend to Quaker ideas about the spatial and qualitative value of that immediate domestic environment, is to ignore the fact that the Friends themselves regarded this locus with a not insubstantial degree of religious significance.

The interior's "parts" are nevertheless significant artifactual texts. And yet the history of interiors is remains very much the territory of the written document -- probate inventory, diary, household manual -- and occasionally the visual record and the more infrequent , and

⁷ "The physical environment conditions the mind, but ideas shape the material culture. The issue becomes central to the social and intellectual history of a denomination whose very existence depended upon its unique combination of thought and behaviour patterns.", J. William Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America, St. Martin's Press, London, 1973; p.2.

not necessarily appropriate, furniture survival. A more sensitive approach to the reading of architectural 'finish' would utilize an under-used tool of such scholarship. As the architectural historian Edward Chappell observes, analyses of "shape and embellishment" lie at present in the material-cultural limbo between connoisseurship and functionalist dissections of form. Yet investigation of decorative schema, of the varying complexities of construction techniques brought into play upon non-structural elements, and the vocabulary of design possibilities from which particular choices of color and medium were made, should not be peripheral concerns, since they contribute the synthesizing ingredients in determining hierarchies of interior space.⁸ The analyses of painted finishes sampled from both case study sites undertaken for this investigation were rudimentary, utilizing simple chemical tests and microscopical visual examination. Yet the level of information supplied from such samples is amplified when contextualized against evidence of room use and other existing construction details within the individual site; and against the realm of possible options available to the subject in his understood 'world'.⁹

I:II. "THE QUAKER ESTHETIC":

To exercise an alternative approach, vested in the analysis of other 'documents' left by Friends that are no less "concretions of the realities of belief",¹⁰ this research has undertaken to reevaluate the idea of the "Quaker Esthetic". Frederick Tolles demands attention as perhaps the first ,and one of the only, Quaker historians to enlarge upon the Friends' decoration of the domestic sphere, and as the coiner of the foregoing phrase, identified a tangible domestic style attributable to the Society of Friends. Yet in his

⁸ Edward Chappell, "Looking at Buildings" Fresh Advices; A Research Supplement (November 1984), Colonial Williamsburg, pp.i-vi. .

⁹ We should perhaps also factor into this Glassie's dynamic of competence in performance, as a mediator of context; Henry Glassie Folk Housing in Middle Virginia.: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville,TN, 1975; p.17

¹⁰ Prown; p.16.

extensive, and valuable surveys of the Quaker circles of James and George Logan, and his still-important dissection of Quaker attitudes towards the compatibility of business and belief, Tolles assumes an all-too reductionist faith in contemporary prescription, and in the seldom-wavering adherence of the Quaker community to the dictates of 'holy conversation'.¹¹ He describes a colonial culture of silversmiths, cabinetmakers and their patrons which is inclusive, intuitive in its negotiation of 'plain' tenets, and which is successful; for Tolles a Quaker style is manifest not in the absence of portraits, pianofortes and pure ornament, but rather in the rich reductionism of a William Savery or Thomas Affleck piece. The nature and extent of disputes in matters domestic and esthetic surfaced only in the context of rare aberration, that Elders and the Meeting as a whole sought quickly to erase without repercussion.

While Tolles is sensitive to the practice of pursuing what was "of the best sort but plain" in the purchase of personal effects, his evidence is culled from a handful of prominent Philadelphia families and from the normative writings and disciplines of the Society; there is no analysis of surviving artifacts, be it furniture or architecture.¹² Certainly, Tolles can be excused for not utilizing methodological approaches belonging to later generations, but subsequent historians cannot. Since so many of the monographs mentioned in the course of this introduction are chiefly concerned with spiritual or socio-political dimensions of Quakerism, the opportunities for material-cultural research are few, and although authors such as William Frost and Jack Marietta usefully discuss the "plain style" in relation to discipline and to socio-economic status, they again rely exclusively upon documentary report and prescriptive texts. This noted, it is significant that, despite the

¹¹ Frederick B. Tolles, Meeting House and Counting House: the Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC, 1948; James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1957; Quakers and the Atlantic Culture, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1960.

¹² The term "of the best sort but plain" is derived from a 1738 order made by John Reynell for a pair of bureaux and a looking glass from a cabinet maker in London; Tolles [1948]; p.128

wealth of diaries, day books and accounts documenting the daily lives of Quaker families, a material-cultural synthesis of such sources has not been attempted. It is an omission suggestive of the uncritical acceptance of the idea of the Quaker esthetic in its mythological form.¹³

Even a cursory reading of such material suggests a multiplicity of interpretations of the esthetic Tolles reduces to the Reynell epigram. Hannah Chapman Backhouse, an English Quakeress who toured the United States extensively, wrote in 1821 after having reorganized her household, "I had begun to feel that Christian discipline should extend to this part of our conduct, and that perhaps no circumstances warrant it being sumptuous", a statement that suggests the exhortations of Penn in his No Cross, No Crown, or those of Woolman and Fothergill a century later -- "...woe to them that have their hearts in worldly possessions, for when they are gone, their Heaven is gone with them" -- were not as memorable as their fire and brimstone suggests.¹⁴ Elizabeth Fry, the renowned English penal reformer and Quaker recorded in her journal for August 31st., 1800, the choosing of furniture, "...not very plain, but handsome" for the establishment of her new household.¹⁵ Reynell's 'plain but good' is one way of seeing the Quaker interior, Elizabeth Fry's "not very plain, but handsome" another, and Backhouse's a third. Amongst all these the Society of Friends wove prescriptive restraints that acknowledged social standing and its necessary trappings,¹⁶ but which could also tend toward the apocalyptic and disciplinarian, in the

¹³The exception is Susan L.Garfinkel's investigation of Quakers connoisseurship; "Discipline, Discourse and Deviation: the Material Life of Philadelphia Quakers, 1762-1781", Master of Arts thesis, University of Delaware, 1986.

¹⁴J.G.Fox, ed. Extracts from the Journal and Letters of Hannah Chapman Backhouse, R.Barrett, London, 1858; p.45: William Penn, No Cross, No Crown, (1678), in The Select Works of William Penn, vol.1, 4th. edition, London, 1825. Reprinted in facsimile by Krause Reproductions Company, New York, 1971; p.357.

¹⁵Jane Vansittart, ed. Katharine Fry's Book, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1966; p.67.

¹⁶Robert Barclay's passage from his Apology for the True Christian Divinity (London, 1678?) is the most commonly referenced source for this attitude; "we say not... that no man may use the creation more or less than another: for we know, that as it hath pleased God to dispense it diversely giving to some more and some less, so they may use it accordingly"; quoted Frost; p.196.

searching out of "Fine tea Tacklin and Fine Ceiled Housis".¹⁷ Tolles' conclusions -- that Quaker households were plain in the way that Dutch Calvinist mercantile households of the seventeenth century, were 'plain' -- are appropriate, but there is no detailing of the mediations in this, especially in the context of reform movements within the Society, and the prevailing non-Quaker esthetic topography.¹⁸

The conundrum of the Quaker esthetic is well-stated in the dichotomies historian David Shi describes in his survey of the ideology of 'the simple life' in America; was the social hierarchy to be maintained as more important than a universal commitment to simplicity? And was diligent pursuit of commerce more ethically sound in a land of opportunity than monastic ascetism? His view, of the post-Revolutionary Quaker answering these poles with a "'broad and middle way" of pious simplicity." is more compelling than Tolles' discussion of richness retained in reduction.¹⁹ The following research does not propose to isolate a distinctive color scheme or furniture typologies to render concrete the truly Quaker interior, for the 'esthetic', even traditionally couched, does not attempt this. However, to assess artifactually the "broad and middle way" of negotiating the apostate 'world of things' will provide a means of locating the Quaker domestic landscape in the terrain from which reformers were ever struggling to remove it.

I:III. CASE STUDIES, SOURCES AND LITERATURE:

Other transplanted religious groups, notably the New England Puritans and the Pennsylvanian Germans, have been the subject of domestic histories, and for the nineteenth century there are valuable studies of the intersection of religion and domesticity, but none

¹⁷ Required of the officers of the Philadelphia familial visitation of 1756-60: Marietta; p.75.

¹⁸ Simon Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age, Knopf, New York, 1987.

¹⁹ David Shi, The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture, Oxford University Press, New York, 1985; p.49.

which discuss the Quakers explicitly.²⁰ While Frost's essays on the colonial Quaker family and Barry Levy's monograph on Quaker families in the pre-Revolutionary Delaware Valley address the relationship between "home and hearth" and the health of the religious body, their concerns are more specifically demographic and in particular, focus upon the 'civilizing' presence of the Friends as a self-sufficient, self-educating, and self-disciplining minority community in the increasingly heterogeneous colonial cultural landscape.²¹

Beyond the works of Tolles, few historians attempt an encounter with the domestic interface, except tangentially, for example, in Sam Bass Warner's sociological equation of the Society of Friends with "privatism" as a community model, or in works that use Quaker sources to serve more general historiographic ends.²² Yet promising historical and methodological direction is given by Abbott Lowell Cummings' work dissecting the vernacular architecture of New England, as it is by concise yet evocative essays that decipher particular spatial microcosms and locate them within a larger cultural topography.²³

²⁰ John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1970; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth Century New England*, revised and enlarged ed., Harper and Row, New York, 1966; Amos Long, Jr., *The Pennsylvania German Family Farm*, The Pennsylvania German Society, Breinigsville, PA, 1972; Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1986; M.P.Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1981.

²¹ Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family; British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* Oxford University Press, New York, 1988.

²² Sam Bass Warner, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*, revised ed.; University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1987; p.xxiii. For an example of Quaker material used in women's history, see Nancy Tomes, "The Quaker Connection: Visiting Patterns among Womem in the Philadelphia Society of Friends, 1750-1800", in Michael Zuckerman, ed., *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1982, pp.174-195.

²³ Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Inside the Massachusetts House", in D.Upton and J. Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, Athens, GA, University of Georgia Press, 1986, pp.219-239; R.B.St.George, "'Set Thine House in Order': The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth Century New England", *ibid.*, pp.336-364; Kenneth L.Ames, "Meaning in Artifacts: Hall Furnishings in Victorian America", *ibid.*, pp.240-260.

More specifically, the complementarity of the case study sites lies in more than just their ownership by Friends. Both geographically located in relation to Philadelphia in comparable, although by differing, social and economic links, both farms and homes to families with respectable Quaker pedigrees but also little history of religious activism or engagement, particularly in this period of sectarian schism --Wyck and Collen Brook Farm might be viewed as unremarkable Federal Quaker domestic landscapes. Yet from a documentary perspective, the two sites offer differing challenges. Wyck and the Haines family are represented by over 100,000 items of correspondence, legal and financial material that comprise the Wyck Manuscript Collection, on deposit at the American Philosophical Society; in addition to this vast archival record, secondary documentary studies abound, including a Historic Structures Report and archaeological investigations of the site.²⁴ Reuben Haines III, and to a lesser extent his father, Caspar Wister Haines I (1765-1801), have been the subject of monographs, just as Wyck itself has drawn much attention as a "Strickland house" and apocryphally, as one of the oldest surviving houses in the Philadelphia region.²⁵ The illuminating nature of the Wyck Papers makes them an invaluable resource; the letters and accounts of the family have been used extensively in this dissertation as illustrative pieces. Although this material cannot be regarded as necessarily representative, either of the contemporary Society of Friends, nor of upper middle class Philadelphian households, the documents nevertheless unravel lives experienced in a still surviving and relatively intact locus, permitting the researcher the rare opportunity to visualize its cultural significance.

²⁴ Manuscript Collection #52; Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, for John Dickey, FAIA, "Wyck, Historic Structures Report", 3 volumes, December 1986. See also Elizabeth Righter, "Archaeological Investigations at the Wyck House", 1985. Both typescript.

²⁵ "Wyck: Witness to a Way of Life", House and Garden. II:11 (November 1902); Sandra F. Mackenzie (Lloyd), "What A Beauty there is in Harmony: the Reuben Haines Family of Wyck", Master of Arts thesis, University of Delaware, 1979; Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, "Wyck", The MagazineAntiques CXXIV (August 1983), pp.252-300.

In contrast, Collen Brook Farm and the Lewis family are recorded only sketchily in legal, testamentary, and land transaction records, and have become known more for being the home and ancestors of the mid-nineteenth century educator and antiquarian, Dr. George Smith, who married Abraham Lewis III's only child, Mary, in 1829. Family papers are dominated by Smith's manuscripts and business concerns, and Delaware County histories make only peripheral mention of the genealogy of the earlier Lewises and their landholdings.²⁶ No thorough historic structural survey has been undertaken for the site, although some preliminary ideas about the construction chronology of the house have been generated, and site archaeological explorations are projected. The house thus becomes the central document for any investigation of this family's domestic expression of religious participation and belief.²⁷

The charting of a valid passage through a cultural terrain as ephemeral and renewing as the household requires a knowledge of the limits of artifactual 'legibility' and an acceptance of idiosyncrasy in every case study.²⁸ These parameters acknowledged, the affective approach can prove as rewarding as the empirical or deductive; in tandem, historical and cultural sensitivities can only be enriched.

²⁶ The Lewis-Smith Papers were not available for consultation, as they are in the process of being catalogued for deposit at the American Philosophical Society, but verbal communication with Dr. Eleanor Smith-Morris, confirmed this. For Delaware County Quakers, see Dr. George Smith, History of Delaware County, Bowen and Company, Philadelphia, 1862; Levy; pp.147, 179.

²⁷ Jeff Baumel, Cloantha Copass, Jean Janson, Lyssa Papazian and Sara Pennell, "Collen Brook Farmhouse - A Site Analysis Presented to Upper Darby Township", Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania, Spring 1991. Typescript.

²⁸ Prown, pp.15-16.

PART II: CONTEXTS

II:I. THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN THE FEDERAL ERA- "DECLENSION":

As a people we are called to dwell alone not to be numbered with the Nations, content with the comfortable necessities of life; as pilgrims and Strangers; to avoid all encumbrances, as was proposed to Israel of old, to be as a Kingdom of Priests, an Holy Nation, a peculiar people to shew forth the praise of Him that called us. ¹

Between 1756 and 1827, the Pennsylvania Society of Friends experienced a profound reorientation, away from secular hegemony, and towards spiritual reinvigoration, spearheaded by two distinct groups of determined and highly vocal reformers. Anthony Benezet, alongside Samuel Fothergill, John Woolman and John Churchman, and the later generation of Elias Hicks, Samuel Comly and Jesse Kersey, among others, represented a re-embodiment of the discipline of the Society's founders, an ascetic and critical disposition clearly at odds with prevailing worldly rapprochement apparent amongst Friends.

The quandary into which the crisis over the Indian Wars of the 1750s and the Revolution threw almost every member of the Society morally, and some politically and financially, contributed greatly to the emasculation of Quakerism into "formalism and ...corporate authority," possessing neither the dynamic of its earlier exclusionary generations, nor the orchestrated, regulated base of the established Catholic and Protestant churches.² The contrary actions of many notable Friends, in bearing arms, contributing to levied war taxes and thus contravening the Society's expressed testimony of pacifism, was just one of many internal scandals that prompted a moral retreat into self-examination.³ The Society of the early Republic was no longer a political force to be reckoned with, and as yet it was not the philanthropic force it was to become in the nineteenth century.

¹ Anthony Benezet to Morris Birbeck 16/10/1781; FHL Swarthmore; quoted by Marietta; p.85.

² Bauman; pp.140-141.

³ For both the events of the 1750s and the revolutionary period see Marietta, pp.150-168, 223-248.

The critique of wealth and elision with the secular world propagated by these reformers, was not structured with tangible goals in mind.⁴ Instead, they sought to influence by example, as visible exemplars of the sobriety they argued, and by a rigorous scriptural critique of the consequences of the abandonment of true 'conversation'. As Samuel Fothergill commented succinctly, "...where your Treasure is, there will be your heart also".⁵ This intensification of focus upon ethical adherence was the Society's means to re-engage its members in an alternative world away from the spheres in which the Quakers had recently forfeited political power. The loss of this control set in sharp relief the extent to which accommodation with property and display had proceeded; ethical revitalization was not merely a strategy, it was an end in itself.⁶

Between 1790 and 1830 Philadelphia could without dispute call itself the tastemaking center of the nation, boasting mercantile variety and social cornucopia unrivalled by any other eastern seaboard city.⁷ The city's mercantile interface made access to the novel, the luxurious and the prestigious easy, just as it prompted the development of sophisticated local and national retail networks. The art of purchasing had been almost universally acquired; as Anne Royall, a visitor to Philadelphia commented upon the sophistication of merchandising in 1826, "some [shops] are filled with the most splendid plate, glass and chinaware...the lustre of the glittering wares in the windows presents a scene of astonishing beauty."⁸ The street market extending westwards along Market Street was by 1830 possibly the largest and most diverse in North America, and the increasing presence

⁴ Marietta, p.99.

⁵ David Kobrin, "The Saving Remnant: Intellectual Sources of Change and Decline in Colonial Quakerism, 1690-1810", PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968; p.194.

⁶ *ibid*; p.190.

⁷ For contemporary views of the Federal city, see Robert S.Teitelman, ed., William Birch's Views of Philadelphia : A Reduced Facsimile of *The City of Philadelphia* as it Appeared in the Year 1800, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983; and James Mease, MD, The Picture of Philadelphia, B.and T.Kite, Philadelphia, 1811.

⁸ Elizabeth Garrett Donaghy, At Home: The American Family 1750-1870, Harry N. Abrams Inc., New York, 1990; p.258.

of commercial ventures in what had hitherto been solely residential areas of Chestnut and Walnut Street attested to buoyant mercantile expansion.⁹ The fascination with importation brought entrepreneurs to experiment in trade with Canton, India, and the newly discovered Australasian continent; the fascination with the American interior brought ventures in investment in turnpike and canal construction.¹⁰

The Society's trajectory away from its originating rigorous exclusionism is rooted in part in the question the group hesitated to ask of itself; if hermeticism was counterproductive, and engagement the true route to discovery of the bounty of holy conversation, what were the realistic parameters of experience of the world? Differentiation could become a subtle and arcane matter for theologians, but for the Friend positioned in mercantilist Philadelphia, differentiation was easily subsumed by material temptation. The hierarchic institutionalization of Quaker religious government argued by Susan Forbes in her study of New Garden (Pennsylvania) Monthly Meeting has its social and economic counterpart in the maintenance of social distinction that Shi observes.¹¹ This pattern, of a dynamic towards institutionalization and hierarchic differentiation within -- Max Weber's "routinization of charisma"--¹² and an increasing rapprochement with the world without, is also identified by Schama amongst the Dutch Calvinists of the mid-seventeenth century; as he notes vividly, "within the forms of simplicity they had poured the immense riches of their social cornucopia".¹³

None of the reformers was a caricature of Quaker plainness; rather, it was their fervent belief that the urban society to which they belonged had eroded the intellectual and moral

⁹ For commercial growth in the first half of this period, see Elizabeth Gray Kogen Spera, "Building for Business: The Impact of Commerce on the City Plan and Architecture of the City of Philadelphia, 1750-1800", PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980.

¹⁰ Richardson, pp.238-9.

¹¹ Susan S. Forbes, "Quaker Tribalism": in Zuckerman, ed.; pp.145-173;p.171: Shi; p.48.

¹² quoted and discussed by Bauman; p.18.

¹³ Simon Schama, "The Unruly Realm: Appetite and Restraint in Seventeenth Century Holland", *Daedalus*, 108:3 (Summer 1979); p.117.

rigor of Friends' beliefs and that a revitalization could only proceed by means of a stripping away of extraneous diversions; as Benezet wrote to George Dillwyn "It is in nothingness that God is found".¹⁴ In the posthumously published A Plea for the Poor, A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich (1793), John Woolman questioned, "Are many supported with wages to furnish us with delicacies and luxuries? Are monies expended for colours to please the eye...Are there various branches of workmanship only ornamental - in the building of our houses, hanging by our walls and partitions, and to be seen in our furniture and apparel?"¹⁵ To such queries, the answers were all too visible:

A deviation amongst us as a Society from that simplicity that there is in Christ [is] becoming so general... this weight of this degeneracy hath lain so heavy upon me ... [the] desires in my heart [have been] so ardent for a reformation, so ardent that we might come to a right use of things where living on a little, we might inhabit that holy mountain on which they neither hurt *nor destroy*!¹⁶

Such thundering critiques arguably brought results. There was a re-emphasis upon the purpose behind the Meeting Discipline, the annual queries, and upon rooting out excess.¹⁷ Projects, such as the foundation of Westtown School, and the development of Quaker-organized groups supporting abolitionism and penal reform and the campaign against the manufacture of strong liquors, had their origins in the urgent rhetoric of personal reform made manifest as public reform.¹⁸

But these are clearly externally focussed, collective expressions of reform. The rekindling and purifying of the inner light was a far more indirect motivational process, and

¹⁴ Marietta; p.251.

¹⁵ Chapter 14, A Plea for the Poor, A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich (1793), in Phillips P.Moulton, ed., The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman, Oxford University Press, New York, 1971; p. 266.

¹⁶ Journal entry during visit to England, 8/23/1772, at Preston Patrick (original emphasis, *ibid*: p.185.

¹⁷ Moves for the reform of the Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting were not initiated until 1806: Ingle; p.68.

¹⁸ Jean Soderlund, Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1985.

one which may have benefitted little from reformers' vehemence.¹⁹ Moreover, as Shi notes, the "anti-luxury jeremiads" of the 1770s and 1780s were not so much focussed upon an excision of excess from the present way of life, but were instead amplified rhetorical evocations of past - and hopefully future- manners of living, modes which just as well reflected current nationalistic and non-sectarian ideals.²⁰ The appeal of a "plain way" was necessarily conjoined with many other factors - political and economic - before it could register effectively in the community of Friends.

Urbanization was condemned by the reformers as the contaminant to explain Philadelphia Friends' lackluster adherence; yet it was arguably the urban context that permitted the reformation in word and collective deed but one not so profoundly felt in individual hearts. Quaker participation in philanthropic movements was intense and their contributions invaluable, even as such participation could serve as a panacea for true reform of the inner self. Thomas Cope, who knew himself to be a less than wholehearted Quaker, observed this dichotomy with apprehension:

Where a man is in exterior a Quaker, constant in his attendance of meetings and well practised in the cant of language and sectarian phraseology, ...they will for which is called the honour and reputation of society stand by him and each other and expose a formidable row of whetted tusks to keep off assailants, when in fact the protected deserves to be worried for his mysterious practices....²¹

Indeed, the reforming message registered with far greater impact in areas where there was arguably less digression from the idealized path -- in the agricultural hinterlands of the city. It was in Chester and Bucks Counties and the westward tracts that Woolman found closer approximations to the simplicity of conversation he envisioned; further afield,

¹⁹ Frost also suggests that the hagiography of these men by subsequent generations has obscured the key issue : J. William Frost, "The Origins of the Quaker Crusade Against Slavery", *Quaker History* 67:1 (Spring 1968), pp.42-58; p.55.

²⁰ Shi; p.37.

²¹ Eliza Cope Harrison, ed., *Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851*, Gateway Editions, South Bend IN, 1978; pp.153-4.

travelling Friends commended a more primitive spirit to be found flourishing in less urbanized Quaker enclaves such as Newport, Rhode Island, Portland, Maine, and the Carolinas.²²

Without a rigid and compelling institutional form, and without investing the weekly and monthly meetings with a greater administrative power that could be brought to bear upon recalcitrant absentees, the Society could not root out those who might be termed perfunctory Quakers, those who simply went through the external rote motions, and conformed within the broad parameters of 'treating' with the material world, parameters that would not easily be pushed back.

With the deaths of Woolman (1772), Benezet (1784) and their peers, the momentum for spiritual reform was subsumed into the more inclusive, novel dynamic for nationmaking, in itself a reform process, of recasting collective ideals and ethical foundations. Within a physical and emotional neo-classical framework derived with less violence, and more circumspection from the same ideological roots as those of the French Republic/Empire, Federal intellectual discourse championed the apparently uncomplicated, honest morality of the farmers and small businessmen who had exercised their right of liberation from imperial jurisdiction, men who had brought Washington and Jefferson to power.²³ In this stream, Quaker doctrine could pass for rigorous and efficacious, with commendable and historically rooted republican sentiment and with equally admirable visible restraint in conspicuous consumption.

For a man like Elias Hicks (1748-1830), such dissimulation was as great a sin as the act of compromise inherent in it. Hicks had formed his critique of the apostasy of worldliness in the steps of Woolman whilst growing up in Jericho, Long Island, but saw in more antagonistic terms the spiritual chasm widening between the narrow route of

²² Marietta; p.100.

²³ Miller; pp.200-205..

provincial Quakerism, and the broad sweep of urban adherence.²⁴ He lambasted "creaturely activity" with a verbal vehemence that underlines the force of his conceptualization of a world without compromise. And the world he projected was one stripped not only of its ribbons and baubles, but also of its natural history studies, its scientific experimentation and its elementary schools.²⁵ The Hicksite critique of increasingly Scripture- and preaching-oriented doctrine, which Hicks regarded as a contamination and an indication of the lack of self-will in molding the Christian inner 'plantation', was complemented by his view of Christ as an exemplar, rather than a medium for intercession. Secular activity was not the sort of enthusiasm Hicks valued; rather, activity was interpreted as a religious bond, strengthened, indeed defined by, incontrovertible moral discipline, which, as sociologist Robert Doherty notes "...would maintain strong and continuous tension between believer and the world."²⁶

This approach threatened those Quakers whose reform had comprised excision of the most obvious excesses of ostentation, and otherwise maintained a commitment to the betterment of knowledge through such organizations as the Mechanics' Institute and the Academy of Natural Sciences. Its anti-scientific sentiment bespoke a resurgence of primitivism and quietism that would brook no interface with the progressive urban world, philanthropic or otherwise. For the emerging corpus of Hicksites, or "new Lights" as they were termed by contemporary Orthodox or undecided Quakers,²⁷ orthodoxy was

²⁴ For the standard biography of Hicks, see Bliss Forbush, Elias Hicks: Quaker Liberal, Columbia University Press, New York, 1956. Forbush takes the view that Hicks' quietistic message was the route of liberation in the face of "routinization" at the hands of evangelical Quakers.

²⁵ Robert W. Doherty, The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1967; p.28.

²⁶ *ibid*: pp.26-7, p.32.

²⁷ This contemporary use is confusing; the "new Lights" were a particular group of Quaker dissenters, centered in New Bedford and Lynn, MA, with comparable beliefs to those of the Hicksites, but with arguably different socio-economic roots: see Thomas D. Hamm, The Transformation of American Quakerism, Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988; n.14, p.184.

synonymous with superficial belief and cultural conformism that lacked the necessary spiritual insularity: "the wealth of Orthodox leaders [was] an indication of...too much of the world."²⁸

What made Elias Hicks' reformism more calamitous for the cohesion of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia and beyond was his determination to make it muscular and, in the spirit of the 'Second Great Awakening' unfurling in New England, effective. His presence at the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings of 1819 and 1821, and his forceful articulation, was figured to bring the matters in hand to a volatile head, exactly in the arena where Friends could least conceal wavering adherence.²⁹ As Jane Bowne Haines reported to her cousin Ann Haines, after attending the Broome, New York, Quarterly Meeting, Hicks was artful at engaging his opponents in the field of the meeting: "Elias spoke a very long time...in his usual strain - thee could have left the house, I think - there were many wished to, but had not quite courage enough."³⁰

The Hicksite fuse was slow-burning but itinerant adherents of Hicks, particularly Kersey and Samuel Comfort, were instrumental in disseminating a message of disquiet. Moreover, Hicks' diatribes were not limited in their influence to the greater Philadelphia area; sympathizers made their discontents known in New York, New England and in the nascent Quaker communities on the western frontiers of Ohio and Indiana.³¹

By the mid-1820s, doctrinal dispute had been elevated to the level of interpersonal and interfamilial feud. Ann Haines, a fervent Orthodox Quaker, recorded cases where Orthodox brides-to-be were forbidden to marry their fiancés on discovery of the latter's incipient

²⁸ Doherty; p.31.

²⁹ Kobrin; p.265.

³⁰ JBH to AH, 4/23/1824: II:20:271: WP.

³¹ Hamm; p.18. J. William Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1790-1860" in John M. Moore ed., Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1681-1981, Friends Historical Association, Haverford, PA, 1981; pp.78-9; Ingle; pp.225-46.

Hicksitism,³² The possibility of having a covert Hicksite at one's table was no less unsettling; Ann Haines wrote of William Rotch's visit to Germantown, "...he look[ed] well but does not say well, for he utters the sentiments of the new lights, or rather as he says they are called by some, do as you please-ites."³³ Meetings were split acrimoniously between the two camps, with property becoming the object of tactics amounting to guerilla warfare; in August 1827, Reuben Haines III was one of a crowd of 180 supposed Orthodox Friends shut out of Abington Monthly Meeting by "Separatists".³⁴

It remains difficult to determine just how deeply this sectarianism was felt beyond the circles of the protagonists, or how clearly the doctrinal points of dispute were perceived. For a belief system that had for so long denied the utility of doctrinal precision other than the words of the Discipline, which in any case defined primarily the secular parameters of religiosity as "witness", conflict over scriptural primacy, the origins of sin and the process of atonement undoubtedly passed many by. More tangible surely was the emphasis upon 'creaturely' conduct, and dispute registered more intensely in the discussion of these areas of differentiation. Quakers whose belief hovered between the intuitive and the ingrained, were disoriented and dismayed. Elizabeth Bowne, Jane Bowne Haines' mother, lamented "...truly our society is in a deplorable situation, and without the interposition of divine aid it does seem as if we should be broken up...", whilst Hannah Chapman Backhouse believed "the powers of darkness had been let loose".³⁵ More critical in her vision of the roots of declension, an anonymous Quaker relative of Jane Bowne Haines, defined the innate disabling factor in early nineteenth century Quakerism as a preoccupation with the superficial, and an inability to confront the Society's central spiritual contradictions, wherein consistency, "the Beauty of Character", had faltered:

³² AH to JBH, 6/14/1829; II:25:373: WP.

³³ AH to JBH 5/9/1824; II:25:373: WP.

³⁴ AH to JBH, 5/30/1828; II:23:344; RH Acct. Book, 1827, entry for Aug. 10; IV:127:24: WP.

³⁵ EB to JBH, 4/10/1827; II:23:342: WP. Backhouse quoted Hamm; p.18.

"Friends certainly lose ground when they direct our attention to the trifling distinctions of dress, while subjects of deeper import are slightly touched upon or altogether omitted. . . "order is Heaven's first law" and from these elements have arisen the Discipline of Society without which it must become a garden wanting inclosure, subject to incroachment and ruin."³⁶

That faltering, between the poles of primitivism and acquisitiveness, underscored the prevalent sense of disorientation amongst many Quakers, fuelled by socio-economic dislocations as Philadelphia intensified its industrial sector; and by the irreversible relocation of the Society beyond the political pale. For some, this disorientation brought realignment with the beliefs of Hicks, whilst for others it provided the breach through which they passed to other more structured religions, such as presbyterianism and unitarianism. For those who remained orthodox, whether through active belief or simply through a traditional sense of belonging and continuity, the decades after 1820 would require a thoroughgoing reevaluation of what the Society's foundational concept of 'otherness' represented, and how it could be manifested in an industrial society.³⁷

³⁶ A?W[illets?] [signed initials] to JBH, 5/12/1823; II:23:334; WP.

³⁷ While she focusses upon the disputes that preoccupied the English Friends in the Victorian period, Elizabeth Isichei suggests that growing conformity with exterior cultural norms evident in Quaker "puritanism" was in line with the rapprochement of the larger evangelical community; Victorian Quakers, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1970; pp.152-8.

II:II. DOMESTICITY, TESTIMONY AND DISCIPLINE IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:

Quaker sectarianism, forged by George Fox, Margaret Fell and others, might be viewed as the sociologist of religion's sectarian archetype.¹ Quakers were urged into "otherness" and the exclusivity of "holy conversation" by the writings, preachings and lifestyles of these personalities, and more acutely by the persecution they suffered collectively during the 1660s and 1670s as the promise of toleration in Restoration England receded.² Those Quakers who elected to follow Penn and his acolytes to Holland and thence to the new colony were actively confirming that "otherness", and the will to frame an alternative commonwealth on the basis of it. From being outcasts, with the exception of a number of politically-sensitive adepts such as William Penn, in Restoration England, the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania and in Philadelphia, became immediately the socially and politically hegemonic group.

This primacy strengthened the Society's religious organization: predominance lends itself to institutionalization. Although the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting clearly took its lead from the London Yearly Meeting, in the sphere of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and latterly New York and New England, the former was pre-eminent, at least until the Revolution. As the Meeting which corresponded with London, which issued the annual Discipline and which served to distill the sentiments of the Society's geographically-dispersed but spiritually-gathered members, and determined the nature of the Society's actions for the following year, the Philadelphia Meeting was both mouthpiece and showcase for colonial Quakerism. The Elders of the meeting became spokesmen for the Society in its dealings with the external world, in which Quakers were highly visible players, as mayors,

¹ Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, translated by Talcott Parsons, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1958; pp.144-148.

² See Richard T.Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1681-1981, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1969.

aldermen, colonial representatives, mercantile entrepreneurs, landowners and academics.³ With such a monopoly on social and political participation, the originating "otherness" needs must modify. Tolles' "Quaker grandees" appellation is a simplification of the elision of Quaker community with the ways of the colonial establishment, but it does underscore a dynamic that is clearly no longer the preserve of an outcast minority, even while their religion kept its ethical bounds within the meeting house.

Even after the political disfranchisement of the Revolution, the infrastructure of Yearly, Quarterly and Monthly meetings, meetings for sufferings and preparative meetings, of discipline and certification remained unscathed. Indeed it became the representative 'architecture' of Quakerism, as the remainder of Philadelphia society perceived it.⁴ The "saving remnant" as David Kobrin has argued, believed in the continuing rigor of testimony, and that despite "temporary declension", "the eternal ethical standard and the principles of truth for all time" would persevere.⁵ The reinforcement of the meeting as a purely religious locus and the redirection of the Quaker community's focus upon the process and product of the meeting was one consequence of incipient reformation. The other significant locus for the cultivation of testimony, and one which was to become more important as the meetinghouse became the territory of internal dispute, was the household.

The domestication of religion and religious conduct is only now beginning to be studied in its nineteenth century manifestations.⁶ By clandestine necessity the sects that developed in the wake of the theological revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were at root mostly, if not wholly, domestic. The location and cultivation of belief was

³ For an overview of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting prior to the Revolution, see Arthur J. Mekeel, "The Founding Years, 1681-1789", in Moore, ed.; pp.14-53.

⁴ For a concise description of the operations of the Society's administrative hierarchy see Forbes; p.147.

⁵ Kobrin, p.329.

⁶ See for example, McDannell, op.cit.; Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1973; Gwendolyn Wright, Moralism and the Model Home, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1980.

circumscribed by the bounds of dissenters' homes used as secret meeting places. The emphasis upon solitary or familial self-examination and contemplation relocated the experience of belief and atonement away from the extrinsic stage of the church to the intrinsic surroundings of the household.⁷

As the following chapter will discuss, Philadelphia Friends spent a large amount of time either in their own homes, both in a public, receiving role and in the cultivation of familial coherence; or in the homes of peers and co-religionists, reiterating communal identity. A perceived element of the rhapsodic in the following passage does argue for a particularly keen connotation of the Quaker household and modes of occupancy:⁸

" Now look at us - Mother and Uncle in their usual corner (front parlor) with the stand and one brass lamp, Mary at her French lessons with the other brass lamp in my corner - the tea table in the middle of the room on it a large ... Astrill [sic] lamp... Friend Shillitoe and I seated at it writing...".⁹

This may be read as a typical nineteenth century fireside scene of domestic technology united to the propagation of a value-laden middle-class concept of the "true American family".¹⁰ Yet its religious significance also cannot be dismissed. The household as Noah's Ark, as a "paradigm of order and nurture" reinforces the contemporary fear that organized, establishment religion, even in the context of Quakerism, could no longer provide the idealized collective goals of faith, or even sanctuary. The home would serve instead.¹¹

⁷ As Warner notes, "The politics of exclusion are...the inescapable politics of families...So too with religion.": Warner; p.xxiii.

⁸ Echoing Dolores Hayden's communitarians in search of an "intentional vernacular"; Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge, 1976; p.49.

⁹ Sarah Minturn to JBH, 10/28/1826: II:23:341:WP.

¹⁰ Robert Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia. Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1987; p.142.

¹¹ Maxine van der Wetering, "The Popular Concept of 'Home' in Nineteenth. Century America". Journal of American Studies 18 (1984), pp.5-28; pp.6, 28

A major focus of the reformist Quaker exponents of the late eighteenth century was the engendering of "holy conversation" amongst Quaker youth, to whom the lures of the world threatened to become ever more tantalizing.¹² The power vested in domestic bonds and in identification with that sphere thus became more precious to preserve and adumbrate. Education was a priority but the words recorded in the minutes of Abington Monthly Meeting, in answer to the annual queries disseminated by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, suggest surveillance of the domestic realm was also required: "Though some Friends are careful to bring up those under their direction in plainness in reading the Holy Scriptures... yet that a more general care...is needful appears sorrowfully evident by the departure of many from primitive simplicity in dress and deportment".¹³

The Quaker home provided a framework for activating and directing belief. Within both the domestic and congregational loci of Quaker society, daily existence was posited on the understanding and internalization of parameters that suggested 'ways of living' according to the inner light. Since dogmatic proscription was a discredited feature of orthodox churches, the Society of Friends relied upon an enlightened sensitivity amongst adherents to the value of such constraints, as they were evoked in the idea of 'holy conversation' and detailed in the Discipline.¹⁴ The indeterminate nature of these parameters, and the ultimate emphasis upon the individual as a self-policing agent, must explain in part the broad interpretations of effectual compromise with the world to be found co-existing in Philadelphia in the second half of the eighteenth century.

To better understand the ambivalence of these parameters, it is necessary to understand the efficacy of the machinery for constraint that the Society of Friends designed for self-

¹² Marietta, pp.58-61.

¹³ 7/30/1792, Abington Monthly Meeting (Men's) Minutes, vol.6, p.234; FHL, Swarthmore. Microfilm.

¹⁴ "Dearly beloved Friends, these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by, but that all, with the measure of light which is pure and holy, may be guided..." stated in 1656 at Badby, England, and recounted in subsequent disciplines; quoted Edwin R. Bronner, "Intercolonial Relations Amongst Quakers Before 1750", *Quaker History*, 56:1 (Spring 1967), pp.3-17; p.14.

limitation. It was during meetings for business that the items of Discipline were rehearsed, discussed, confirmed and circulated. The Discipline was the distillation of Friends' dicta on interface with the external world, an active pursuit of the realization of testimonies. From its earliest formulation, Quaker doctrine had focussed upon these external behavioral aspects of its adherents. In that almost existential context, the distinction between adherents and non-believers had to be adumbrated; the 'testimonies' of apparel, address, pacifism and alienation from worldly matter, were a semiotic discourse of isolation. The testimonies evidenced a laying bare of the bones of a less conceited --in the seventeenth century sense of the word, where conceit carried the notion of illusionistic sophistication-- way of life, one in which the line, so well defined in the society that bred Quakerism, between public and private performance was consciously erased.

The pursuit and rehearsal of testimony, not merely as verbalized, but also as practised, was rendered dynamic by prescriptive works and the jurisdiction of the Overseers and Elders of each meeting. The evolution of the Discipline into a published, widely distributed form was the most formalized expression of this prescription.¹⁵ The Discipline was organic and additive in its form, with addenda penned in on manuscript copies from year to year. It set out practice and regulation, in the positive sense of the word discipline; to adhere to the Discipline was to follow the path of "cultivation of the inner plantation".¹⁶

The first published Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1797) retains evidence of that additive compilation, with the sources of certain sections attributed, whether from English Disciplines and advices, or from earlier Philadelphia manuscripts.¹⁷ Set out in chapters alphabetically, the manual is a primer; for example, under the heading of

¹⁵ The Discipline represented the understanding and propagation of testimony as defined by the meeting; it was produced as a consequence of the Yearly Meeting, recorded in manuscript form by the Clerk of the meeting, and in this form available for members to take home, peruse and inwardly digest. Personal communication, Patricia O'Donnell, 2/4/92, FHL, Swarthmore.

¹⁶ Mekeel; p.37.

¹⁷ The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting issued "strict advices" in manuscript from 1695, *ibid*; p.22.

"Plainness", it is stated "...let our Moderation and Prudence as well as Truth and Justice appear to all Men and in all Things, in Trading and commerce, in Speech and communication, in eating and Drinking, in habit and furniture, and through all in a meek, lowly quiet Spirit".¹⁸

Transgression of testimonies, as they were expounded in the Discipline, could be punished with severity, ejection from the meeting being the most powerful and usually final act of condemnation. Yet even a brief study of Abington Monthly Meeting's minutes suggest that few transgressions merited such dispatch.¹⁹ As Marietta notes, only marriage outside the Society and the bearing of arms can be considered as peculiarly Quaker 'crimes', and were frequently prosecuted as such. Fornication, lewd behavior and financial incontinence on the other hand were universal societal taboos; the transgression of "plainness" was seldom prosecuted, a fact that argues an ambivalent perception of exactly what excess constituted.²⁰

The chapter devoted to the explication of the testimony of simplicity in the 1797 edition further illustrates this, and is worth quoting in full.:

"Whereas we have with deep concern observed that there is a great declension from that simplicity in Speech, Behaviour, and Apparel, which our worthy ancestors were led into; and as we find by experiences that the same spirit of Truth which led our Antients to lay aside everything unbecoming the Followers of Christ will still lead in the same path, all who submit to its guidance, we earnestly entreat all Friends to watch over themselves in these respects. The example of our blessed Saviour and his followers and of virtuous and Holy men in all ages, ought to make a due impression on every considerate mind; and especially on such as have had the advantage of an Education in a Plainness agreeable to such example.

Let not any such as Degenerate in these respects excuse their own weakness, under the pretense of the misconduct of some who have

¹⁸ The entry is noted as being compiled from the English Discipline of 1731; Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Rules of Discipline and Christian Advices of the Yearly Meeting, Samuel Sansom, Jr., Philadelphia, 1797; p.35.

¹⁹ Abington Monthly Meeting (Men's) Minutes, vols. 6 (1782-1797), 7 (1798-1810), 8 (1811-1837), FHL, Swarthmore. Microfilm.

²⁰ Marietta; pp.22-3.

appeared outwardly plain; and objection of very little weight; for did they rightly consider, they would clearly see, that the very reason why Deceivers put on plain Apparel, it is because true men have been accustomed to wear it".²¹

There are two significant comments to make on this passage. Firstly, the plainness sought is in apparel and (in a later paragraph, not included here) speech; no comment is directed explicitly to domestic life and its instruments. Secondly, a comparison with two later published Disciplines (1806 and 1825) shows very little alteration, or extended exposition of these words; in fact, it is clear that much of this section is simply extracted and paraphrased. Furthermore, this omission, or perhaps lack of clarity, suggests an absence of concern about possible contamination. The rote repetition of entries over a span of three decades suggests a formulaic response on the behalf of the Quaker administration to the cultivation and surveillance of testimony.²² Copies of Disciplines were borrowed by Meeting members, but it is arguable that by the close of the eighteenth century, these readers did not necessarily adhere actively to the dictates they read.²³

Yet the administrative infrastructure of the Society was not without more interventionist mechanisms of prescription/ proscription. The prominence of the concept of visitation in the ethical vocabulary of Quakers is due to its polyvalent character. The domestic context of visiting is discussed in detail below; but visitation could also be corrective, an action authorized by the meeting as a means of self-policing. Members, usually of some stature in the meeting, were dispatched at the behest of the meeting, on missions of investigation and instruction, with both persuasion and proscription as carrot and stick. Of interest here are those visitations known to have been prosecuted against domestic ostentation. Tolles notes an undated directive for visitors (probably English),

²¹ *Philadelphia Discipline*; pp.104-5.

²² This observation is at odds with Tolles' belief that prescription and proscription was fervently prosecuted by overseers and elders; Tolles [1960]; pp.81-2.

²³ See John Woolman's inclusion of John Smith's lament in observation of the "declension" of the Society into worldly ways at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1762 in his journal, as a reflection of the inadequacy of circulated dictates; quoted Tolles [1948]; pp.123-4.

defining the permissible parameters of ornamentation in furnishing " ...so that all furniture and wainscoting should be all plain and of one colour",²⁴ and such directives were on occasion made the sole focus of visitation. While no such investigation appears to have been undertaken during the period of study, in the three year period 1757-60, Daniel Stanton and John Pemberton undertook the thankless task of exercising the power of visitation upon all Quaker families then residing in Philadelphia and its vicinity (almost 500 families), the chief object being to indicate "vanities in need of reforming".²⁵ How successful in their pilgrimage of education and eradication the two were is unknown. However, an absence of specific censure and the machinery of surveillance that could be called upon with more regularity than individual enthusiasts rendered such extraordinary actions almost superfluous. The problem, insoluble as it was, lay in the privatism enjoined by preachers in pursuit of holy conversation, and the household as the realized realm in which the private could be both pursued with religious perfectibility as the goal; or indulged, privacy the screen to negotiation with the worldly.

It would seem to be difficult to dissociate Quakerism from the domestic sphere, and yet critical comprehension of that sphere has been neglected. As McDannell argues, a more affective study of domestic rituals and values within religiously distinct households would serve the religious and the social historian valuably, particularly when there are few other contexts in which such groups 'registered' their beliefs.²⁶ To bring Quakerism back into the home, is to provoke questions relating to the demarcation between public and private space, the centrality of hospitality in the home, the continuity of the household against the prevalence of mobility; all of which are not questions to be asked of Quaker households alone, but which as yet have not been asked of this sect.

²⁴ Tolles [1960]; p.81.

²⁵ Marietta; p.75.

²⁶ McDannell; p.155.

II:III. MOVING THROUGH THE HOUSE: QUAKER SPACE AND THE TERRITORY OF VISITATION:

Levy has argued that, although the Quakers, unlike their Anglican contemporaries, were not memorable builders and designers of public buildings, they brought to domestic spatial design the same lines of simplicity, unencumbered and airy volumes with which they instilled the auditoria of meeting houses. The survival of many early Quaker homesteads, in Philadelphia, Delaware, Chester and Bucks Counties, and moreover their survival as private residences that continue to be occupied, underlines their success as effective domestic spaces.²⁷ The historian of vernacular architecture may not however recognize such homes as archetypes of the domestic "Quaker plan"; even in the case of the Quaker plan, there is arguably no discussion of a distinctive Quaker use of interior space. Yet, as has been suggested above, the location of Friends' beliefs within the household, and the concept of the Quaker 'home', is as conscious as that of their New England Protestant counterparts. A reevaluation of the utility of the Quaker plan, and a consideration of Quaker use of domestic space in the landscape of contemporary 'movement through the house' is one means of positioning, if not quantifying the relationship between domesticity and adherence.

In his article, "Balanced Simplicity", Charles Thum described a domestic plan "typical" to early colonial Quaker houses that has become known as the Quaker floorplan.²⁸ For Thum, the key elements of this plan are made concrete in the Letitia Street house.²⁹ A compact two-room first floor arrangement with entrance directly into the hall-parlor, the rooms are linked by the gable-end chimney, feeding each room by a corner fireplace with a united flue. The Flemish bond brick exterior is considered as suitably sober, the pent eave a

²⁷ Levy; pp.181-2.

²⁸ Charles F.Thum, "Balanced Simplicity", Journal of the American Institute of Architects, n.s. 19 (1953), pp.195-200.

²⁹ Now under the jurisdiction of the Fairmount Park Commission, standing at Girard Avenue and 34th Street. See the entry in Richard J.Webster, Philadelphia Preserved: the Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1976; p.235.

plain signature of the building practices of the northern English communities from which many founding Friends hailed. The whole is an archetype of compactness, invention and thrift. Thum's encomium upon Quakers as builders "in the most enduring fashion, allowing the possibilities and limitations of the various materials full play in affecting the final design" has been adopted by subsequent architectural historians who look to Quaker ethics as the decisive factor in the shaping of many communities.³⁰ Clay Lancaster's survey of Nantucket domestic architecture is posited on his belief that "...the imprint of the Quaker principle of simplicity is as apparent as the Zen tenet of eliminating the non-essential is upon the Japanese", and that the Quaker house is made as a house apart.³¹ Solange Strong, in her discussion of the survival of Loudon County, Virginia, farmhouses, dating from the first southern migration of Friends in *circa* 1733, reiterates this theme, seeing homes "...built from the native-hewn, vari-colored stone, [which] reflect neither crudity nor poverty, but rather a studied sobriety and an educated simplicity."³² Yet these authors' emphases upon the conscious development of an identifiable vernacular, a structural grammar to reflect a moral vocabulary, makes no attempt to evaluate the roots of Quaker design motifs and construction patterns.³³

As the vernacular architectural historian Bernard Herman points out, the identification of double-pile, two- and three-room structures as "Quaker-plan" houses is a label that says more about the confusion of location with predominant population as the factor determining spatial preferences in the minds of methodical historians, than it does about contemporary

³⁰ Charles F. Thum, "Creative Quaker Architecture", *Friends' Intelligencer*, 107 (1950), pp. 587-88.

³¹ Clay Lancaster, *The Architecture of Historic Nantucket*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1972; p.59.

³² Solange Strong, "Quaker Houses of Loudon County, VA", *The Magazine Antiques*, LIV (November, 1948), pp.333-5; p.335.

³³ Except in the acknowledgement of Quaker sensitivity towards readily-available materials and their facility in developing efficient functional forms, such as counterweighted sash windows.

perceptions of Quaker living.³⁴ Already-pressing demands upon premium land in Philadelphia provided the rationale for narrow one bay rowhouses, a plan that appears to have been translated to a rural context as a variant upon the two-cell hall/parlor type. By the close of the eighteenth century however, Georgian symmetry in both pure and more syncretic forms had greatly supplanted the direct entry two-cell house, both in the Delaware hinterland of Herman's survey, and on the streets of Philadelphia.³⁵ The distinctive corner chimneys of the Quaker plan are also difficult to pin to the Quakers as anything other than a borrowed form, possibly from the earlier Swedish settlers of the Delaware valley, and possibly from known Anglo-Irish practice, although their adoption of the form certainly confirms a sense of economy and practical heating concerns being exercised in the design process.³⁶ Quaker ingenuity lay as much in the borrowing of elements such as these, and in cultural nostalgia for the homes left behind, as it did in innovation.

The two/three cell plan argues an inclusive use of space in its partition and a colonial settlement rigor in the overlapping of those uses - but is there a specifically Quaker connotation to such usage? Without extensive probate material and the survival of such floorplan sites, to make any attempt at a cultural visualization of occupancy comparable to that essayed by Robert St.George for example, is redundant.³⁷ However it is feasible to step into surviving non-Quaker plan, Quaker-built houses, and ask questions of the articulated spaces and planes.

The first question might be that of appearance -- many Quaker homes are, on the exterior, indistinguishable from their non-Quaker counterparts. There is clearly a basis for

³⁴ Bernard Herman, Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700-1900, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN, 1987; n.14, p.248. See also Arlene Horvath, "Vernacular Expression in Quaker Chester County, Pennsylvania: The Taylor-Parke House and its Maker", in Camille Wells, ed., Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, II, University of Missouri Press for the Vernacular Architecture Forum, Columbia, MO, 1986, pp.150-160; pp.152-3.

³⁵ Herman; pp.20-22.

³⁶ Horvath; p.152, n.18.

³⁷ St.George, op.cit..

Quaker participation in esthetic 'improvement'. In the extension of their properties, Friends were not immune to adopting current stylistic features, nor to dressing the simpler lines of their predecessors' designs in more sophisticated trim. Between 1758 and 1770, the botanist John Bartram elected to transform the small Germanic farmhouse he had purchased in 1738, by the addition of somewhat rustic Palladian features, notably the columns on the chief facade and interior panelling.³⁸ The Wister family's schist stone summer residence in Germantown, 'Grumblethorpe', was provided with a suitably neo-classical stucco facade in *circa* 1808, while Judge William Lewis, who purchased the small property known as 'Somerville' which was to become Strawberry Mansion, obscured the original structure within the refined sweep of a five bay, two and one half story Federal house, with a delicate dentilled cornice, fluted dormer pilasters and an entrance hall colonnaded with niches and pilasters.³⁹ The appropriately Republican virtue inherent in the Federal esthetic ensured that none of these alterations could be condemned as ostentatious, but rather in good patriotic taste, exhibiting a restraint that was assumed primarily as a national virtue, and not the preserve of the Society of Friends alone.

A second question concerns size -- many surviving Quaker-built homes are much larger than the four to six rooms afforded by the Quaker plan. The answer resides in an interleaving of several factors, notably concepts of accretion, continuity and permanence. As Horvath finds for the Taylor-Parke House (Chester County, Pennsylvania), the building of the "mansion house" of 1768 was an act of status-embodiment and improvement by the Quaker Abiah Taylor II, but it was built within the sight of his

³⁸ Marsha L. Glenn, "The John Bartram House, Historic Structure Report prepared for John Dickey", 2 volumes, 1978. Typescript.

³⁹ Bruce Cooper Gill, "Grumblethorpe", The Magazine Antiques, CXXIV (March 1983), pp.296-300; p.298. Lewis was actually disowned by the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, Southern District in 1792, for marrying a non-Quaker and the bearing of arms, yet the Lewis portion of the house has often been described as an exemplary piece of Quaker Federalism; see for example, Joan Church Roberts, "Strawberry Mansion - a Blend of Federal and Empire Styles", American Antiques, (April 1976).

grandfather's original, *circa* 1724 two-room hall/parlor house, which fortunately also survives. The younger Taylor was not merely making a point about his own arrival, but also about durability; to raise a substantial stone structure alongside earlier family structures as he did was to invest in the idea of permanence, both familial and communal, an idea that was set and sealed in the datestone of the main facade .⁴⁰

Equally significant is the way in which these homes grew with the continued residence of their Quaker owners through several generations. While no Quaker settler could predict the size or future standing of his family, successive generations preferred to adapt existing structures to the extending needs of residents, rather than to replace such buildings with newer and more spacious accommodations. Thus Cedar Grove, originally a two-room deep parlor/kitchen farmhouse was enlarged in 1799 by the then-occupants Sarah and Isaac Wistar Morris, by doubling the floor plan, unifying the facade and raising the roof line.⁴¹ At the Thomas Massey plantation, Broomall, Lawrence Park, the original 1696 single room two-story house, was extended by the addition of two later connecting sections, telescope-fashion, to accommodate a growing extended family of kin and servants. Both case study sites are additive in this fashion, lending weight to Levy's suggestion that a sufficiency of space was preferably achieved in extending properties -- rather than intensifying multiple uses of space -- thus confirming a spiritual-familial sense of continuity in landholding, cultivation and domestic practices.⁴²

A third question must address the sense of specialized space, as public and private demarcation, in these houses. The direct entry into the main public room of the structure in the Quaker plan argues an immediacy and informality attenuated and subverted in the

⁴⁰ Herman discusses permanence in the context of decorative domestic brickwork on Quaker houses in New Castle county and South West New Jersey; p.48. Horvath; p.155.

⁴¹ Cedar Grove is now located in west Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, but was originally built in Frankford just outside the northeastern limits of the city; S.Fiske Kimball, "Cedar Grove", Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin, XXIII:118 (Feb.1928), pp.5-14; p.7.

⁴² Levy; p.182.

mediating 'empty' space afforded by the Georgian central hall-lobby. Abiah Taylor significantly retained that direct entry into the parlor of a house that to all onlookers was a four-bay Georgian house, "a rural version of ...Cliveden", but for the asymmetrical placement of the entry door; a similar dissimulation is evident at Cedar Grove.⁴³

Levy envisions "warm, convivial" Quaker homes, not simply because of corner fireplaces, but as evidence of the enclosing of the household within spaces that allowed for personal solitude, public informal reception, and communality, be it familial or religious. The "concentric circles around the hearth" which traced the household's machinery of inclusion, perpetuation and external mediation, comprised for the Quakers an armature of collective religious talismans.⁴⁴ Friends blurred increasingly prevalent demarcations between formal and informal space, for inclusion denoted a far larger 'family' than the immediate.⁴⁵ At domestic events becoming almost exclusively private in other communities, such as births and deaths, Friends accessed that 'family' and its support by inviting visits to the bedside.⁴⁶ Privacy was no less valued but it was conceived of as operating to the benefit of the family and community - a location of the soul, a location for an intensified propagation of the spirit; as Jane Bowne Haines wrote to her husband in October, 1820, "I look forward in joyful anticipation to our winter comforts when we and our children shall be gathered together - without intruders or complaints...".⁴⁷

An alternative way of looking at Quaker conceptions of domestic space and its openness/closure is through the medium of visitation and hospitality. Hospitality represented a complex of responses rooted firmly in Christian tradition and in the

⁴³ Horvath, pp. 154, 156 [plan]; Fiske Kimball, p.7. For a discussion of the closing-down of space in the Puritan household see Abbott Lowell Cummings, *op.cit.*.

⁴⁴ St.George, in Upton and Vlach:eds., *op.cit.*, p.355.

⁴⁵ For evolution of room names, and thus possibly use, amongst the probates of Chester County inhabitants, see Margaret Schiffer, Chester County Inventories, 1684-1850, Schiffer Publishing Ltd., Exton, PA, 1974, pp.187-214.

⁴⁶ Tomes discusses the unorthodox accessing of spaces in the act of spontaneous visitation; Tomes; p.179.

⁴⁷ JBH to RH III, 10/25/1820; II:20:271: WP. Author's emphasis.

structuring of communities around social, deferential and affective ties. In the Quaker mode, hospitality carried none of the formal conceits of assertion of status, but rather emphasized the extension of the hearth as a meeting place for all. In the light of Quaker mobility, which might be read as a practice detracting from the immanence and stability of the hearth, the act of welcome to the hearth is amplified.⁴⁸

To demonstrate this, one needs only to study the dynamics of the coming-together of the larger community at Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting was not merely an act of continuing confirmation of faith, but also a reinforcement of ties, both familial and spiritually associative. The Haineses opened their house at the time of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, not only providing lodging and sustenance for visiting families, but also a gathering point for the socializing of local and out-of-town Quakers. Sarah Comfort illuminates this in her request to Ann Haines to tell Jane and Reuben that "...the invitation they gave us to make their house our home the week of yearly meeting is a kindness I feel very grateful [sic] for".⁴⁹ The elision of house into 'home' was facilitated by a sense of familiarity engendered by religious community, but was never presumed upon; Mary Minturn enjoined her correspondent to thank her Wyck hosts for "...their repeated friendly invitations to visit them...those impressions of their uniform kindness and hospitality toward me - which I trust will never be obliterated from my memory."⁵⁰ The same correspondent concludes with a fervent assurance that there is not "...any house I should visit with more freedom - more confidence of a welcome, or with more satisfaction to myself", a sentiment evocative of the affective power of inclusion in the Quaker home.

⁴⁸ For a concise analysis of mobility within a local Quaker community, see Michael R. Yogg, "The Best Place for Health and Wealth": A Demographic and Economic Analysis of the Quakers of Pre-Industrial Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Garland Publishing Inc., New York, 1988, pp.100-36.

⁴⁹ Sarah Comfort to AH, 4/15/1819; II:26:392:WP. See also the entry for April, 1799, recorded in the diary of Samuel Mickle, of Woodbury, New Jersey; "At the Phila Yearly Meeting visited friends and relatives..."; quoted Yogg; p.189.

⁵⁰ Mary Minturn to AH, 6/5/1825; II:36:392: WP.

On a more quotidian scale, visitation constituted a mobility of domestic dimensions, a moving through the community of Friends that also involved a moving through the domestic space of hospitality. The entry under "Families" in the 1797 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Discipline equated the continued purity of religious 'community' with the beneficial consequences of regular visitation:

...we have accounts from divers places that visiting of families hath proved beneficial both to the visitors and the visited...the edifying practice of visiting Families, where performed in the openings, under the Aid of Heavenly Wisdom, having been found very beneficial in those places where it hath been performed, by encouraging the faithful, strengthening the weak, and awakening the Lukewarm, as well as in the suppression of superfluities, remedying many inconveniencies, and the instruction and regulation of the Youth.⁵¹

In this sense, visitation was not just a disciplinary action, but rather a process of mutual guidance and affirmation in membership of the Society. Both the visitors and visited are noted as beneficiaries of this "edifying practice", and as preventive medicine against lukewarm and misguided fellowship, visitation assumed the proportions of collective self-diagnosis and 'therapy'.

This dimension of visitation is a scarcely-discussed aspect of Quaker practice, despite its overwhelming presence in personal accounts and diaries; indeed, its ubiquity as a daily action, the social activity of "taking tea" subsumed into religious communion, points to a glaring omission in current scholarship. To read the correspondence of the Haines family and its acolytes, indeed any Quaker diary, it is immediately striking just how great is the proportion of time spent either in one's own home, receiving company; or in the homes of co-religionists.⁵² The diary kept by Jane Bowne Haines in the first few months of her marriage might reflect a social whirl incumbent upon a newly-wed, but it also plots the

⁵¹ Philadelphia Discipline; p.57.

⁵² For a comparable study of domestic mobility amongst provincial Pennsylvanian Quakers, see Yogg; pp.179-199.

routine obligations of a visible, respectable Quaker couple.⁵³ Entries such as "Company again - at noon to Peter Robeson's, at Roxborough" (5/23/1812) and "paid more morning visits - afternoon at Friend Powell's" (6/13/1812) suggest that where the economics of position permitted, visiting could become a full time occupation. The process of visiting can be understood as a symbolic rejection of conventional lifestyles based upon the accumulation of money, and thus worldly possessions. To visit was to provide support and love and fellowship without a context of status.

The idea of visiting, as 'taking tea', suggests a rather comfortable pursuit of religious community in gentility; but as Sally Minturn observed to her sister Jane Bowne Haines, in seeing their aged mother accompany Anna Braithwaite, the celebrated English Quakeress, on her exhausting schedule of visiting in New York City, "...it is cold work ...riding from house to house sitting in parlors where perhaps the fire has been out (or) just kindled."⁵⁴ The evangelizing ministry, as pursued by the likes of Braithwaite, was geographically and psychologically demanding. To read of the perambulations of John Woolman from his home in New Jersey through the Chesapeake, the Carolinas and the western reaches of Pennsylvania, is to witness the commitment to confirmation and expansion of faith and the taking of visitation to its ideal extreme -- that proselytizing was ultimately a function of the domestic realm, as much as of the meeting house.

Yet the collection of English Quaker women's diaries from the late eighteenth century compiled by the Friends' Library in London, indicate that such mobility was not simply a consequence of establishing frontier religiosity in the New World. A hierarchy of visitation patterns existed, as Tomes observes for her circle of Philadelphia Quakeresses.⁵⁵ Susanna Day, who lived on the Essex- Suffolk border, a member of a trading family, records daily

⁵³ Cf. the social obligations detailed by Anne Warder in her diary, noted by Tomes.

⁵⁴ Sarah Minturn to JBH, 12/25/1825: II:23:339: WP.

⁵⁵ Tomes; p.177.

visits in her immediate, and not so immediate neighborhoods, both for corrective purposes, and social ends. With Sarah Smith she visited "the Widdow Wallis and her daughters" obviously in a semi-formal disciplinary capacity, while on another occasion, she was the visited party, and within the confines of her own garden shared the company of G. and E. Gibson, who were "particularly kind and friendly - this visit to be remembered".⁵⁶ Lydia Hill, a young governess who had recently moved to Bristol (England) to work, recorded in her diary on 25th. January, 1780 the delightful walk she had taken that day to "...Friend Champion's, it being the first visit I have paid in my neighbourhood, was very agreeable entertain'd".⁵⁷

The importance of establishing a network, not merely physically but emotionally, in one's locality, was a crucial part of the process of certification to a local meeting. Letters in the Wyck collection often refer to the arrival of a new family in the Germantown area, their bureaucratic acceptance via the granting of certification, and then the extension of the established network of visitation to the new household. When Elizabeth Bowne reports the anguish of one Betsy Pearsall in moving from New York to Philadelphia, she is quick to emphasize that the familiar location is difficult to leave because of the associations it affords; "I don't know she had any objection to selling the house but [it is] trying to her to part with her friends here".⁵⁸ As the emphasis upon dissociation from the apostate world was reiterated, the bonds of association, particularly in the interleaving of families through marriage and neighborhood, were accentuated.⁵⁹

Participation was not mandatory, and again the Wyck letters contain the occasional plaintive plea for a respite from "company". A year after her marriage, Jane Bowne Haines

⁵⁶ 7/18/1797 and 7/7/1798 entries: *Diary of Susanna Day (1747-1826), 1794- 1804: Quaker Women's Diaries*, Friends Historical Library, London; reel 5. Microfilm.

⁵⁷ 1/25/1780, *Diary of Lydia Hill (1754-1816), 1780-1785: ibid*; reel 3.

⁵⁸ EB to JBH, 9/5/1826: II:23:339: WP.

⁵⁹ Tomes, p.189. This point is also made somewhat obliquely by Yogg in his observations of largescale family migrations over a number of years from Bucks County to Ohio; pp.169-171.

enthused, "we have but little company now, and go out but seldom have made one visit ...we do live so quietly and I am much happier..."⁶⁰ But re-entry was tacitly expected; as Ann Haines wrote after a period of relative seclusion at Wyck, "I have done little else... but intend now to try if visiting will give me as much pleasure as our own fireside".⁶¹ The equation here of visitation with the satisfaction of domestic seclusion is an eloquent invocation of the poles of individual and collective domesticity encompassed by the Quaker home.

The home is also clearly understood as an environment for longterm visitation. The fluidity of immediate familial life is revealed in the frequency of absence of one or more members. The Haineses appear to have been dedicated to itineracy; perhaps recalling his father's extended absence on evangelizing circuits of the South, Reuben Haines was tireless in his travelling, to his Mauch Chunk interests, to Harrisburg and beyond. Jane was equally mobile, her letters more often than not haling from Pearl Street, New York or Flushing, rather than Germantown or Philadelphia.⁶² Their children were regularly dispatched for extended sojourns with family members in New York, and away to school, to Westtown, Haverford, and Flushing. Germantown was frequently regarded as a summer retreat for Jane's New York nephews and neices, swelling a family which already comprised Hannah Marshall Haines, Reuben's mother (until her death in 1827), Mary Ann Donaldson (governess and companion) and cousin Ann Haines, as well as 'honorary' family members such as James Pemberton Parke. This supplementation of the family roll appears to have been both accepted and welcomed; as Jane wrote to her niece Elizabeth, "I earnestly desire my dear girls that...you should not think less frequently or less pleasantly

⁶⁰ JBH to EB, 1/28/1813: II:20: 261: WP.

⁶¹ AH to JBH, 10/21/1827: II:25:374: WP. Ann Haines was perhaps the most peripatetic member of the family, often away on trips to Northumberland and western Pennsylvania, as well as New York and New Jersey; cf. HSR, vol.I, p.61.

⁶² A point which Mackenzie Lloyd underplays in setting up a portrait of Jane Bowne Haines as retreating from the urban environment her husband continues to participate in after 1820; p.74.

of your country home, as I hope you will always regard Germantown."⁶³ The return 'home' was amplified in its significance after such extended absences, and even in the loss of the husband who had brought her to Wyck as a somewhat unwilling urban bride, Jane Bowne Haines was adamant that "there is a tie, powerful tho'unseen that binds me to this place ... the subject of a change of residence has never been made the subject of conversation".⁶⁴ The domestic location, as made manifest at Wyck, is one of familiarity and which affords self-location in belief.

Admittedly, little of descriptive or processual value is revealed in the mention of visitation in contemporary sources. As with most routinely undertaken actions, it required no elucidation on paper.⁶⁵ To suggest the importance of the home through the medium of the almost-ritual functions enacted in them, is not to give any solidity to the idea of the Quaker interior; the significance is implicit, and could just as easily reflect widely experienced ideas of increasing familial sensitivity, and the propagation of alternative domesticities. But the topography of this almost daily conduct is germane to this study, even if its impact can only be surmised from the interior as the context, not the object, of the visit. The 'emotional universe' of Friends had as its immediate bounds the solidly-built walls of farmhouses and townhouses, and was in part articulated by the manipulation of the space within; as Sarah M. Young wrote to her sister-in-law Hannah Marshall Haines, in 1808, "the mind is ...impressed by surrounding objects, a light airy situation being conducive in a degree to both health and happiness, a close gloomy one the reverse."⁶⁶

⁶³ JBH to Elizabeth Bowne, 8/3/1836: II: 20:280: WP.

⁶⁴ JBH to Hannah Collins [sister], 2/19/1832: II:20:276: WP.

⁶⁵ Although Tomes' essay is an interesting, if underdeveloped use of journal and diaristic records of visiting patterns; *op.cit.*.

⁶⁶ Sarah M. Young to HMH, 1/8/1808: II:13:80: WP.

PART III: DOCUMENTATION

III.I. THE HAINES FAMILY OF WYCK:

Jane Bowne Haines, wife of Reuben Haines III, the sixth generation owner of the Wyck estate in Germantown, was unambiguous in her sincerity when she wrote "...we live very much in the simplicity - I know no person more averse to show than my Reuben".¹ To evaluate the Haines' Quaker beliefs on the strength of such written sentiments alone would not be without precedent, and whilst this study has a methodological purpose in investigating the utility of non-archival, artifactual historical interpretation, a critical reading of material from the Wyck Papers is valuable in evaluating the Haines' expression of their religious adherence, and their domestic environments.

Caspar Wister Haines I: public and private Quakerism:

As a Friend, Caspar Wister Haines I's business interests and social associations mark him as indistinguishable from most 'middling' Friends of the eighteenth century.² As has been noted, the Friends' removal from political influence promoted a renewed revision of the rectitude of participation, even in the spheres of philanthropy and education, in which Friends were nevertheless increasingly involved. Caspar Haines' conduct in the ten years prior to his death in 1801, reflected the polarizing dynamics of engagement and withdrawal. Since no diaries, journals, or more spiritually-oriented writings than the few letters to his wife, Hannah Marshall Haines, survive, to attempt to map his *weltanschauung* in respect of these dynamics is problematic. Apart from the fabric of the house in Germantown, and the objects which can be documented to Caspar's ownership, little else remains of his material world. The brewery he built in 1794 was demolished in the 1850s, and the townhouse on Bank Street no longer stands, while the barn constructed in 1795-6

¹JBH to Hannah Collins, 2/23/1816, II:20:263: WP.

²Tolles [1948]; pp.140-143.

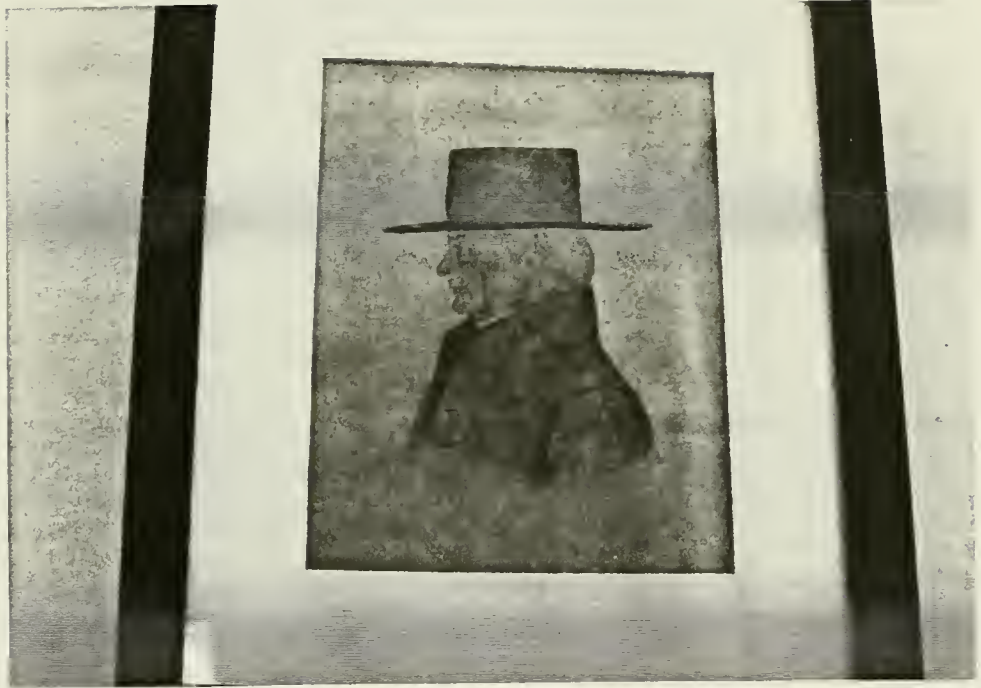


Plate 3: *Caspar Wister Haines I: portrait at Wyck*



Plate 4: *Reuben Haines III, posthumous portrait by Rembrandt Peale, at Wyck*

was transformed into a Colonial Revival-style residence at the beginning of this century.³ Wyck is thus a fragment of a complex religious life which has left few other registers for contemporary scholars.

The unsettled spirit of Caspar dominates the correspondence of the 1780s and 1790s. In all outward respects, Haines was a successful member of the Quaker community. His inherited brewing business was not yet the subject of Quaker criticism, as no distilling of hard liquor was carried out on the premises of the brewhouse built in 1794,⁴ and he appears to have been conscientious in his attendance of meeting, whether while residing in Germantown or in the city at the family's Bank Street home. Yet before his premature death in 1801, Haines had lived permanently at Wyck for only seven years. Between 1790 and 1792 he travelled the established southern circuit for Quaker proselytizing to rekindle his religious sensibilities, and his letters during this period suggest a greater anguish in being separated from his wife, family and friends, than from his properties and his commercial concerns.⁵ In a letter to his wife Hannah Marshall Haines of May 1790, he alludes to the endangerment of "...my salvation...that I did after having in good measure given up to it, slack my zeal, fall off by degrees from that strict attention and state of watchfulness which I was in for a time...", an acknowledgement that argues a fervent rediscovery of the more rigorous side of Quaker belief.⁶ His search for affirmation of belief through trial, leaving his wife and young children in some dismay and disarray, amidst recurring epidemic disease and fears of unlikely return, bespeaks a faith reflecting the age of Woolman and Benezet, excoriation on the declension of adherence and the contamination of testimony. Caspar Wister Haines answered with expressions of self-doubt.

³ Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.13.

⁴ HSR; p.62.

⁵ Mackenzie (Lloyd); pp.9-10. Itinerant Quakers frequently travelled to Virginia and the Carolinas where there were small Quaker enclaves.

⁶CWH to HMH, 5/9/1790; II:10:19:WP.

Wyck became Caspar Wister Haines' property on the sudden death of his parents, Catherine and Reuben Haines I in the 1793 yellow fever epidemic. Both before this legal inheritance, and after it, Caspar experienced the Germantown houses primarily as a summer residence, and, *in extremis*, as a place of retreat from contagion.⁷ Despite this seasonal usage, it is nevertheless clear from the attentions he paid to the buildings, particularly during the period of prolonged year-round occupancy in the 1790s, that it was not mentally considered as a peripheral concern. It is apparent that, despite Haines' tangible religious zeal, if Wyck were to be a year-round residence, he wanted it to be fitted to a good degree in the manner of a comfortable contemporary town house, a "mansion house" in more than simply the legal sense of the term. Haines appears to have undertaken several campaigns of alteration, interior and exterior during the 1790s.⁸ A dynamic of improvement may go some way towards explaining the mahoganzing of interior sills and doors discovered in the course of the 1986 paint analysis [see below] and extensive painting of new sashlights and exterior elements executed by the painter-glaziers Godshalk and Laycom in 1791; the purchase of a modish parlor stove from William Thurston of New York in 1794, and of a Federal-style sofa from Jacob Wayne in June 1797, as well as the stuccoing of the major facades of the house undertaken sometime during the 1790s.⁹

The contrary aspects of Haines' belief system and visible life -- his fervent self-criticism in the face of wayward adherence, his commercial acumen evidenced in the

⁷ HSR; pp.58-9. Before circa 1780, Wyck comprised two houses, the front one nearest Germantown Avenue dating to circa 1740, and the rear 'tenant house' dating to circa 1770-71. The carriageway between the two houses was bridged at second floor level sometime before 1780 creating one house, although the two sections were still considered distinct by virtue of the rear house being frequently leased out; HSR, pp.40-59.

⁸ For a detailed discussion of documentary evidence for physical changes between 1787-1801, see HSR, pp.160-173.

⁹ Godshalk and Laycom account, IV: 145:201:WP; see also Appendix III. Mackenzie Lloyd (1986) suggests that Haines was paying more attention to his country mansion house by virtue of the frequency of repainting; vol.II, p.172; CWH to William B.Thurston, 6/28/1794, II:10:23:WP; Jacob Wayne bill, IV:145:202:WP. For a history of the house's exterior appearance, see Catherine S.Myers, "Study of the Exterior Stucco, prepared for Wyck, Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia', July 1991. Typescript on deposit at Wyck.

running of the brewery at Germantown and his city real estate concerns, and his fine parlor -- suggest that he was also very much a Quaker living like many of his coreligionists in the mercantile middle to upper classes, a set of varying cultural and ethical "lives" not consciously considered as incompatible or inconsistent.¹⁰ Such thoughts of incompatibility might easily be suppressed in the context of social and esthetic expectations within the non-religious community, but occasionally they did surface, and Haines was such a man to experience a vision of inadequacy. Significantly, apart from his journeys to Virginia, that vision seems not to have revised his attitude towards the configuration and elaboration of his domestic environment. Haines' ability to separate his private life at Wyck from his public activities and in particular his public religiosity illustrates the division in Quaker communities between the public realm of prescription and conformity and the private domestic sphere, in which not even the surveillance of Friends could ultimately dictate performance. Caspar Wister Haines drew clear circumscribing lines around his perceptions of public and private, and his legitimate and legitimizing behavior in each, and Wyck undoubtedly lay in the latter realm -- immune to an imprecise extent to the strictures of conduct that guided Haines so strongly in other spheres.

Reuben Haines (1786-1831): a new breed of Quaker?

Hannah Marshall Haines, in a letter to her husband in 1790, described a visit to Wyck by herself, Reuben and his younger brother Benjamin; "[they] had been fretting several days before to go, were [sic] we spent the day att our own place, [Benjamin] eat [sic] very hearty, run about the garden and was very much delighted ... Reuben and him both want to go and stay there all together...".¹¹ Wyck had been a central location in Reuben Haines' life since infancy, and a primary influence upon cultivation of his adult interests in

¹⁰ Haines' early death left his only surviving son, Reuben III, a very wealthy adolescent; Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.24.

¹¹ HMH to CWH I, 5/18/1790: II:12:56: WP.

horticulture, botany and the natural sciences. Though Reuben spent most of his adolescence boarding at Westtown School (between 1799-1801), and, after the death of his father, in residence with his mother at Bank Street, Wyck remained Haines' preferred mental and physical locus. While Haines' life has been researched in detail by Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, particularly in relation to Haines' development of Wyck, some features of that life which directly concern this investigation, notably the interface of his birthright religion and his intellectual pursuits, were not extensively developed in that thesis, and will therefore be discussed here.

Reuben's obvious intelligence and enthusiasm in the pursuit of manifold interests from his adolescence, invoke a restless and sometimes fraught personality, not of the same spiritual quality of his father, but rather as a function of his socialization in Philadelphia's climate of fused classicism, romanticism and nascent secularism. This character sets him and his Quaker circle -- including prominent educational and penal reformers such as Thomas Gilpin, Roberts Vaux and James Pemberton Parke -- somewhat at a distance from the defensive insular concerns of the Woolman generations. Reuben was apprenticed to his maternal uncle Abraham M. Garrigues, in the retail business of Marshall and Garrigues, but in 1809 left his position. Reuben's decision appears to be one based on the need to develop interests away from a context that he did not find stimulating, rather than a critical decision to withdraw from the 'corrupt' world of business.¹² His diaries of 1809-1811 witness no intensification of withdrawal from the world, but rather an increased participation in it. With his close friends, Pemberton Parke and Vaux, Reuben undertook many forays into the countryside around Philadelphia, for geological and etymological sample collection, and longer excursions, to visit family connections in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, Burlington, New Jersey, and into Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The passage Mackenzie Lloyd quotes as a conclusion for her study, stands with no less impact, as an

¹² Cf. Mackenzie(Lloyd); p.24.

entry point into Reuben's vision of living; he writes " ...it is most useful to learn to love and understand what is beautiful, whether in the works of God or in those of man, whether in the flowers and fields and rocks and woods and river, and sun and sky, or in fine buildings or fine pictures or fine music ...this is the education that will make a man happy and a people good, wise and happy".¹³

This embracing of a broad interface, particularly in the realm of 'artifice' -- portraits and porticos and piano music - with the world is however clearly at odds with the conventional strictures of Haines' birthright religion. Indeed, Reuben's religiosity seldom emerges in his writings; where it does intersect with his activities, there is a business-like tone of disinterested analysis in his observations. A visit to the circus in 1808 prompted this diary entry; "[I] was much gratified by the feats of agility there exhibited, tho' to be in the practice of attending a place of this kind I do not think would comport with the character of the true Quaker".¹⁴ Similarly, he recorded attendance at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the same year, with the information that "...[there were] so large a number of Friends in the City as to require an additional meeting house open...I went to Arch Street House, where Jesse Kersey was eloquent and impressive on the necessity of attending to the divine call", the latter observation registering almost as an afterthought.¹⁵ Reuben's attendance to that call appears to have been adequate, and within the bounds of conformity -- regular attendance at the Arch Street and Germantown Meetings with his mother or colleagues, and participation in the formal social circles of the Society, at weddings and funerals -- but he attended with no less, if not greater vigor, the call of science, natural philosophy and the fine arts. He was a frequent companion of Rubens and Rembrandt Peale, and regularly

¹³ *ibid*; p.85; taken from RH III, "What is Education?". Author's emphasis.

¹⁴ RH III, diary for 1808, entry for 7/1/1808: III:89:39: WP.

¹⁵ RH III, diary for 3/11- 5/23/1808, entry for 4/17/1808: III:89:41: WP. Reuben re-entered Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1803 with his mother, from Abington Monthly Meeting. Although his death is not recorded in the minutes of PMM, it is assumed he did not leave that meeting, even after the move to Germantown: Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Minutes(Membership), 1809-1814: FHL, Swarthmore. Microfilm.

attended lectures at the Academy of Fine Arts on Chestnut Street, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Franklin Institute. Moreover, while Quaker writings are renowned for their spiritual content and their volume, Reuben, although a regular correspondent and diarist, left a legacy of letters of more value to the history of natural science in America, than to the student of contemporary Quaker spirituality.¹⁶ He also took great interest in the doctrines and practical dimensions of other religious communities; one set of letters written in September 1810, describe with fascination and careful detail a visit he made to the Shaker community of Canaan, outside Lebanon, New Hampshire, yet his observations do not include any commentary upon the divergence between contemporary Quaker practice and rigorous Shaker realization of foundational Quaker ideals.¹⁷ In short, Reuben's locus was not circumscribed by traditional, or current radicalized concepts of Quaker comportment in the world.

Neither was he on the verge of becoming part of the Quaker drift into more organized religion, under the flag of Unitarian or Presbyterian belief. Reuben does not appear to have questioned his birthright spiritual and practical education as a Quaker, nor do his family and friends vocalize any fear of waywardness and heterodoxy. This is important to note, not merely as a sign of accepted flexibility in conduct, at least in this Quaker familial and extended circle, but also as a comment upon the ingrained, almost perfunctory nature of Quaker belief in the same circle.¹⁸ Their attention to the education of their own children, Reuben's broader pedagogic interests and his philanthropy suggest that in the areas of

¹⁶ Reuben was a member of the Franklin Institute, founded in 1824, a founding member of the city's Horticultural Society, an active subscriber of the Library Company and participant in the proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences. For Haines' extensive involvement and patronage of the scientists Charles LeSueur and Thomas Say, see Patricia Tyson Stroud, Thomas Say, New World Naturalist, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1992.

¹⁷ RH III to JPP, 9/16/1810; II: 14:122; RH III to Thomas Gilpin, 9/19/1810; II:14:122: WP.

¹⁸ On their removal to Germantown to live year-round, the Haineses do not appear to have wanted to transfer their certification from Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to Abington Monthly Meeting, the nearest MM to their new home. Jane is registered at death in the Minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting (Southern District), the orthodox monthly meeting in the years following 1827: details under Jane Haines in card catalogue of meeting references, FHL, Swarthmore.

concern to the eighteenth century reformers, the Haineses were exemplary.¹⁹ While it is impossible to classify precisely the Haineses' allegiances in the unravelling schism, their associations -- with the English evangelicals Anna Braithwaite and Thomas Shillitoe in particular -- suggest a tendency towards the evangelical, with Ann Haines clearly critical of the Hicksites.²⁰ But it might also be argued that the family, and Reuben in particular, kept an inquiringly open mind about the dynamic of events, and did not shun those close to the family, such as Abraham and William Garrigues and Dr. Joseph Parrish, who participated in the Hicksite movement.²¹

Wyck: family locus, philosophical Arcadia:

Reuben Haines' appreciation of place could be recorded through any number of quotations noting his response to the natural wonders encountered on his travels. One passage however, registers this in a manner that is once intensely personal (for he is referring to the ancestral home of his wife, in Flushing, Long Island), uncharacteristically spiritual, and keenly Arcadian. From the Bowne House in September, 1820, he wrote to James Pemberton Parke, "...again sheltered by the humble roof of this hospitable mansion, overshadowed by those venerable oaks, under whose spreading foliage the pious founder of our society promulgated his doctrines... my mind by natural association, turns to thee...".²² It is also significant that he is describing both a landscape in history and a present structure, in terms that reinforce Quaker identity of the home as a spiritually significant location.

¹⁹ Mackenzie (Lloyd); pp.76-85

²⁰ Ingle; pp.33-4, 35-7.

²¹ Doherty, Appendix C; unfortunately Doherty does not document the sources for the compilation of these appendices.

²² RH III to JPP, 9/19/1820: II:15:159: WP.

What Reuben sought in his home as physical and philosophical space can be mapped against his own personally evolving concepts of domestic space, and contemporary ideas of utopian retreat and community. While still single, Reuben often commented upon the scale and style of domestic architecture he encountered. One lengthy description of a newly-built house of a colleague, situated outside Lancaster, Pennsylvania, written to his mother in July, 1807, shows a keen knowledge and appreciation of modish architectural detail. The house, he wrote,

...is superior to what the outside world would lead us to expect being neat plain and elegant [sic] and forming on the whole the house that has pleased me better than any I have seen ...the circular projection in front forms one end of a fine oval room open to the south... I think when thou and I build a complete country house, we will have just such a one.²³

In seeking a town house for himself and his future bride in 1812, he sought a location that was salubrious, not too extravagant, and convenient for his interests. It is notable that in attempting to visit some of "1500 houses mother mentioned" he had already decided that none "... combine so many advantages as our little residence in Bank St.", his mother's year-round home, and the house in which he had spent much of his adolescence.²⁴

Reuben finally selected a three story townhouse at 300 Chestnut Street, which he rented from Charles Allen for \$400 per annum. This was beyond the established cluster of eighteenth century Quaker residences, in itself a comment upon the looseness of Reuben's identification with that community, which centered on the Arch Street Meeting House, at Fourth Street.²⁵ It was also at some distance from Hannah Haines in Bank Street; yet it was convenient for Reuben's interests at the University and at the Academy of Fine Arts and was reasonably appointed.

²³RH III to HMH, 7/16/1807: II:14:113:WP.

²⁴ RH III to JBH, 9/18/1812; II: 14:132; and 10/11/1812; II:14:133; both WP.

²⁵ The address is old-style; if the house were still standing it would be located between Seventh and Eighth Streets.

Raised in a townhouse in downtown Manhattan, Jane Bowne Haines was stamped with an interest in the modish by the very fact of her New York connections. In creating her first household at 300 Chestnut Street, Jane desired to form a home of "comfort to my dear intended visitors".²⁶ She admired objects of fashion and gentility freely. On her honeymoon tour, she remarked in her diary of the beauty of a porcelain tea set seen at the home of Mr. McAllister, Harrisburg, as "the most elegant set of china I have ever seen...every piece was ornamented with a different pattern of flowers and fruits of every variety fancifully arranged on a ground of the purest white".²⁷ It was not a disciplinary offense within the canon of Quakerism to declare delight in such objects, yet to be seen to indulge in them could draw attention to a departure from necessary sobriety. The purchases made by Jane and Reuben for their new home [see below] suggest a latent desire to meet socially expected norms in outward display, at least within areas devoted to public entertainment, and that 'holy conversation' was secondary to the pursuit of establishing a perfect environment for polite conversation; as Jane wrote from New York to Reuben in the Chestnut Street house, clearly after he had apprised her of some addition to their belongings, "I feel a great curiosity to see those handsome ornaments and my nice house" -- words that sit uneasily within the expected vocabulary of a 'plain' Quaker.²⁸

In 1820, Reuben Haines moved his by-then sizeable and young family from the respectable townhouse to take up permanent residence in Germantown. Mackenzie Lloyd attempts to explain this upheaval by positing immediate economic concerns as primary, and the pursuit of a life away from urban constraints as important but secondary.²⁹ While this explanation is valid, it gives little critical depth to the philosophical motives which undoubtedly dominated Haines' decision, nor does it enlarge upon the idea of Wyck as a

²⁶ JBH to Hannah Collins, 12/10/1812: II:20:260: WP.

²⁷ JBH diary for 1812, entry for 6/24/1812: III:92:93: WP.

²⁸ JBH to RH III, 9/21/1816: II:20:263: WP.

²⁹ Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.54.

locus for both Reuben's intellectual development, and the spiritual and psychological concerns of familial intimacy and contemplation. Certainly there were temporarily pressing financial reasons for the removal, but the family had been receiving produce weekly from the farm under the direction of Abraham Garrigues, since 1812; thus no great savings to be made in this respect.³⁰ Reuben had also contemplated undertaking management and development of the property himself, as early as 1813, as an exchange of letters between Roberts Vaux and James Pemberton Parke evidences; Parke wrote in amazement, "What new thing has he [Reuben] in this head? Nothing less than going to Germantown for permanent residence to be a keeper of merino sheep..." to which Vaux replied that he regretted "...our friend Reuben indulges any idea of removing to Germantown - it will not do!"³¹ While this projected removal was not undertaken, perhaps due to Jane giving birth to the couple's first child, Sarah, in 1813, and the inadequacy of the unaltered house as a winter residence, Reuben was clearly thinking of Wyck as more than simply one property amongst the several in his possession.³² By 1820, it is possible that, with a more established family, and personal doubts about the efficiency of management under his uncle, Abraham Garrigues, relocation was both practically and psychologically more opportune.³³

To begin to consider Wyck as a home rather than merely a household, Reuben Haines envisaged an alternative way of living that was rooted in the cultivation of an appropriately scientific Arcadia.³⁴ For the nascent middle-class consumer, whose capital status was

³⁰ See Reuben Haines III Account Books, 1813-1826, IV:125:14, 17: WP. See also the farming journal for Wyck compiled by Abraham Garrigues for 1815, 1816, 1817; IV:125:15: WP. Cf. Mackenzie (Lloyd); pp.52-3.

³¹ JPP to Roberts Vaux, 10/22/1813; Roberts Vaux to JPP, 10/26/1813; both letters, Vaux Papers [Correspondence], Manuscripts Department, HSP. Original emphasis.

³² HMH to Sarah Young, 11/6/1813, "I believe R [euben] will give up his prospect of residing during the winter at Germantown": II:12:67: WP.

³³ See HMH to RH III, 3/30/1818, soliciting RH III's compliance in apologizing to AMG after accusing him of laziness and incompetence: II:12:73: WP.

³⁴ Mackenzie (Lloyd), p.4.

invariably derived in an urban context, non-urban real estate assumed a symbolic value far greater than that on paper; as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall note for the English Midlands counterparts of Philadelphia's genteel (and Quaker) classes, the Cadburys and Rowntrees, "...the 'unnatural' world of the market place was counterposed to a nostalgic Arcadian ideal of home in a rural community" and strenuous efforts were made to exorcise the industrial/commercial spirit, or at least ignore it, in the studied cultivation of one's (sub)urban garden.³⁵ Arcadian domestic landscapes strove to connote the perfectibility of the household, and a virtue that could no longer be found in an urban domestic context.³⁶ Yet the notion of an idyllic foundation to this locus, a conscious seeking of it away from the urban context which had made and had been made by Quakers of predominantly Old World urban roots, perhaps formed Haines' response to his community's imminent disruption. Germantown itself was no longer a community that could be considered a Quaker 'haven', nor as the closeknit homogeneous population of the early eighteenth century, and this factor might further reflect Reuben's lack of conscious identity with, or willingness to participate in, a physical Quaker community, such as existed in downtown Philadelphia, and in the western tracts. As Stephanie Grauman Wolf has argued, Germantown's existence as part of the indistinct but growing 'rural-urban continuum', accentuated the enclosure and isolation of the individual family.³⁷ Haines, imbued with the

³⁵ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, "The Architecture of Public and Private Life; English Middle-Class Society in a Provincial Town, 1780-1850." in D.Fraser and A. Sutcliffe, eds. The Pursuit of Urban History. Edward Arnold, London, 1983; p.329.

³⁶ Jeffrey Kirk, "The Family as Utopian Retreat from the City", Soundings 55 (1972), pp.21-41: pp.27, 29. For contemporary eulogies upon the rural ideal, see Timothy Dwight's Travels in New England and New York, New Haven, 1821-2, and for that ideal manifested in domestic design, see John Claudius Loudon's An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture, Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, London, 1833. See also Jan Cohn, The Palace or Poorhouse: The American House as Cultural Symbol, Michigan State University Press, East Lansing, 1979; pp. 43, 48.

³⁷ Stephanie Grauman Wolf, Urban Village: Population, Community and Family Structure in Germantown, PA, 1683-1800. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1976; p.326.

idea of 'urbs in rus', and with reaping the benefits of both, found this to be the ideal environment for positive scientific thought, alongside familial cultivation.³⁸

Nevertheless, the surviving documentation also communicates the sense of satisfaction growing from the removal to Germantown, notwithstanding the inconveniences that this undoubtedly brought.³⁹ There is a conscious cultivation of an 'edenic' simplicity which emerges, directly counter to the details of the household located at 300 Chestnut Street between 1812 and 1820. Wyck was altogether a more molded home, rather than simply a household, and palpably less a household for display than for familial discourse. Within the parameters of the Quaker domestic ethic suggested above, the sense of home was less manifested in significant material objects, than in the familial and familiar invoked within the locus itself. As Jane Bowne Haines wrote to her husband on her return to Wyck from a visit to New York in September 1825, "Yesterday Ann and E[lizabeth] came in the carriage for me and before sunset I was again at our own dear home our precious children as close to me as they could get, and nothing wanting but thy presence to make our felicity complete."⁴⁰ With or without the maple bedstead, the cornices and the bureaux (see below), Wyck was cast within Quaker traditions of cultivation of the 'inner plantation' - retreat and resource, enclosure and philosophical pasture.⁴¹

³⁸ Reflecting Kirk's comment upon the necessary exclusivity of the household as a locus of cultivation: p.22; Mackenzie (Lloyd), p.31. Reuben Haines' interest in the development of steam travel suggests a more than academic concern for efficient transportation; his death preceded the advent of the steam train in Germantown by one year.

³⁹ See for example, J.Pemberton Parke's observation to Hannah Marshall Haines that she would miss her accustomed bath during her stays in Germantown confirms the absence of formalized bathing facilities at Wyck, reiterated by the large number of wash bowls and pitchers still kept at the house; JPP to HMM, 6/25/1816, II:13:96:WP.

⁴⁰ JBH to RH III, 9/11/1825, II:20:271:WP [author's emphasis].

⁴¹ de Wetering; p.14.

III:II. ABRAHAM LEWIS III: DOCUMENTATION:

In contrast to the paper trail mapping of the Haines family above, the documentary knowledge of Abraham Lewis I (1759-1825), his family and his property is skeletal, restricted to legal, taxation and probate documents. His place in the Quaker community of Upper Darby/Haverford is briefly recorded in the minutes of Haverford Preparative Meeting, little more than a name on a list of members; yet his home and its development during his ownership denote a man of some standing, outlook and ambition.⁴² While any character portrait will recede against the detail possible for the lives of the Haineses, the attempt will be made here to substantiate the figure.

Abraham Lewis III was the great-grandson of the Friend Ralph Lewis, an immigrant from Glamorganshire, Wales, who made passage to Pennsylvania in 1684. Having initially settled in Haverford Township, he purchased in 1692 a tract of land from John Bowne, who had been granted 150 acres in the Aronomink section of the western Welsh tract by Penn in 1683. In 1707/8 Ralph Lewis sold and deeded the land, as yet unimproved, to his second eldest son, Samuel; Samuel in turn, in 1711, sold it to his younger brother, Abraham I, possibly in anticipation of Abraham's imminent marriage to Mary Morgan.⁴³ While the evolution of buildings on the site is not entirely precise, a marriage agreement between Abraham I and his father-in-law, Anthony Morgan, in September 1711, suggests the presence of outbuildings, barns and other "appurtenances", presumably attached to some sort of 'capital messuage'. By Abraham I's death in 1768, his eldest son Abraham II inherited a part interest in a grist and sawing mill, as well as a house and farm of some size,

⁴² Lewis is recorded as a deceased member of this meeting in an undated membership list, Haverford Preparative Meeting, Births and Deaths, 1732-1882; FHL, Swarthmore. Microfilm.

⁴³ Abraham Lewis I to Anthony Morgan, deed dated 9/7/1711 [no reference on Grantee/grantor index]; this deed details the transaction between Ralph Lewis and Samuel Lewis, dated 4/20/1708 and that between Samuel Lewis and Abraham Lewis, dated 9/5/1711, neither of which can be found in the relevant Chester County deed books; Chester County Historical Society, Widener University, Chester, PA. See also Levy; p.152.

but which he seems to have rented out, rather than lived in himself.⁴⁴ While other branches of the Haverford Lewises moved into the city and entered into the professions, the descendents of Ralph Lewis remained on the land which was their chief inheritance.

Abraham III, aged sixteen, inherited the estate on the death of his father in 1775. He was as yet unmarried, and probably lived on the farm with his mother, Ann. The capital messuage he inherited was probably a wooden, or frame building, possibly with a separate log/plank kitchen.⁴⁵ By 1782, Abraham III had evolved plans for his estate that would radically change its appearance, scale, and presence in the community, with obvious corollaries for his own status.

Surviving structures suggest that his first improvement was a fieldstone spring house across the banks of the brook after which the estate was named; an initialled datestone of 1782 is inset in the north gable. Whether this was an intentional preliminary to a more extensive remodelling of the site that happened twelve years later, or a matter of necessity is not known. Whatever his motivations, Lewis proceeded to improve his house with a clear design intended, in 1794. A configuration of the new structure, both in plan and in elevation, executed by a carpenter, Mordecai Lawrence, survives and shows the eastern section of the house as built, but for the reversal of the main stairway. The plan denotes the area to the west of the new portion as "the old part" and suggests the prior presence of a frame building by the notation of corner posts. The elevation shows only the new section, with its eastern gable windows asymmetrically aligned (as built), no porch, and with siding on the gable end at attic level. The frontispiece of the plan has the inscription, "It was on

⁴⁴ Details of the Smith/Lewis genealogy can be found in Edmund W. Viguers Your Land and Mine, Haverford, 1970 [consulted in typescript].

⁴⁵ A Chester County tax assessment docket for 1765 notes Abraham Lewis I's estate as comprising a house and 123 acres; Chester County Tax Assessments, 693-1790; HSP. Microfilm.

the fourteenth day of [?] the Masons did there commence", confirming that construction did begin contemporary to the execution of the plan.⁴⁶

By his death in 1825, Abraham III had expanded this late-Georgian idea into a full-blown, fieldstone 'mansion house', a western, and almost mirror, wing being built to replace the earlier frame structure some time between 1798 and 1805. In the 1798 United States Direct Tax assessment lists for the Upper Darby/Haverford area, Abraham III is registered as having a private stone "dwelling house" of two stories, 33 by 27 feet, with fifteen windows and 189 "lights"; an 18 by 16 feet , one story "log" kitchen, noted as an outbuilding; and a 14 by 15 feet stone spring house, also noted as an outbuilding. The description of the dwelling house accords to the dimensions of the eastern section of the extant house, and the "log" structure (as distinct from "frame or "plank") may have stood adjacent to it, corresponding to the "old part" signified by the Lawrence plan.

In the 1805 triennial Delaware County tax assessment docket, the listing of Abraham III's property in Upper Darby shows development from what was recorded in 1798. The only house noted is described as being of stone, with a frame barn, spring house and wagon house also on the estate; the log kitchen , if a separate element in 1798, has either been removed, or does not merit record. No dimensions are given in this assessment.⁴⁷

The house in 1825 was, from a distance, an impressive pile of six bays, possibly with a porch, substantial end chimneys, and stuccoed gables, which would have been the aspects of the house visible from the main road to the west and from the driveway which comes in from the east.⁴⁸ To the inventory of the estate he added a large barn (1819) and a carriage house (present by 1805), contemporary additions that were also made at Wyck.

⁴⁶ See Appendix IV:II.

⁴⁷ Other assessments do state frame/log/plank structures where extant; U.S. Direct Tax Assessments, Delaware County [Upper Darby], and Delaware County Tax Assessment Dockets: Neumann College Library Special Collections, Aston, PA. Microfilm.

⁴⁸ The surviving porch may date to the early part of the nineteenth century; archaeological explorations will focus on the area around the porch, while money has been secured for a restoration of the extant porch: Dorothy Hill, personal communication, 2/25/92.

Lewis was primarily a successful farmer, accruing hundreds of acres in Upper Darby and Haverford townships, and the prevalence of agricultural goods stored throughout the house and its outbuildings -- as indicated in Lewis' probate inventory of 1826 -- signals the functional priorities of the estate.⁴⁹ He was also a visible Quaker, active in the Haverford Monthly Meeting and serving upon various committees within the meeting⁵⁰ What these activities suggest of Lewis' religious beliefs is difficult to assess. His name is not listed by Doherty amongst known Hicksite Quakers in Delaware County.⁵¹ However, the impact of Separatist ideas upon meetings in both Delaware and Chester Counties was extensive, in part building upon inherent cultural antagonism between Philadelphia and its agricultural hinterland, and economic factors may have accentuated the spiritual move towards a simplification of ways of living. Lewis may have remained orthodox in his predilections, but in the years before the separation of 1827 the community in which he lived was very much at the center of Hicksite disquiet.⁵²

The building ventures of the 1790s suggest a man in search of a distinctive statement about his position in local society, as befits a man who has just inherited his livelihood, and the developments of 1798-1805 may have been in preparation for his marriage in 1806. Few changes were subsequently made, and Lewis died in a house that was substantively a mid-Federal creation. Lewis' legacy was sizeable, but was expanded by his daughter and son-in-law, George Smith, into one of the largest estates in Delaware County.⁵³ Certainly Mary and George Smith moved away from the eighteenth century features of domestic living retained by her parents, and undertook some modifications of the house during their

⁴⁹ Will and probate of Abraham Lewis III, taken January 3rd., 1826, Book C, #660; Delaware County Register of Wills, Delaware County Courthouse, Media, PA. See Part IV and Appendix IV:I.

⁵⁰ Viguers; p.6.

⁵¹ Doherty, Appendix E; pp.133-6.

⁵² *ibid*; p.52; Ingle; pp.46, 208, 218-9.

⁵³ Collen Brook estate is shown to extend across 350 acres in A.H.Mueller, Atlas of Delaware County East of Ridley Creek. volume I, Philadelphia, 1909-10; pl.3.

long residence.⁵⁴ And yet the house was never considered too old-fashioned to be inconvenient ; nor were the Federal elements of the interior removed and replaced with more contemporary detailing. While this accommodation of extant material might argue an alternative use and priority of space in the Smith household, perhaps even the mothballing of the eastern wing, in favor of the western, the retention of the familiar is telling. It underlines a belief in continuity rather than in new invention, a practice arguably commonplace in the molding of the vernacular, but perhaps also a central keystone of the Quaker familial continuum.⁵⁵

The foremost document of Abraham Lewis III's life still extant is thus his house. The following chapters draw extensively upon the fabric of the building to provide direction in evaluating the nature of his household; and while the paucity of written documentation will never allow as detailed a domestic portrait of this generation of the Lewis family as is possible for the Haineses, the artifactual material is a valuable component in the assessment of the ordering and texture of Lewis' private sphere.

⁵⁴ It is probable that the Smiths replaced the one story lean-to kitchen with the surviving two-story north-western ell, and added the dormer windows, after 1829; Baumel, Copass, Janson, et al.; pp.24-5.

⁵⁵ Thomas Hubka, "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form" in Upton and Vlach, eds.; pp.426-432.

PART IV: WYCK AND COLLEN BROOK: SPATIALITY, "EMBELLISHMENT", FINISH -
THE ARTIFACTUAL APPROACH

The relationship between context and choice in the Quaker interior has a parallel with Bauman's equation of language and Quaker dissociation from it, in amplifying silence as an expressive form; for this research the central question has been , do Quakers amplify plainness of architectural 'dress' in their quietist abstention from the world? As the same author also observes in justification of his study, and which can essentially serve as the justification for this, "the essence of the ethnographic perspective ...lies in the premise that socio-cultural patterns and processes are to be discovered through the systematic examination of empirical data."¹The following sections attempt to position the domestic interiors of Wyck and Collen Brook in relation to the material discussed above, and within the esthetic context of the period, utilizing the "empirical data" of space demarcations, furnishings and decorative finishes drawn from each house.

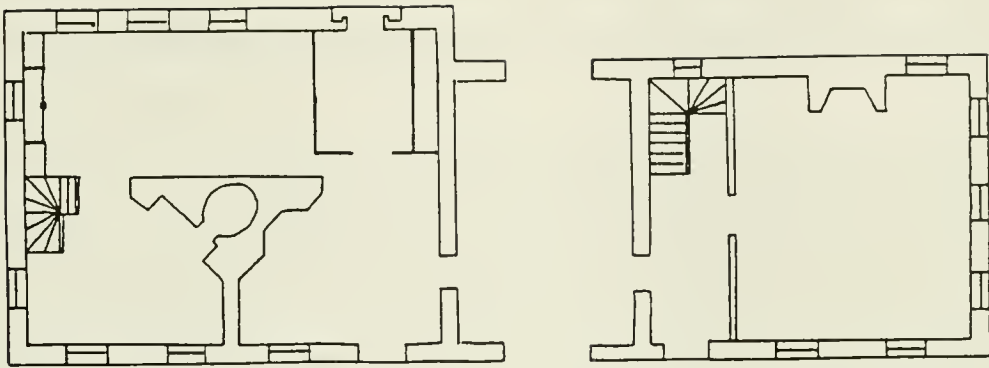
IV:I. SPACE:

It becomes apparent in any survey of extant Quaker sites that there is little conformity to a single plan type or spatial use. The evolving floorplans and spatial developments at Collen Brook and at Wyck will illustrate the diversity of Quaker attitudes to domestic space, and a select receptivity to contemporary design formats, rather than adherence to any internalized set of domestic 'rules'.

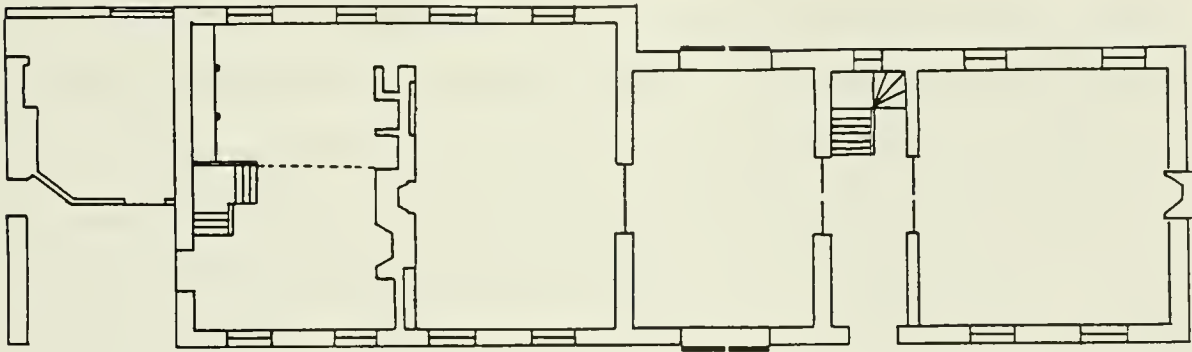
The evolution of Wyck has been comprehensively assessed in the Historic Structures Report of 1986, and remains an active area of research for the Board of Trustees; the reader is referred to this document for a complete construction chronology.² The alterations made

¹ Bauman; pp.11, 29-31.

² HSR, particularly ch.III.



I: 1770-1822



II: *Post-1824, after alterations by William Strickland and Reuben Haines III*

Plate 5: *Wyck First Floor Plan: Evolution, 1770-1824.*

[adapted from Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, Wyck Historic Structure Report, 1986]

during the period of study are nevertheless important to rehearse here, particularly since no previous research has dealt with the site in the context of the Quaker plan, and other surviving Quaker sites.

The configuration of the house by 1780 was in great part the product of alterations undertaken in the 1770s. During the 1790s Caspar Wister Haines substantially altered the appearance of the front parlor (Room 101) by moving the chimney to a more central location on the north wall, and stuccoing the entire exterior north and south elevations (*circa* 1799). Prior to the major changes of 1824, the house was, but for the cosmetic unity provided by the stucco, a piecemeal connection of hyphenated units. The eastern wing has a very simple two cell, two-thirds Georgian plan, with the unusual rear facade placing of the chimney, while the 1770 wing follows local Germanic precedent, with a 'stube' and 'kuche' linked by a large central chimney flue, feeding a cooking hearth in the latter, and a smaller hearth in the former, with entrance directly into the 'stube' on the south facade, and into a small entrance lobby on the north facade. Given that this portion of the house was usually leased out to tenants, its spatial organization is more significant for reflecting current and traditional design tendencies in the locality than it is for any Quaker characteristics.³

The eastern section was, until the move of 1820, the main seasonal residence of the Haineses, and suggests a modest scale of living. It also argues a fairly fluid way of living, as the covered carriageway was much used as a multi-purpose space, a complement to the expected formality of the parlor on the opposite side of the hall. That this house was served by a completely separate summer kitchen until at least the period of Strickland's alterations places it as a building purely envisaged as a summer habitat, with a corresponding freeing-up of spatial dictates. Thus, although theoretically a central hall Georgian plan (by merit of

³ HSR; pp.152-7.



Plate 6 [above]: *Parlor [Room 101] at Wyck, looking east*

Plate 7 [below]: *Dining Room /Library [Room 104] at Wyck, looking west*

the carriageway) carrying connotations of spatial hierarchy, in practice the house liberated its occupants from the confines of such conventions.

While letters amongst the family prior to the alterations of 1824 express little tangible dissatisfaction with the configuration of the house - apart from its inadequacy as a winter residence - the scale of the changes wrought by Reuben Haines and William Strickland argue a guiding esthetic, or at least philosophical spatial intention, not motivated by the need to create more bed chambers. The exterior appearance was scarcely modified, except for the removal of the north facade chimney onto the road-facing gable and the closing-up of the windows on the east elevation, which served to consolidate the building's appearance as a structure turning inwards, away from the increasingly busy world that the Germantown Turnpike road represented, and into the garden and farm that the Haineses earnestly cultivated.⁴

As Mackenzie Lloyd has documented, the interior alterations were thoroughgoing on the first floor, particularly at the west end of the house, where the cluster of rooms around the central chimney stack were transformed into two north-south axis, cross-ventilated spaces, the westernmost probably being partitioned into two smaller rooms, a stove room and a breakfast room. The opening up of the 'heart' of the house via Strickland's ingenious pivoting doors was not as innovative as heretofore believed, but it undoubtedly created a very informal and fluid array of living spaces that could be closed down or opened up as need required.⁵ During the summer months, entrance into and through the light conservatory was an informal and preferred access, to that of the narrow and still-dark entry of the eastern wing. Again, it is unwise to exaggerate the alterations as the precursor

⁴ Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.67.

⁵ Garrett notes the popularity of folding doors for "integrating" reception spaces, and the ubiquity of the through, or open hall, as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century; pp. 31, 58. Cf. Mackenzie (Lloyd); pp.194-7. Recent research undertaken by Gerald and Christine Doell, landscape historians, in the Wyck archives suggests the hall sliding glass doors, previously attributed to William Strickland were a later addition, probably introduced by Ann Haines as a present to her niece Jane Reuben Haines; see AH to Jane Reuben Haines, 9/4/1844, II:25:382: WP. Christine Doell, personal communication, 7/14/92.



Plate 8 [above]: Wyck, view from Parlor to Dining Room /Library through Hall [Room 103], looking west

Plate 9: Wyck Entry Hall [Room 102] at Wyck, looking north

of later nineteenth century homes with 'open plan' circulation patterns; yet the preservation of space for solitude is balanced by a sense of the informality that infused rooms and subverted the formality of their nomenclature. Sally Minturn communicates this, fondly recalling after a visit to Wyck, "I have fancied myself seated with you ...in the passage, in my chamber, or indulging myself on the sofa in the library, just as I used to do last summer, with the children playing about from one room to another...."⁶ The liberty of the children within spheres that might elsewhere be designated adult spaces -- the dining room with its adult-sized chairs and sober conversation, the parlor with its rituals of etiquette and icons of status -- signifies a skewing of priorities away from adult perceptions of self-cultivation, and towards the sensitive propagation of faith in the young, a central Quaker concern. Indeed the Haines children were allowed a liberal rein both in and out of the house, and appear frequently in Jane's letters as diversions, running through the house and climbing on the furniture, and her drawing her away from her writing to play in the hall/conservatory or garden.

Wyck could be made into a house of closed-down spaces and in respect of privacy, this option was exercised, with the back stair retained to allow a separate access to the chambers above the western wing, and second floor doors which locked from the inside.⁷ This option acknowledges the presence of members of the extended family -- for example Ann Haines and Hannah Marshall Haines during her sojourns at Wyck -- whose need for seclusion was perhaps greater than that of the young family's. Nevertheless, elements that echo prevailing design strictures, for example the dining room/library fireplace niche and the stylized moldings around the swing doors, are overshadowed by a tangible sense of

⁶ S.Minturn to JBH, 5/6/1822; 11:23:331: WP.

⁷ The hall chamber, over the Hall/conservatory, can be locked at both east and west doors, thus shutting off second floor access from the east to the west wings.

liberty.⁸ In the conversion of the summer house into a year-round residence, the release from urban rituals of compartmentalization was not merely retained, but amplified.

Arguably, Reuben Haines sought the visual/spatial tension set up by the 1824 alterations: a dated facade, reflecting his concern for tangible connections to ancestral roots, inverted by the changing and changeable spaces within that could now defy the seasons with their anthracite coal-burning stove grates, a clear indication that the form of the house was more guided in its evolution between 1812 and 1831 by the influence of the scientific and pedagogical ideas absorbed by Haines, than by any religious dictate or by an intuitive sense of "Quaker space".⁹ The intersection with a Quaker spatial tradition, if it can be called as such, is in the act of additive renewal and of preservation, and in the effort to accommodate in comfort the various spheres and interests of the extended family.

Collen Brook -- ambiguity in pattern:

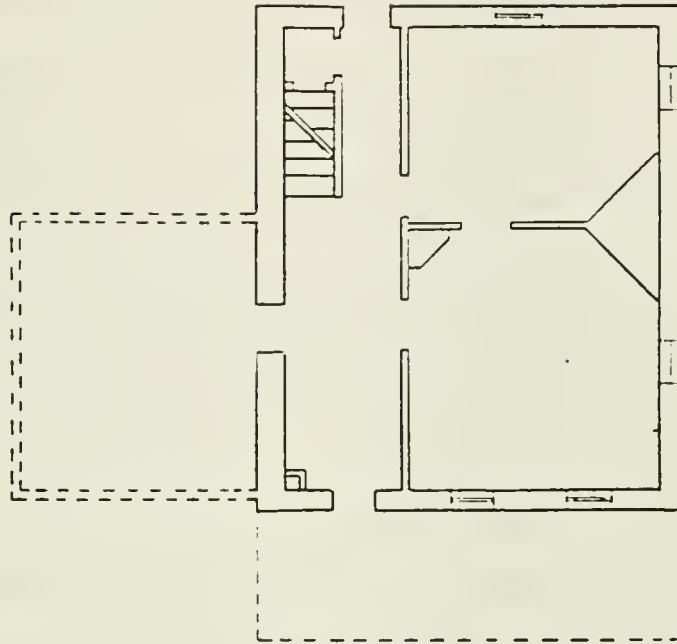
As it stands today, Collen Brook appears from the south to be a symmetrical six-bay fieldstone house of two and one-half stories, although the western portion of the house stands several feet lower than the eastern section. The western elevation reveals that the western section is in fact comprised of a one room deep front section with an attached kitchen ell, that has been further extended in the early twentieth century. The house is indeed exemplary Quaker additive construction, with a construction chronology spanning from the mid-eighteenth century until the first quarter of this century.¹⁰ Yet when Abraham Lewis III inherited what was probably a single-story, two-room frame house, he envisioned a residence on a more permanent and a more imposing scale. Abraham III desired, and achieved, a two-thirds Georgian house of three bays executed in local

⁸ HSR; pp.187, 196.

⁹ The genealogical interests of Reuben Haines might also be considered indulging un-Quakerly familial pride.

¹⁰ For a summary of the suggested chronology see Baumoel, Copass, Janson, et al; op.cit.

I: circa 1794



II: 1798-1805

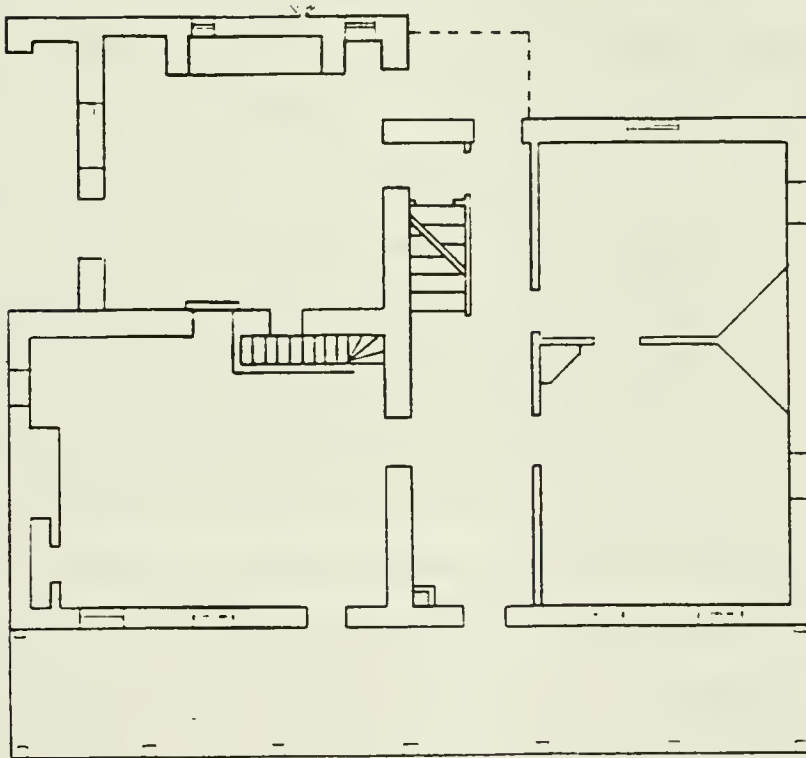


Plate 10: *Collen Brook Farm: First Floor Plan- Evolution, 1794-1825*

fieldstone, abutting the original frame homestead, with single hung six-over-nine sash, and a large transomed front door. The four main rooms -- front parlor and a second reception room/chamber on the first floor, and front and back bedchambers -- all have corner fireplaces of varying ornamentation, and the front parlor has a built-in corner cabinet with glass-panelled doors.

Although no designation of rooms is suggested in either the plan of the eastern section, or in the 1826 inventory of Abraham III's goods, the presence of the most ornate fireplace and of the cabinet with its butterfly shelves in the front first floor room denotes it as the primary public area of the new house. The adjacent room is drawn with a "clothespress" marked as to be incorporated, which might indicate an intended use as a first floor bed chamber-cum-second receiving room.¹¹ On the second floor, both large rooms were probably intended to serve as bed chambers, whilst the small room above the entry, now a bathroom, could have been used as a lumber or spinning room. The preparation of food was presumably undertaken in the old section of the house, and probably eaten there, in the absence of a separate dining room and food preparation area.

The western section of the house, replacing the frame building probably between 1798 and 1805, was keyed visually to the extant eastern wing by the incorporation of similar sash and casements, a second transomed front entry door, end gable chimney and a not too-successful attempt to replicate the careful random ashlar stonework of the earlier section. The first floor was probably partitioned into two rooms, the most westerly of which was equipped with a decorative fireplace similar to those in the eastern section, although there is no reappearance of the dog-eared enframements on the western side of the house. The second floor was accessed by a second staircase in the second room created by the partition, and comprised two chambers, and a crawl space over the lean-to kitchen area.

¹¹ This no longer survives, if it was ever constructed. For other instances in which the back parlor was used as a bedroom, see Schiffer, p.211.



Plate 11: *Collen Brook, Parlor (room 101) corner cabinet, north west corner*

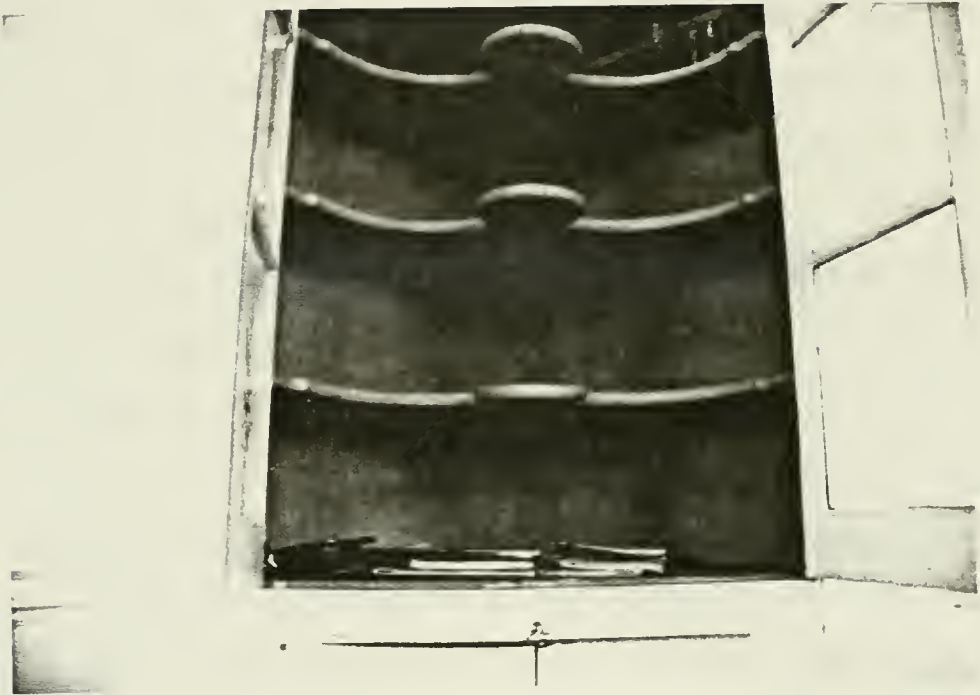


Plate 12: *Collen Brook, butterfly shelving in corner cabinet*

These rooms were not part of the public space of the house, and were probably given over to the housing of family members, servants, storage and agricultural processing. It might be argued the 1794 wing, a two-thirds Georgian floorplan, is little more than a two-cell Quaker plan house extended by the formal entry; for all the dressing up of the fireplaces with tabernacles and urns, they are nonetheless corner hearths, echoing the Letitia Street House. Similarly, the less symmetrical arrangement of rooms in the western wing contrasts with external attempts to assert uniformity, a feature already noted in the Abiah Taylor house and Wyck. Abraham Lewis III wanted the immediate community to understand his arrival as the new master of the Collen Brook estate, and the most visible means to effect this was in the embellishment of the property. Dated and initialled, the eastern section of Collen Brook is a clear-sighted expression of understood design trends, filtered through the minds of builder and client, utilizing key elements in key locations to reiterate the position and the taste of the landowner. Lewis does not appear to have limited his vision of what he, as a Quaker, could be seen to build, although frugality does surface in the lack of detailing in the non-public rooms, and there is a sense that once the eastern section was constructed, Lewis felt no further need in his building to be quite as indulgent or visible. How did the need to conform in this locality to prevailing design concepts impinge upon the world of the affluent agricultural Quaker? Enough for the frame house to disappear - but not enough for the economy of the corner hearth to be overlooked in favor of the symmetrically placed fireplace, and not enough for the small eighteenth century sash to be replaced by the larger paned plate glass sash. These are not however design 'selections' limited to the practice of Friends, and Collen Brook in its spatial manifestation is most fruitfully read as a product of its era and its geographical locale, as much as it is of the religious persuasions of its inhabitants.¹² As with Wyck, additive continuity is the

¹² There is no study for Delaware County comparable to Herman's for Newcastle County, Delaware, but this work is useful in identifying regional architectural trends, as is Margaret Schiffer, Survey of Chester

factor that links both sites to the houses discussed above, while their relationship to any manifestation of the "Quaker plan" is at best residual; with this in mind, it might be more valuable in future to consider Quaker spatiality in this philosophical sense, rather than tie it to rigid and ultimately redundant notions of precise form.

IV:II. FURNISHINGS AND "EMBELLISHMENT":

The survival of a number of recorded purchases made by Caspar Wister Haines and by his son and daughter-in-law compensates for the absence of a detailed inventory of household possessions on the death of either man.¹³ The record of the craftsman in some cases, of the purchase price, and the retention of such objects in the family's possession constitute an artifactual 'text' that is seldom encountered with such legibility.

Before considering these purchases in detail, the predominant esthetics of Philadelphia should be discussed as the 'sphere of possibilities' in the undertaking of furnishing a home, and in this particular case, the home of an upper-middle class Philadelphian of private but carefully controlled means. While wealthy socialites such as John Hare Powel in his Locust Street house were adopting sumptuous Empire and neo-*grec* idioms, the genteel classes were able to emulate the same decorative styles more cheaply and conveniently than ever before.¹⁴ Philadelphia's trade in furniture and furnishings production was extensive and sufficiently diversified to produce pieces to cater to most tastes and, more significantly, most pocketbooks. As Beatrice Garvan writes, "...there were two schools of design in the period, the carpenter's fancy and the Latrobe plain", and this was even a simplification of the available market.¹⁵ The delicate Adamesque

County, Pennsylvania, Architecture, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Schiffer Publishing, Exton, PA, 1984.

¹³An inventory of household furniture was taken after Jane Bowne Haines' death in 1843; II:212:145: WP.

¹⁴ Bryan Keven Hawkins, "Grecian Splendor: The City Mansion of John Hare Powel", Master of Science thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1988; p.3: Kathleen M.Catalano, "Cabinetmaking in Philadelphia, 1820-1840", Master of Arts thesis, University of Delaware, 1972; pp.5-6.

¹⁵ Garvan; p.46.

dimensions of Federal era furniture was gradually superseded by the more robust and sinuous lines embodied in post-revolutionary French design. Distinctive features of a Federal/Empire-furnished interior were the slender pier glasses, often mounted above a console or pier table between windows, and the large overmantle glasses that were often amongst the most costly items valued in probate inventories; low-backed 'sophas', with bolsters and loose cushion upholstery; and the sleigh-like French bed, draped elaborately with a gauzy dimity or figured chintz.

Yet the *klismos* chair did not necessarily replace the Sheraton chair entirely. The elision of these styles in the reception rooms of the first quarter of the nineteenth century was commonplace, with eighteenth century inherited pieces set alongside -- or rather on the periphery of -- focal contemporary items.¹⁶ Few householders could afford to refurnish their houses completely with each new dictate from the pages of Rudolph Ackermann's London-published Repository of the Arts, Literature and Fashions (1809-1828) or could afford, like Powel, William Bingham and Alexander Hamilton, to have items shipped directly from the *ateliers* of Paris and London, but many did choose to buy one or two key pieces to update the public areas of their homes, while older pieces were relegated to less formal and less public spaces.¹⁷

In the form of carpeting, window treatments and upholstery, textiles became increasingly commonplace throughout this period, and as a consequence, more diversified in type and quality. Until the 1830s, most woollen carpeting was produced overseas, affording premium prices for quality weaves such as Venetian and Brussels. The beginnings of domestic manufacture of ingrain and two and three-ply carpets in Connecticut and Philadelphia in the 1820s and 1830s was not matched by a mechanized

¹⁶ Edgar de Noailles Mayhew and Minor Myers, Jr., A Documentary History of American Interiors From the Colonial Era to 1915, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1980; p.108.

¹⁷ Hawkins; pp.59-61; Mayhew and Myers, p.85.

production of fancier weaves until the 1880s.¹⁸ Yet despite their expense, richly-patterned carpets and rugs were an integral and focal element of a reception room; Elizabeth Donaghy Garrett indeed suggests that the carpet was the decorative feature valued above all other ornament.¹⁹ In affluent households, a hierarchy of floor treatments was common, with a Brussels, Venetian or Axminster laid in the parlor and/or dining room, a Venetian or ingrain in secondary reception rooms and chief bed chambers, and a sturdy Kidderminster, ingrain, matting or painted floorcloth on the stairs and in the first floor entries.²⁰

Many fabrics were still imported, although cotton-based and some woollen materials were produced domestically. While bedsteads had once been the chief focus of textile treatments, windows were now becoming important decorative features, to be dressed with yardages of fabric in sophisticated swags, double drops and undercurtains.²¹ Upholstery of furniture was intentionally matched, if not in material type, then at least in color and texture. By the early 1800s, fine, self-colored wools and silk-cotton mixes predominated -- cassimeres, watered silks, plain dimities and patterned chintzes -- for draperies, with moreens, harateens and stouter woollen "stuffs" used for upholstering.²² The airier feel of the neo-classical room defined the utilization of opaque and muted colorways and textures;

¹⁸ Helene von Rosenstiel and Gail Caskey Winkler, Floor Coverings for Historic Buildings: A Guide to Selecting Reproductions, Preservation Press, Washington, DC, 1988; pp.23, 78-80.

¹⁹ Garrett; p.64.

²⁰ See for example the variety and placement of carpetting and matting recorded in the inventory of Dr. John Syng Dorsey, a noted Philadelphia physician who lived on Washington Square; Administration Book M, #293, 1819: Philadelphia Register of Wills, Philadelphia City Hall..

²¹ For a comprehensive survey of colonial usage of textiles in Philadelphia, assessed through inventories, which has some application to this period, see Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, "Form, Function and Meaning in the Use of Fabric Furnishings: A Philadelphia Case Study, 1700-1775", Winterthur Portfolio, 14:1 (Spring 1979), pp.25-40.

²² See for example George Smith's suggestions in Collection of Designs for Household Furniture and Interior Decoration., J. Taylor, London, 1808. See also under individual fabric names in Florence M. Montgomery, Textiles in America, 1650-1870, W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1984.

thus the newer French beds or lighter tester frames were often draped with dimity, rather than the common checked cloth or heavier figured brocades.²³

Subsidiary decoration in the home, afforded by ceramics and porcelain, silverware and other metalware, and works of art, was as varied and as exotic as the names of the ships bringing such goods to the Front Street wharfs. Silverworking continued to be a Philadelphian specialty, with craftsmen such as Harvey Lewis producing display pieces in the neo-classical style.²⁴ Domestically-produced glassware, such as that from the Wistarburg Glassworks in New Jersey, and chinaware from Philadelphia's Tucker manufactory, faced stiff competition from imported Northern European manufactures, and especially from the wares of the Far East, with Canton or Indian porcelain dinner services becoming central upon the fashionable table.²⁵ Mantlepiece garnitures, card boxes and vases were executed in fine opaque porcelain that absorbed and diffused candlelight, or the stronger light from oil-fuelled Argand and 'Astral' burners. And while few inventories list extensive collections of art, engravings and prints of landscapes and cartographic images were commonplace.²⁶ Personal libraries were a distinction of erudition and the mark of a gentleman, to the extent that the books themselves became a significant element of the domestic interior, while personal accomplishments could also be exhibited in the inclusion of a pianoforte in one of the reception rooms, a feature gaining popularity by the 1820s.²⁷

²³ Although Nylander quotes Mrs. William Parkes, from her Domestic Duties or Instructions for Young Married Ladies (1st. American edition, 1829) who recommended the use of "severe moreen curtains in crimson or scarlet" in dining rooms and bedchambers; Jane C.Nylander, Fabrics for Historic Buildings: A Guide to Selecting Reproduction Fabrics, Washington DC, Preservation Press, 1983, p.72. See also the formal bedroom use of dimity hangings and the secondary bedchamber use of checked stuff, at the Federal era Gardner-Pingree House, Salem, MA; Dean Lahikainen, "The Gardner-Pingree House, Salem, MA", The Magazine Antiques, CXXXVII (March 1990), pp.718-729.

²⁴ Kathryn C.Buhler, American Silver, 1655-1825: in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, volume II, New York Graphic Society, Greenwich, CN, 1972; pp.632-2.

²⁵ For example the 372 piece Canton China dinner set, valued at \$300 in the probate inventory of Lewis D.Carpenter, a merchant-confectioner who died in 1824: Philadelphia Register of Wills, #124, 1824, and the \$850-worth of Canton china in Dr.Syng Dorsey's store room, op.cit.: Mayhew and Myers; pp.95, 123.

²⁶ Richardson; p.246; Mayhew and Myers; pp.95-99.

²⁷ Mayhew and Myers; p.85.

The artifice of simplicity in pastoral themes, an evocative palette and the preeminence of the classical orders as design signatures contributed to the nascent Republican esthetic that Philadelphians did much to mold. During the fifty years between 1780 and 1830, a remarkably pure archaeological imagery pervaded the high-style domestic interior, just as the nation sought its political-democratic roots in an uninterrupted classical descent. The genteel home in Philadelphia of this period nevertheless reflected the combination of currents of acquisitiveness and conservative thrift, the modish offset by the inherited. It is this set of practices, rather than those of a Bingham or a Powel, that should serve as a reference for the case study sites.

The Haines accounts for the years 1812-13 reflecting purchases for the Chestnut Street townhouse and alterations to its fabric, have been usefully collated by Mackenzie Lloyd, and suggest that although material acquisition was gradual, there was no stinting in the accumulation.²⁸ The public rooms were papered and repainted, as agreed in the contract between Allen and Haines.²⁹ A bill for Benjamin Collins' services as a painter-glazier in December 1812, suggests the painted finishes in the new house, with 28 yards being finished with two coats of "dead" white, or "flatted" oil, fourteen yards of varnishing, and three yards of "sattin colour".³⁰ New mantles and accoutrements were also bought, including a black marble mantle valued at \$44, to be used as surrounds for coal-burning hearths. The 59 1/2 yards of Brussels carpet was clearly a major investment. The subject of carpeting figures in at least one letter of 1812 dispatched between Reuben and Jane, and the discussion is revealing of Reuben's attitude towards the economy of quality. For while

²⁸ Mackenzie (Lloyd), Appendix B; pp.128-149.

²⁹ Haines' agreement with Allen was to lay out the first quarter's rent of \$125 on painting the "front" [of the house/ or front room?], and papering entry, staircase and back parlor: RH III Acct. Ledger, 1807-13, 12/1/1813 [?]; IV:124:10: WP.

³⁰ IV:146:210: WP. Benjamin Collins appears in several accounts of Reuben Haines III, for glazing and painting undertaken in Philadelphia and Germantown. He is listed variously as painter and glazier in Philadelphia City Directories between 1802 and 1831. Several bills for work executed by Collins survive in the Society Collection (Bills, 1815-1820), Manuscripts Department, HSP.



Plate 13 [above]: *Dining Room [Room 105] at Wyck, showing cupboards moved from Parlor, circa 1824*

Plate 14: *Dining table to seat 24, purchased from Jacob Super in 1812, in the Dining Room at Wyck*

"...there is a good supply [of carpeting] here at \$2 a yard ...I am sure it is my wish and I believe it is thine to use all due economy in our housekeeping establishment, I think it is much cheaper to furnish our mansion with Brussels Carpeting". Haines was prepared to pay more per yard for a carpet he felt would last longer than for a less durable but cheaper purchase. It is probable that the 50 yards of brown-toned figured carpet with blue/purple highlights he "engaged for the refusal" is the carpet accounted for on the 18th. November, 1812.³¹ Alongside the half-Venetian carpet for the staircase (12/28/1812) and the "domestic entry " carpeting for less formal flooring areas (12/24/1812), the Haineses appear to have followed the hierarchy of floor furnishing employed in well-appointed households.³²

The note of economy is struck more forcibly in considering large furniture purchases. More money is initially spent on objects for public display, such as the silver cake basket (11/11/1812) and the drinking glassware (1/4/1812) -- objects seen most frequently in the obligation of fulfilling company -- than is upon necessary items of furnishing for the private spaces. A double bedstead is purchased in November of 1812, possibly the marital bed, for only \$6. Only in February 1813 is it apparent that a more substantial bed is required, and the reeded four-post maplewood bedstead, equipped with castors, was bought from Jacob Super, for almost four times the price of the first bed. The bed is only part of a complete suite for the bedchamber purchased at this time, comprising gilded and painted cornices for the windows, echoing gilding applied to the tester frame of the bed itself.³³ These purchases also coincide with the arrival of three lengths of orange moreen

³¹ Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.130; RH III to JBH, 10/11/1812: II:14:133: WP.

³² The only carpet that appears to survive from this period is an ingrain; Elizabeth Solomon, personal communication, 5/29/92.

³³ This is the bed that now stands in the main bed chamber at Wyck; Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.131. Three window cornices also survive at Wyck; they appear to be oil-gilded, and one has Super's signature in pencil on the back.

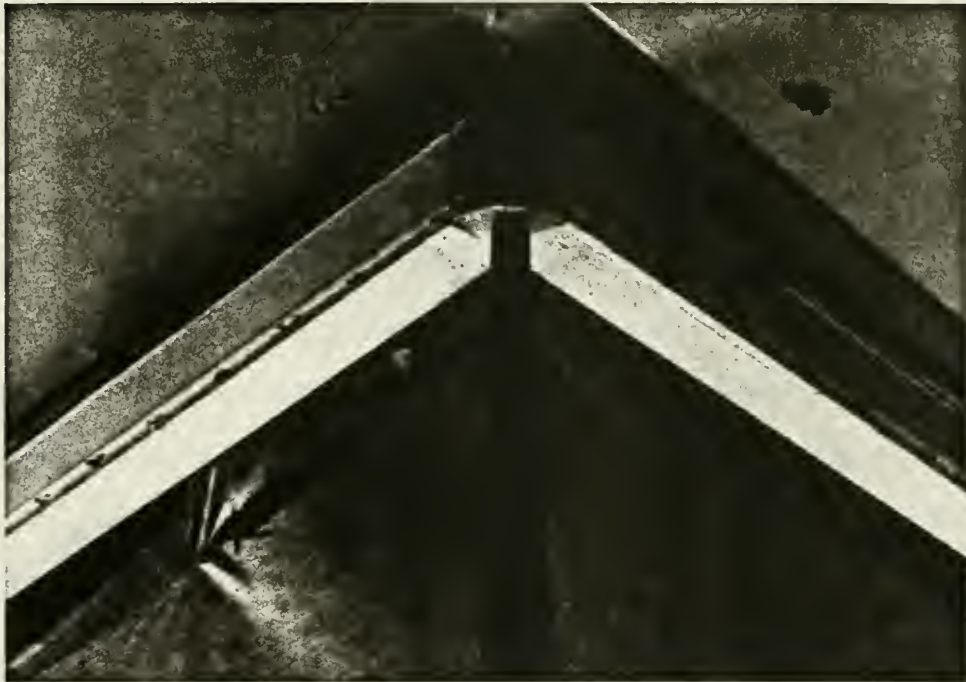


Plate 15 [above]: *Front Bedchamber [Room 201] at Wyck, with maple bedstead purchased from Jacob Super in 1812; looking south-east*

Plate 16: *Canopy of bed; once gilded, now overpainted with several layers of white paint*

from Jane's sister Hannah, to be used in the bedchamber.³⁴ Although moreen was considered as a "plain stout" substitute for finer types of worsted fabric, such as watered cassimere, by this time its mass production and durability made it a popular drapery; the colour of Jane's fabric, a rich deep orange, is typical of the machine-produced moreens of the first quarter of the nineteenth century³⁵. The effect was certainly intended to impress, particularly in a room that in Quaker patterns of reception remained a frequently accessed space.

At the same time that the bedroom was restyled, the Haineses purchased the pair of dining room tables, a breakfast table and two elliptical bureaux (2/5/1813), a month before having bought from William Haydon and William Stewart two dozen "fancy" painted dining chairs, satinwood-"stained". Again, the intention was probably to reflect increasing visibility, a young couple assuming their position amongst the ranks of well-visited Quaker families. But the intention was achieved with care and economy. The bills to Haydon and Stewart for painting and repairing chairs (1/9/1813; 2/7/1813) suggest that they may have been purchased in less than prime condition, a factor that might also help explain their slightly outmoded appearance, given their purchase date of 1812.³⁶ Similarly, the moreen was a set of 'recycled' bed curtains sent from New York, which Elizabeth Bowne advised could be supplemented, "if it fall short".³⁷ Moreover, while observing that Jane had been fortunate "that the furniture bespoke answers your expectations", her mother suggested in the same letter that she should have an extant set of family china sent down from New

³⁴ Elizabeth Bowne to JBH, 12/1/1812; "H[annah] says there are two whole pieces and part of a third - how much she had in her bed she does not recollect..."; 11:21:305: WP.

³⁵ Montgomery quotes George Smith, "where expense is an object undressed morine of a fine quality will form a good substitute"; pp.300-303.

³⁶ By 1829, if not earlier, satinwood was very much a passé wood, with Mrs. Parkes describing it as a "cold" wood, much less desirable than the highly figured mahogany she advocates; quoted Mayhew and Minor, p.108. For Haydon and Stewart, see Anthony Stuempfig, "William Haydon and William L.Stewart, Fancy Chairmakers in Philadelphia", *The Magazine Antiques*, CIV (September 1973); pp.452-7.

³⁷ EB to JBH, 12/1/1812; 11:21:205: WP.



Plate 17: *Fancy chair, by Haydon and Stewart, purchased in 1813, now in the Dining Room at Wyck*

York, "...and risk of a little breakage, than give the high price thee mentions" from a Philadelphia retailer.³⁸

Thus, while Mackenzie Lloyd argues the Haines' taste as "conservatively fashionable", the purchases and their timing also suggest the social priorities the couple were fulfilling, with religious constraints operating on a subtle level, as a mechanism of considered thrift.³⁹ The major pieces of this period are not conspicuous in their 'plainness', nor do they correspond to the stylized indulgence of the most affluent Philadelphian interior; they occupy an unremarkable, and undistinguished genteel middle ground. Like many of their peers, co-religionists or otherwise, Jane and Reuben assembled their household from an existing pool of family furnishings, highlighted by carefully selected bespoke commissions, and accented by textiles that were costly but durable and executed in common colorways for the period. The significance of discernable transgression of religious constraints lies in the subtlety of refinement, and in the quantity of possessions, and in these respects, the Haineses again fall into step with their social peers, and probably with their urban co-religionists, answering an esthetic call that ambiguously embodied the richness of the simple. Only in the family's predilection for portraits -- Reuben's is attributed to Rembrandt Peale, and a letter of 1814 from Sarah Minturn to Jane suggests that his wife was also in the process of sitting -- is there any tangible rejection of traditional proscription, and this can only be read as a symptom of 'wetness' within the bounds of the urban Society, rather than a substantial rejection of the testimony of "plainness".⁴⁰

Moreover, where the purchases were sizeable, or suggest an incongruous degree of ostentation, it is significant that, where the craftsman is known, he is often also a Quaker.

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.43.

⁴⁰ Reuben's portrait was posthumously painted; Sarah Minturn to JBH, 2/12/1814; II:21:307:WP. See Thomas Clarkson's observations upon the continuing Quaker suspicion of the portrait, and the rarity of their domestic appearance; Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism*, Merrill and Field, Indianapolis, 1870 [originally published in 1810]. This work in its original three volumes was purchased by Reuben Haines in June, 1813; IV:124:9: WP.

This is the case with Harvey Lewis, the silversmith who produced the tea set costing \$128.88 (January 1813), and the silver pitchers listed for December of the same year.⁴¹ Little has been written about the workings of Quaker patronage in this sphere, particularly during this period, but it is suggestive that Haines sought out craftsmen that probably intuitively understood the constraints upon artistry, whilst maintaining the highest quality of materials and production.

In looking at the surviving purchases from this period on display at Wyck, the prevailing sense is that of reduction of decoration and of the priority of comfort over ephemeral fashionable detail. This appearance is borne out by the knowledge that, after 1813, the largest listed purchases are for china and other tableware.⁴² More significantly, in the move of 1820 the family did not discard the furnishings that had adorned their townhouse, but rather transported them to the new year-round home, perhaps with some hope of recreating the urbane interiors within Wyck's reception areas. Jane, writing to her mother in December 1820, declared ruefully "...I have not put up curtains yet - the cornice rods are in town - this change is nearly equal to a second moving."⁴³ The same account bemoans, "A more troublesome job has been fitting the Brussels carpet from town to the front room [parlor], but it is nearly accomplished...", while a letter written by Jane to Reuben of December 19th, 1820, notes "...we have today measured my moreen and I find it quite enough to furnish the front chamber with orange. I would like to have the window cornice for the Hall chamber - a pair of small fire irons - the four yellow armchairs and my

⁴¹ The probate inventory of Harvey Lewis, taken in 1835, provides a suggestive complement to the material available for the Haines household, with its record of fancy chairs in the dining room, stoves set in fireplace niches and a fully dressed mahogany bedstead; Register of Wills, #150, 1835, PCH. See also Eliza Edwards, "The Home of Harvey Lewis, c. 1835, 1525 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia", Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 1991. On deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

⁴² For example, the set of Liverpool ware, \$53.00, and dinner set of botanical ware, \$28.50; Mackenzie (Lloyd); pp. 135, 136.

⁴³ JBH to Elizabeth Bowne, 12/4/1820, II:20:267: WP.

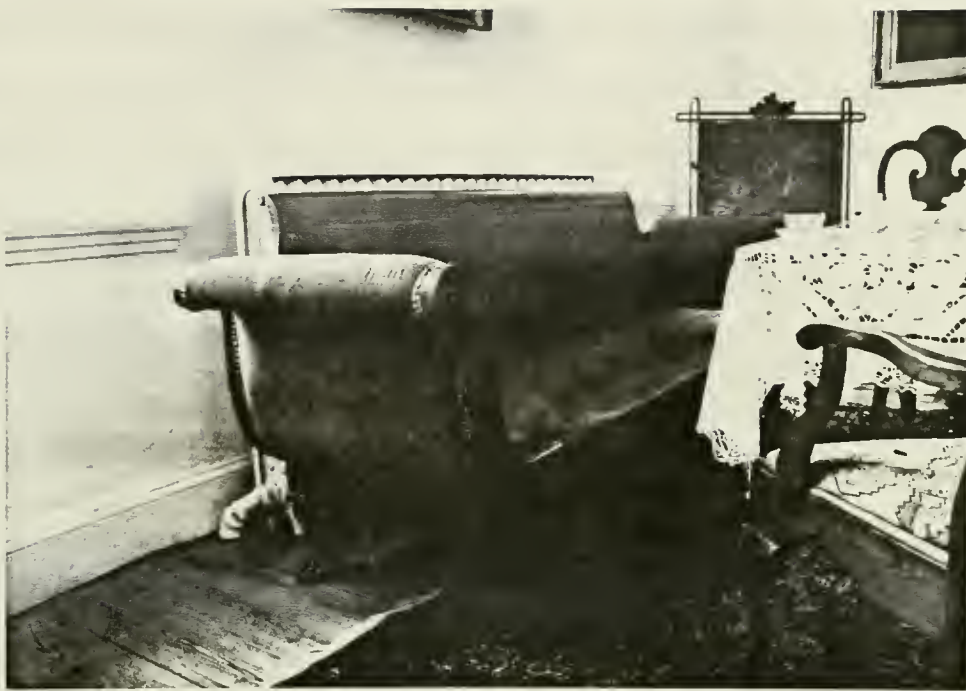


Plate 18 [above]: *the "New York" sofa, circa 1812, shipped down from New York by Reuben Haines III; now in the Parlor at Wyck*

Plate 19: *Coal-burning 'stove' grate installed beneath statuary niche in Dining Room/Library, circa 1824*

bed...".⁴⁴ It was clearly natural for both Jane and Reuben to move their belongings rather than purchase anew, despite the fact that some of the objects from Chestnut Street were on a scale quite incongruous when set down in Wyck. The reeded maple bedstead that Jane asked to be moved to Wyck in October 1820 stands in the front chamber (room 201), its castors removed to accommodate the low ceiling and its delicate lines somewhat obscured since it crowds the room. Not only the scale appears to have been incongruous, but also the hangings; the remarkable state of preservation of both the gilded cornices and the moreen bed curtains point to them being in continuous use for only a short period of time before being stored away.⁴⁵ Likewise, the dining table set which could seat up to twenty-four, can never have done so in either the cramped surroundings of the pre-1824 dining room, and only with difficulty in the slightly larger post-1824 dining room.⁴⁶

The register of accounts compiled by Mackenzie Lloyd reinforces the idea that after 1820, the Haines household was content to live within their resources, and with furniture that would have, by 1820, begun to appear somewhat outdated, had it still been in the parlor of the Chestnut Street townhouse.⁴⁷ Few purchases carry the value of the goods bought in 1812-1813, and the quality of goods purchased is clearly lower; compare the 29 yards of scrap carpet bought for Wyck at \$14.50 (50 cents per yard) in November 1820

⁴⁴ The hall chamber is the room above the conservatory, although this space only has two six-over-nine sash windows, over which the cornices would have hung somewhat ponderously. There are hooks in the front chamber over the windows which suggest the hanging of cornices, but they do not match the dimensions of the gilded cornices; JBH to RH III, 12/19/1820, II:20:267: WP.

⁴⁵ Although the accounts show that 48 additional yards of orange moreen were purchased as late as December 1819; Mackenzie Lloyd, p.140. However, the letter of 12/19/1820, also refers to a set of dimity curtains which Jane wished brought out to Germantown; as the tester of the bed has been overpainted white it is possible that these were the replacement curtains.

⁴⁶ Now the library; JBH to RH III, 10/15/1820, II:20:267: WP.

⁴⁷ This bears out Page Talbott's observation that on the Eastern seaboard "unlike the newly settled areas in the West, an accumulation of several generations' worth of household furnishings were available to the thrifty Philadelphia housekeeper"; Elizabeth Page Talbott, "The Philadelphia Furniture Industry, 1850-1880", PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980; p.6. Compare this also with the suggestion that as at Cedar Grove, the house had already been used as a repository for furnishings that had ceased to meet the fashionable dictates of urban parlors; Lita H.Solis-Cohen, "Cedar Grove", *The Magazine Antiques*, LXXXII (November 1962), pp.511-514; p.514.

with the Brussels carpet noted above.⁴⁸ The exception to this appears to be the year 1824 - the year of Strickland's alterations -- when 118 yards of carpeting was purchased at \$1.38 per yard, and other purchases include a copper boiler (\$15.00), and a brass fender for one of the new fireplaces (\$13.50).⁴⁹ The last major furniture purchase prior to Reuben III's death in 1831 was one dozen mahogany chairs, "on order" from Charles White in July 1829, costing \$9.00 each.⁵⁰ Bills for repair and to cabinetmakers such as Samuel Myers that do not detail any purchase which are probably also accounts for repairs undertaken, are numerous, suggesting that renewal, and not replacement, was the preferred domestic practice.

Yet there was no financial need for frugality. Reuben continued to indulge his somewhat costly interests in matters scientific, with bills for such items as "Fowler's patent air heater" (\$42.75, January, 1831) and a set of "copies of antique gems" (\$25.00, December 1829), no doubt to add to his comprehensive mineralogical cabinet.⁵¹ Such purchases simply reiterate that Jane and Reuben were content to live amongst items of familiarity and interest, rather than items of novelty and high fashion. Jane satisfied her delight in the modish in her visits to New York, her letters detailing fabric prices and what she had seen in the stores she visited, while Reuben created a quasi-laboratory for his agricultural and scientific pursuits throughout the house.

Wyck was clearly a home in the sense that it was defined by objects of familiarity, but also by the fact that it housed comfortably the varied interests of the Haines' extended family. Jane and Reuben exhibited no hesitation in buying modish items -- the items

⁴⁸ The Brussels carpet was probably replaced in 1829 by the 46 yards of carpet at \$1.25 per yard, noted in September 1829; Mackenzie Lloyd, p.147. Jane Bowne Haines also appears to have made her own rugs and floor coverings, as she writes to Reuben in 1820, "[I] should desire a scrap carpet for the stove room - that which I have in hand will not probably be finished before a new one has time to wear out..."; 10/15/1820: II:20:267: WP.

⁴⁹ Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.143.

⁵⁰ At least eight of these are still at Wyck; they are in the klismos style, of mahognay veneer, with wheatsheaf decoration on the seatback splat; *ibid.*, p.147.

⁵¹ Cf. Mackenzie (Lloyd); p.46.

mentioned above evidence this -- nor were they confined by decorative prescriptions, but the removal to Wyck and the retention of items purchased in 1812-13 to furnish the 'old house' adds another dimension of molded historicism to an environment in which Haines wanted to invest a sense of familial belonging and purpose.⁵² The elements of Wyck that argue frugality -- for example the removal of cupboards from the pre-1824 front parlor, to be installed on the eastern wall of the current dining room, and the probable reinstallation of various interior doors in differing locations - are more than offset by Reuben's indulgences born of scientific inquiry. It may be feasible to argue that Haines consciously developed a notion of preservation, or at least renewal, in his occupancy of the house; but it is no less valid to argue the configuration of the house as a product of informality, and of a disinterest in current formal design arrangements. The objects that created the domestic landscape at Wyck are a testament to both preservation and indifference, and to aspirations to conformity superseded by a desire for constancy and comfort in context.

Collen Brook: the Survival of the Eighteenth Century Interior:

The document that suggests to some extent the texture of Abraham III's life is the inventory undertaken at his death in 1825 of household and farmyard items, which is not supplemented by any known surviving furniture that can be traced to Lewis. The appraised items and specie are valued in total at \$22, 930.17, which marks Lewis as a substantial man in his community, yet his probate illustrates a certain continuity with his more humble predecessors and settlers in the Delaware Valley. Unlike the urban inventories noted above, the capital investments noted in early nineteenth century rural inventories remain the chief commodities of eighteenth century domestic investment -wearing apparel , farm apparatus, specie and bonds and then items such as textiles and plate.⁵³ John Swift, a Bucks County

⁵² This is borne out by the subsequent occupation of Wyck; Jane and Reuben's last-born child, Jane Reuben Haines lived permanently in the house from her birth in 1832 until her death in 1911.

⁵³ Schoelwer; p.33.

landowner and master of Bensalem Farm, who died in 1802, cultivated the tastes of the city in his front and back parlors, with mahogany pieces, framed prints and plated ware. And yet the presence of a spinning room in his 'mansion house' illustrates the proximity of the chief concern of the estate -- agricultural production.⁵⁴ In the probate accompanying the will of Jacob Harman, a city merchant and Friend who moved to Upper Darby in the 1760s to develop a working plantation, the elision of urbane styles and provincial necessity is set in sharp relief; although Harman's inventory contains items that belong to the drawing room -- pier tables, looking glasses -- there is also a spartan element to his furnishings, and an intermingling of produce and implements with the furnishings.⁵⁵ That spartan element is apparent in Lewis' will also.

The domestic objects valued most highly are his wearing apparel, the "beds" and bedding for the nine bedsteads enumerated and unsewn linens, muslin and flannel (a total of \$19.02), which might be homespun given the presence of "a lot of spinning wheels". Curtains, table linens, sheets, coverlets and blankets comprise 4.7% of the total goods, excluding cash, stocks and bonds.(\$107.50). Other than these items, the greater part of the capital value is vested in stored grain, livestock, agricultural implements, and the bonds and notes that mark Lewis as a shrewd landholder, landlord and local creditor.

The furniture mentioned is not extensively described, either by material or style; while this may be a characteristic of the appraisers, it suggests also that the objects were undistinguished, a possibility also reinforced by the consistently low valuations. Lewis no doubt purchased new furniture when his home was remodelled in 1794 and circa 1798-1805, but by 1825 much of this would have been outdated and possessing negligible resale value. Moreover, certain items, for example the "case of drawers", two of the looking

⁵⁴ John Swift, Will #122, 1802; Register of Wills, Philadelphia City Hall.

⁵⁵ Jacob Harman, will #297, 1780; Register of Wills, Philadelphia City Hall. See also, Anne Lingeman, "Jacob Harman's Plantation in Upper Darby: A Study of an Inventory", Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania, 1991. On deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

glasses, and some of the bedsteads, as well as the pewterware, might correspond to similarly named items found in the 1768 inventory of Abraham Lewis I (1707-1768), and which were thus bequeathed survivals.⁵⁶ Carpets are scarce, and valuations between \$1 and \$6.00 for the four separate carpets mentioned denote pieces of low quality or great age; the two oil cloths are a more practical and far cheaper rural flooring option. The twenty-three chairs and two armchairs are listed at values between 50 cents and \$5.00 each; the former were probably Windsor-style seats, whilst the latter may have harked back to Lewis' possibly more extensive purchases of the 1790's. Other large single pieces, the two bureaux, the chest and "case" of drawers, and the desk, carry similarly low valuations, again suggesting long usage in the household. Lewis invested a moderate amount in items of ostentation and display, such as in the clock (\$40.00), and in the silver, pewter and tinware (\$52.00), possibly laid out in the front parlor cupboard, alongside the imported Queenware. The four looking glasses were a fashionable item of mid-eighteenth century households had by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, become a staple in provincial interiors, although the number seems incongruous in an otherwise little-adorned interior. Bedsteads are ubiquitous, raising the possibility of there being an equipped bedstead in all but the most formal parlor and the kitchen, an increasingly outmoded practice by the first decades of the nineteenth century; the two sets of curtains mentioned are more likely to be bed curtains than window dressings.⁵⁷ The document suggests a household that has been well-lived in , and utilized to the full in accommodating family and farm; these latter factors also possibly determined the simplicity, functionality and durability of the furnishings over time.

Given the brevity of Lewis' probate, a precise visualization of the furnished interior of Collen Brook between 1794 and 1829 is not possible. Similarly it is difficult to place Lewis

⁵⁶ Will and probate of Abraham Lewis I, taken November, 1768; #2451: Chester County Register of Wills; Chester County Historical Society, Widener College, Chester, PA.

⁵⁷ Nylander; p.73. See also Schoelwer; p.27-8.

more precisely within the interleaving spectrums of Quaker / prevailing domestic esthetics, other than to note the generically static quality of his furnishings; indeed a comparison of the probates of grandfather and grandson, although separated by half a century, and moreover a conspicuous increase in familial wealth, highlights the material continuities in the eighteenth century rural interior, as well as a continuity of frugality and functionality in acquisition and cross-generational possession.

"Embellishment": an Alternative Artifactual Reading of Collen Brook:

Despite the paucity of information available for the furnishings of Lewis' farm, a reading of the "embellishments" utilized as architectural ornament in each domestic space supplies a potentially rich source for the understanding of designated spatial hierarchies, as well as a selected personalized 'grammar' that can be compared with the available 'vocabulary' of ornament for correspondences in complexity and chronology.⁵⁸

A preliminary survey of contemporary pattern books and builders' manuals suggests that the carpenters involved in the 1794 construction campaign, paid little attention to current fashions in running the moldings, possibly at the request of Abraham Lewis III.⁵⁹ The highly articulated Palladian architraves and frieze designs of William Pain and the Adamesque lines of Asher Benjamin's early editions have little in common with the shallow ovolo and cyma double-faced architraves common to all the windows and doors except those of the rear bed chamber and lumber room (rooms 202 and 204). Yet the detailing of

⁵⁸ Appendix II supplies a glossary of the moldings that occur in the eastern (1794) wing of Collen Brook, as well as a 'control' of the moldings from the first floor parlor of the western (1798-1805) section. A schedule of molding types correlated to their appearance in each room assists in locating the samples within the available field of molding designs.

⁵⁹ The pattern books consulted were William Pain, The Builder's Golden Rule, or the Youth's Sure Guide, H.D.Steel, London, 1782 (3rd.edition); and Pain's Carpenter's Pocket Dictionary, H.D.Steel, London, 1781; Peter Nicholson, Mechanical Exercises or the Elements and Practice of Carpentry, J.Taylor, London, 1812 (1st.edition); Asher Benjamin, The American Builder's Companion, A New System of Architecture, in the editions of 1797, 1806 (with Daniel Reynerd: S.Etheridge, Boston: facsimile edition, Da Capo Press, Inc., New York, 1972), and 1827 (6th.edition, Philadelphia; facsimile reprinting Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1969).



Plate 20: *Collen Brook, Front Parlor [Room 101], fireplace surround and tabernacle overmantle, north-east corner*



Plate 21: *Collen Brook, Front Parlor, urn detail and reeding, fireplace surround frieze*

the corner cabinet and the front parlor fireplace with its eared tabernacle frame -- the deep crown-molded and denticulated cornices, the gouged reeding and punched detail on the fireplace surround, and the applied urn motif, executed in wood rather than composition -- are distinctive of mid-Federal ornamentation without exhibiting any of the distinctive molding innovations of this period, such as the Grecian ovolo. The six-panel raised field door leaves and linear chair rail moldings are undistinguished late eighteenth century features that suggest Mordecai Lawrence and his carpenters were competent provincial artisans with a basic vocabulary of forms, garnered from experience and occasionally from publications. The dog-leg staircase, with its curled bannister ends, its freize ornamenting the tread profiles and the triangulated wainscoting on the wall beneath the first flight are almost identical to the drawing and priced descriptions in the 1786 Carpenters' Company Rule Book. The front parlor fireplace surround is a composite of selected elements from Plates XLVI and XLVIII in Pain's The Builder's Golden Rule.⁶⁰ Yet a more fashionable note is struck in the dog-eared enframements to the windows of the front parlor and front bedchamber, and to the doors in those two rooms and the entry halls on both floors, suggestive of later Grecian-revival trim.⁶¹

More is revealed about Lewis's attentions to the demarcation and denoting of space in his utilization of embellishment, than is about his restraint in its selection. The front parlor and front bedchamber are clearly prioritized, with the most ornate fireplaces and overmantles, eared enframements and double-sided panelled doors. While the same moldings are used throughout the wing for chair-rails and for baseboards, at once implying a desire to unify and perhaps also a desire to keep the carpenters' work simple, the entirely different moldings utilized in the rear bedchamber argue a conscious attempt was made to

⁶⁰ Plate XXII, The Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia, 1786 Rule Book; Annotated with an Introduction by Charles E. Peterson, The Pyne Press, Princeton, 1971; William Pain. op.cit..

⁶¹ Mayhew and Myers show a painted tray of *circa* 1790 which depicts a parlor scene where the door has a dog-eared architrave, the 'ears' being filled with stylized decoration; p.79.

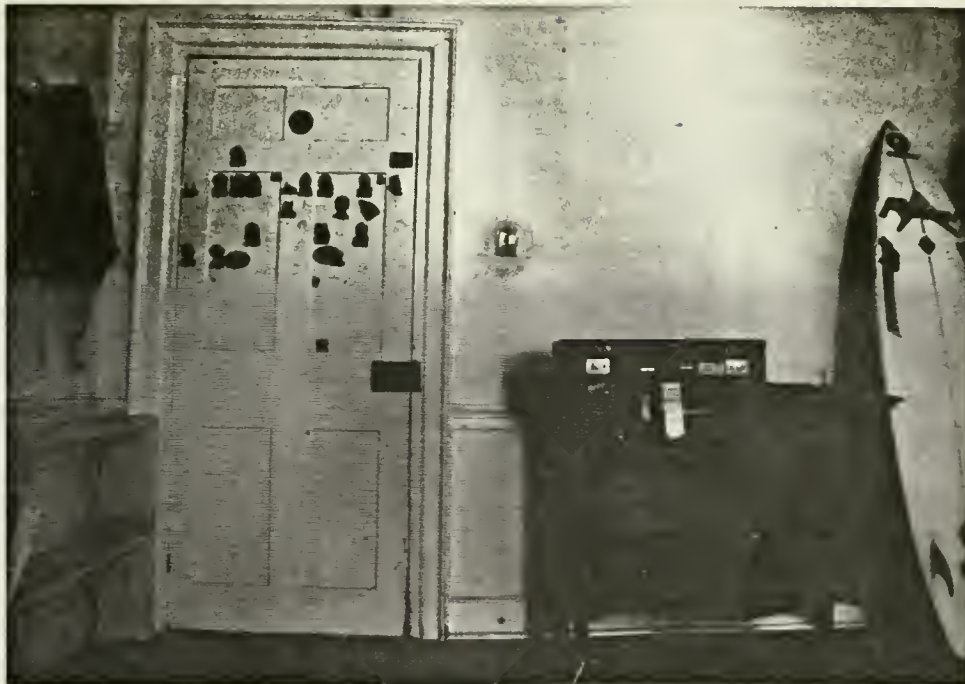


Plate 22: [above]: *Collen Brook*, door from Parlor to Entry Hall [Room 103], showing eared enframement and panelling, looking west

Plate 23: *Door from Rear Bedchamber [Room 202] to Stair Hall [Room 203]*, showing plain enframement and recessed panelling



Plate 24 [above]: *Entry Hall [Room 103], looking south towards transomed front entry*
Plate 25: *Staircase in Entry Hall, showing tread profile detail and wainscoting, and in background, handrail pilasters on wall, looking west*



Plate 26 [above]: *Collen Brook, Front Bedchamber [Room 201], fireplace surround and overmantle*
Plate 27 [below]: *Rear Bedchamber, fireplace, south-east corner*

differentiate that space. The probable absence of chair rail and baseboard from the 'lumber' room denote this as a purely functional area. The use of eared enframements around all the interior doors giving onto the the first and second floor halls is an illusion employed by Lewis to give the impression that all these doors led into equally well-dressed spaces, an impression he no doubt felt important to make to his visitors as they entered through his transomed front door. Nevertheless, Lewis also simplified and economized where he could; thus the doors from the front to rear parlor, and that from the entry hall to the rear parlor are panelled on their most visible face, and left plain (the obverse side of the panelling) on the alternate, 'unseen' side.

Once again, the distribution of ornament and its selective omission at Collen Brook is commonplace, unremarkable for its period. Yet Lewis's subscription to these prevailing forms is noteworthy. The relative simplicity of the decorative forms might be due to his religious disposition, but it might also simply point to the limitations of the artisans working on the house; that Lewis required his house to be demarcated and defined by decoration is the significant factor here. The ways of the world to which he was supposed to render himself immune and disinterested are writ in subtle form across these spaces, rooms in which status was intended to be read, albeit on a modest scale.

IV:III. DECORATIVE SURFACE FINISHES:

As with any artifactual analysis, the utility of the study of decorative finishes is constrained by the purview of the questions asked of the material and the analytical methodology implemented. The study of decorative architectural finishes should not be simply confined to the identification of pigments and media to enlarge knowledge of historical decorating materials and techniques. The palette and the medium (actual and possible), economy and extravagance, repetition and unique application -- all serve as

socio-cultural gauges, and as artifacts of their creator's personal political and social agenda, as much as of his/her esthetic discretion.⁶²

A comprehensive history of decorative finish trends in the United States has yet to be written, but sufficient prescriptive material, and artifactual evidence in the form of finishes analyses exists to evaluate the context of the decorative choices made by the occupants of Wyck and Collen Brook.⁶³ This assessment can be made not simply upon the nature of the materials used - for example, media and pigments, method and quality of application if paint, place of production, type of printing and color register, if wallpaper - but also the relationship of the finish to its location, and the nature of its change over time. The following discussion is based on a reading of contemporary decorative treatises and available finishes analyses for contemporary and comparable sites, both Quaker and non-Quaker, in order that the subsequent assessment of analysis findings at the case study sites might be located more precisely within the prevailing esthetic spectrum.

The high-ceilinged airiness of the classical revival interior was intended to be accentuated and dramatized in the selection of decorative finishes and colorways. The muted green-brown-yellow/gold palette of the 1780s remained popular through the first decade of the nineteenth century, although the increasing availability of synthesized pigments, manufactured from newly isolated chemicals such as barium and chromium enabled an intensification of wall colors, to evoke the sensually-rich tones of classical decoration, from the deep earth reds and browns of Pompeii to the more contemporary

⁶² Chappell; p.ii.

⁶³ Works by Theodore Zuk Penn, Richard Candee and Abbott Lowell Cummings help to fill this gap: Theodore Z.Penn, "Decorative and Protective Finishes, 1750-1850: Materials towards a History of Housepaints", Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology, XVI:1 (1984); Richard M.Candee, Housepaints in Colonial America, Their Materials, Manufacture and Application, Chromatic, New York, 1968; Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Decorative Painters and Housepainting at Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1726" in Ian Quimby, ed., American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal, Published by the University of Virginia for Winterthur Museum, Charlottesville, 1971.

vivid yellows and blues.⁶⁴ Rudolph Ackermann, although not particularly detailed in his discussions of interior finishes, suggested that two-tone coloration was preferable to monochrome planes, with rich colors accented by muted hues.⁶⁵ Hezekiah Reynold's Directions for House and Ship Painting (1812) supply a more precise view of contemporary oil colorways and their manufacture, with purple, "claret" and pea and sea green, alongside "ice" and mahogany, red cedar and cherrywood grains, finished with copal varnish.⁶⁶ In this rare American manual, produced by a provincial tradesman, we see Ackermann's dictates embodied; the rich and strongly hued "Fancy colours" (Peter Nicholson's term, from his 1812 publication, Mechanical Exercises) were to be offset by the spectrum of "non-colors", shades of gray, buff, and white, colors which together were to become the signature of Greek Revival interiors.⁶⁷

Such colorways were recommended to be executed in oils, the fashion being for a "flatted finish". Nicholson described the technique in his 1812 manual, whereby the final application of paint would be thinned --"flatted"-- with turpentine to produce a less glossy, more muted opaque effect, and it is clear from contemporaneous price books which list the price per yard of applied paints and finishes, that flattening demanded a premium, exceeded only by the cost of graining and marbelizing.⁶⁸ Between three and four preparatory and

⁶⁴ The recent restoration of colorways at the Sir John Soane House and Museum, Lincolns Inn Fields, London, provides a well-researched representation of the intensity of some of these hues, applied between 1813-1833, with an acid yellow upon the walls of the second floor drawing room, and a tomato red in the Dining Room; see Peter Thornton and Helen Dorey, Sir John Soane's Museum, L.King, London, 1992.

⁶⁵ Pauline Agius, ed., with an introduction by Stephen Jones, Ackermann's Regency Furniture and Interiors, The Crowood Press, Marlborough, Wiltshire, Great Britain, 1984; pp.25-6.

⁶⁶ Richard Candee, "Preparing and Mixing Colors in 1812" The Magazine Antiques, CXIII (April 1978), pp.847-53, including a reduced-size facsimile of Reynolds' manual; colors on pp.15-21 of facsimile.

⁶⁷ Peter Nicholson, Mechanical Exercises; or the Elements and Practice of Carpentry, Joinery, Bricklaying, etc., London; J.Taylor, 1812; pp.316-317; Eugenie Hoffmeyer, "Colors in Grecian Interiors: An Investigation of Interior Colors in Greek revival Residences, 1820-1850", Master of Science thesis, Columbia University, 1983; ch.VI, pp.74-79.

⁶⁸ For example, Richard Elsam in his 1825 Practical Builder's Perpetual Price Book (London) lists gray at 1s 2d per yard, while "flatted French grey" was estimated at 8d more. Graining is listed at at least 1 shilling more per yard : quoted Hoffmeyer; p.21.

finish layers were suggested upon unpainted substrates, with the intended tint slowly being intensified as each successive layer was applied.

Yet oil paints were not the sole choice for the prospective decorator. Practicality demanded that newly stuccoed walls could not be painted with oils until the lime had completely cured, a period of three years. Fashion also advocated a more luminous and delicate texture and effect than that afforded by the 'glaring whites' of traditional linseed oil-based oil colors. The alternative lay in the use of distempers. These glue-based finishes had the advantages of negligible odor, easy removal and low cost over oil paints, and were the finish of choice where abrasion was expected and depth of color rather than durability was important.⁶⁹ Pierre-Francois Tingry, in The Painter's and Varnisher's Guide of 1804, recommended distempers as a finish that not only maximized sanitary conditions in the home, such that "cleanliness...both of furniture and persons together with sobriety, is the best preserver of health" but also felt that a knowledge of distemping was "...a subject which treats on the best method of giving elegant simplicity to the interior of houses".⁷⁰ Moreover, sophisticated finishes could be achieved with distempers applied in ever-thinner coats, polished and then clear-varnished, which evoked the cool reflective surfaces of marble and travertine.⁷¹ The composition of distempers and their solubility mean that more often than not, the evidence of such finishes is scant, if at all extant, yet the enthusiasm of writers and practitioners like Tingry for the medium argues a widespread and increasingly popular use.

Distempers and oils alike could be used to effect graining upon wooden and other surfaces, with lightwood colorations - satin and rosewood, yew - predominating. Graining techniques were the preserve of craftsmen, but recipes and directions abounded in painting

⁶⁹ Ian Bristow, "Painting" in Jack Bowyer, ed., Handbook of Building Crafts in Conservation: A Commentary on Peter Nicholson's *The New Practical Builder, 1823*, New York, 1981; p.366.

⁷⁰ Pierre-Francois Tingry, The Painter's and Varnisher's Guide, London, 1804; pp.502-3.

⁷¹ *ibid*; pp.485, 506-7, 513; M.A. Miche, Nouvelle Architecture Pratique, vol.I, Paris, 1825; p.388.

manuals; for example the twenty-seven versions of "fancy woods" included in the Tower Brothers' Everyman His Own Painter of 1830.⁷²

By 1820, Philadelphia was also a major domestic producer and importer of wallpapers. The visually-stunning landscape and historical-genre papers of Jean Zuber were available through any one of thirteen Philadelphia suppliers, while those of Dufours and Defosse et Karth were no doubt equally accessible, albeit at a price.⁷³ Simpler repeat-pattern designs came off the rollers of domestic manufacturers like Janes and Bolles and were marketed through novel commercial techniques, utilizing sample swatch books.⁷⁴ Imitation ashlar coursing, vertical Regency stripes, and small sprig designs were amongst the papers frequently hung in entry vestibules, whilst the more pictorial papers tended to be used in reception rooms.⁷⁵ Colors echoed those of painted surfaces, while the improving technologies of register-printing enabled subtle overlays and gradations of hue to be attained.

In applying colors and texture, much thought was given to distinction and differentiation of planar space. As Hoffmeyer found in her survey, a wall was to be divided into discrete sections, or "compartments", and existing architectural elements, particularly the cornice and architrave trims, were to be colored subtly in contrast to the planar elements. George Smith, perhaps the most influential theorist of interior design in the English Regency period, discussed the application of such "parti-colouring", with compartments toned to offset a slightly darker ground and trim decorated similarly, to major reception rooms; significantly Smith did not consider such a scheme appropriate in

⁷² W. and W.J.Tower, Everyman His Own Housepainter: Or, a Complete Guide to Painting and Graining, Utica, New York, 1830.

⁷³ Catherine Lynn, Wallpaper in America: From the Seventeenth Century to the First World War, W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1980; p.217.

⁷⁴ *ibid*; pp.281-283.

⁷⁵ *ibid*; p.291.

lesser spaces than the primary reception areas.⁷⁶ To elaborate upon these planar areas, figurative designs -- arabesques, *grisaille*, frescoed pictorial designs -- were recommended, particularly at the frieze level, around the perimeter and in the angles of wall panels, and upon the ceiling, while gilding could also be employed to emphasize cornices and pick out applied compartment moldings.⁷⁷

Eugenie Hoffmeyer's essay confirms that such recommended finishes and approaches to their application were employed in high style domestic and public situations, through until the late 1840s, although few such interiors survive in Philadelphia.⁷⁸ Evidence gathered from a number of Fairmount Park houses, while limited, suggests that house owners conformed to prevailing dictates. At 'The Solitude', John Penn's compact riverside retreat, built between 1784-5, and occupied by Penn until 1788/9, the Adamesque ceilings in the drawing room and library and the Sheraton-style glass-fronted cabinets in the latter, were complemented by buff-colored walls and stone-colored woodwork, and marbelized fireplace surrounds. Samuel Breck's 'Sweetbrier', built in 1797 above the eastern bank of the Schuylkill and occupied by Breck and his family until 1838, appears to have been fully wallpapered on the first floor, with bills to retailers of Zuber's wallpapers that survive in the family archives suggesting that these were probably quite elaborate finishes.⁷⁹

The few analyses that have been undertaken of contemporary Quaker house interiors, while not representing a comprehensive sample, arguably illustrate a decorative approach on a level of sophistication several rungs below that of the likes of the Cadwaladers and

⁷⁶George Smith, The Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterer's Guide, Drawing Book and Repository of New and Original Designs for Household Furniture and Interior Decoration, Jones and Company, London, 1826; p.126. See also Hoffmeyer; pp.34-36.

⁷⁷ Smith, p.175.

⁷⁸ Hoffmeyer discusses the decorative schemas at Strickland's Bank of the United States (1819-1824); the same architect's Merchants' Exchange of 1834; and the *grisaille* and gilding decoration in the reception rooms at the Cadwalader House; pp.60, 74-5, 92.

⁷⁹ The color schemes at 'The Solitude' were investigated during the reinstatement of 1976, under the guidance of Beatrice Garvan, while Frank S. Welsh undertook the paint analysis at 'Sweetbrier'; Solitude and Sweetbrier Park House files, Department of American Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

John Penn. The following survey is drawn from technical analyses of single and multiple rooms in predominantly 'upper' rank Quaker households, with identifiable interior finishes dating across the studied period; its purpose is to suggest, rather than state parallels and distinctions in realized schemas.

One remarkable document that is neither analysis nor normative guide, is a set of watercolors discovered by John Cornforth, the historian of interiors. Executed by Mary Ann Alexander, the daughter of a prominent East Anglian Quaker family, they feature the interiors of the family house, Goldrood, located outside Ipswich, Great Britain. While these amateur paintings were executed during the 1840's, the house was built in 1811, and the images suggest that the decorative influences were drawn from the earlier period; the house was built to house the expanding family of Samuel and Elizabeth (Gurney) Alexander, and evidences an investment made in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and updated little thereafter.⁸⁰ The images, of the major reception rooms and bedchambers, show a widespread use of sprigged pattern-repeat wallpapers, finished with plain painted woodwork and simple denticulated or crown-molded cornices/ articulated borders. The most elaborate schema, illustrated in the 'drawing room', is at once evocatively neo-classical Regency, with its low domed ceiling and elliptical volume, and suggestively simple. The curtain draperies are complicated, but executed in a plain fabric, while the sprig wallpaper is offset by only one framed picture and two bell-pulls; the door is not grained and the fireplace is in unadorned marble. The focus of the room is clearly the socializing taking place and not the surfaces or the objects therein. And yet it could be argued that the Alexander household was less restrained than Quaker decorum might allow; while the image of the dining room does serve Cornforth's belief that "plainness in speech, behaviour and dress had its counterpart in decoration", that of the breakfast room shows an abundance of framed pictures, a looking glass and two glass-fronted china cupboards - in

⁸⁰ John Cornforth, "Goldrood, Suffolk", *Country Life*, November 6th. 1986, pp.1432-1447; p.1436.

sum an interior reflective of the prevailing esthetic rather than of the spiritual culture of its inhabitants.⁸¹

The example of Goldrood, although English, provides a valuable complement to Wyck. The family home of a well-to-do, traditionally-connected Quaker family (the Gurneys and Biddles were relatives by marriage), Goldrood stood in agricultural country, and yet was built on the income generated from the family's provincial banking concerns; it was a home in which the Regency era lived on well into the 1840s, suggesting attachment to the familiar, yet when built exhibited modish features such as the Ionic-columned and pilastered entrance porch. Moreover, the family, though Quaker, comprised adherents of differing 'heats', with several of Mary Ann's siblings noted as "plain" Friends, while Mary Ann herself was a far more worldly adolescent.⁸²

These watercolors unfortunately are the documentary exception rather than the rule. An investigation of comparable sites in the Philadelphia region was confined to a handful of paint analyses undertaken, usually as part of a Historic Structures survey; and occasionally a contemporary diaristic record of a visited Quaker interior.⁸³ The following houses are by no means all as complementary to Wyck and Collen Brook as is Goldrood, for example. Stenton (*circa* 1722-9), in Germantown, was the country residence of the Logans, James and his son William and grandson, George; but for all its pastoral isolation it is an exemplary piece of Georgian high-style design. Similarly, Strawberry Mansion was the home to a powerful Philadelphian but disowned Quaker, Judge Lewis (although he was a distant cousin of Abraham Lewis III), and evokes Federal indulgence rather than frugality. Perhaps only John Bartram's house in the south-west section of Philadelphia, is

⁸¹ Cf Cornforth's conclusions, *ibid*.

⁸² *ibid*; p.1433, p.1435.

⁸³ In looking for comparable sites I am indebted to Jean Wolf for allowing me to use the list of surviving Quaker properties she compiled for her paper, "Early American Quaker House Interiors: a Comparison of the Interior Surface Finishes of the Bowne House (1661-1695), Flushing, NY and Stenton (1728), Philadelphia, PA", Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania, 1991. Typescript.

comparable in its vernacular idiosyncracies and its once-rural location. One urban property, the Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House (343 Walnut Street), was investigated for the period 1791-95, when it was occupied by the Quaker John Todd, Jr., and his young wife Dolley Paine Todd, the future Mrs. James Madison. The Flushing home of Jane Bowne Haines' family, is also included in this survey, as the environment of another traditional Quaker family, and one with intimate connection to Wyck during this period.⁸⁴

An overview of the finishes evidence available for these sites across the period under study neither clarifies nor dismisses the ambivalent reality of the Quaker interior. The one room analysed by Frank S. Welsh for Strawberry Mansion, the parlor, reveals a short seriation of late eighteenth century whites, possibly oils or semi-oil based, with darker gray or brown baseboards, and an early nineteenth century yellowish-pink flatted oil or distemper above the chair rail. This inconclusive series suggests at once a very plain treatment, but also the possibility of parti-colored work, above and below the chair rail.⁸⁵. The findings of Penelope Hartshorne Batcheler and Carol Marks at the Bartram house are only tentatively dated, since Bartram possibly stripped many walls of their finishes in *circa* 1770, and some walls were also stripped at a later, undetermined date. The most pronounced finishes, a red oxide layer on the bed molding of the major second floor bedchamber, in combination with a mid-to deep blue on other wooden detailing in the room, complement Bartram's attempts to update his small Germanic house between 1758

⁸⁴ This discussion will reference the following works; "Historic Structure Report: Stenton, 18th and Windrim Streets. Philadelphia, PA; for the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Prepared by Reed Lawrence Engle", November 1982; typescript: Frank Welsh, "Strawberry Mansion (parlor) Paint Analysis" u.d., typescript on deposit at the Fairmount Park Commission; "Historic Structures Report: the John Bartram House, 54th and Elmwood Streets; prepared by Marsha L. Glenn" 2 volumes, 1978; typescript on deposit at the Fairmount Park Commission; and William M. Campbell, "Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House; Historic Structures Report II", chapter III, section 2, (paint analysis undertaken by Ann Clapp), 1961; on deposit at Independence National Historic Park Library, Philadelphia; and Jean K. Wolf, "The Bowne House, Flushing, Long Island: An Investigation and Paint Analysis with Recommendations for Replication of the First Floor Rooms.", 1991. Typescript.

⁸⁵ Welsh carried out no pigment or media analysis, possibly because the seriations were rendered unclear by removal of later applications of paper.

and 1770, but cannot be tied conclusively to that period. Samples from the first floor carry fragments of red oxide as a preliminary layer, which is followed by at least ten layers of cream and off-white, finishes which may be more significant by their very number.⁸⁶ The Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House was only inhabited for three years by the Todds prior to John's premature death, but the analysis undertaken in 1961 assumes that the "grey-cream" areas and blond varnishing or light green-brown painting of the woodwork, was the work of the Quaker, as it immediately precedes the more vivacious stencilling on the third floor, which is believed to date to the period 1810-1815. The author's argument for the layers being "Quaker" is however neatly circular, and succinctly points up the problems inherent in approaching interiors with ideological preconceptions already in place.⁸⁷

Most comprehensive are the researches undertaken at Stenton, and at the Bowne House. The very detailed analysis for the former site makes sensitive use of archival and artifactual material, especially in relating particular finishes to the periods of occupancy of James and Sarah Logan, William Logan and George and Deborah Logan. Fortunately for the purposes of this study, the occupancy of Stenton by George and Deborah encompasses 1782-1839, with painting campaigns in *circa* 1782 and again in 1810-12. The colors that are identified with these campaigns do not seem out of place with the palates described above: a pale green-yellow, dated to *circa* 1810, is to be found in the entry hall, the nursery/parlor, and the back parlor; a beige, similarly dated, colors the walls of the stairway and hall; and a pale "bird's egg blue" is found on the walls of the parlor, dated to either 1780 or 1810. Complementary, darker hues are found in the buffet cupboards of the parlor (dark blue), and in the lesser spaces, such as the old dining room/kitchen, and

⁸⁶ Glenn, vol.II; the sampling comprised 130 samples, and although no media analysis was undertaken, the samples are carefully keyed to drawings and to a tentative chronological schedule.

⁸⁷ "His [John Todd Jr.'s] Quaker taste would certainly have been suited by the simplicity and unpretentiousness of the second scheme.": Clapp; p.24. For stencilling details see p.20a.

connecting passageways, a mid-gray.⁸⁸ Certainly, the colorways are understated, and reflect the consciously pastoral life the third generation Logans lived out at Stenton, but their modishness should not be overlooked, especially in the context of other alterations undertaken at the house during this period, and in respect of the still-sizeable amount of time the Logans spent in the city.⁸⁹ The colors also define a clear hierarchy in the significance of certain rooms, with the parlor painted a hue repeated nowhere else, secondary reception rooms receiving the green finish, and subsidiary spaces treated accordingly.

The material available for the Bowne House is less legible due to the extensive alterations manifest in the house, and as yet, no definitive construction/alteration chronology for the site. The analysis of the kitchen, dining room, parlor and entry by Wolf sets up a tentative chronology of glazed oil hues of cream and beige for the latter half of the eighteenth century, followed by an early to mid-nineteenth century swathe of blue-gray, white lead and zinc white layers.⁹⁰ Only the earlier eighteenth century wood finishes, appearing as iron oxide/haematite-based, and as Prussian blue-tinted stand apart in terms of hue from the repetitiveness that follows, and these are unremarkable colors for their period (although Prussian blue was not widely available in America until the middle of the eighteenth century). The evidence of repainting in interiors of the dish cupboards of the dining room and the parlor, where vermilion appears to have been employed as the initial finish, possibly before 1750, is significant, for rather than defining the cupboard interior as a bright rich setting in which to display costly imported porcelain - as the vermilion served well in doing - the desire was to mute the color in accordance with the walls, thereby detracting from and diminishing the display role of the cupboard.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Engle; pp.158-195.

⁸⁹ For example the erection of the extant greenhouse and the piazza; see Engle, pp.346-353, 395-406.

⁹⁰ Wolf; p.34, 61.

⁹¹ *ibid*; pp.69-70.

Wyck:

Wyck's interior finishes and their changes in this period reflect the changing use of the house, as well as perceptual alterations in the image and practice of genteel rural domestic life. The record of finishes for the years prior to the extensive renovations of 1824 is partial, and in using it, one should be wary of extending its significant aspects too far into the conjectural.⁹² Yet it is apparent that, as a predominantly summer residence prior to 1820, Wyck's decoration was kept relatively simple, with regularly whitewashed walls and oil-painted sash and other woodwork, utilizing practical and readily available, cheap pigments such as litharge and yellow ochre.⁹³ The exception to this lack of sophistication was the front parlor of the house constructed in *circa* 1770. With its double-hung, large-pane sash, and its display cabinets with green-blue interiors to set off Caspar Wister Haines' inherited Wistarburg glass and porcelain, it was area in which the owner's urbanity was manifested. The 1785 bill for 87 yards of "mahogany colors" and six yards of the same for the "entry", does not explicitly refer to Wyck, but the analysis reveals evidence of graining on the parlor's window sills, and the entry front door. With the original single leaf doors between the parlor and entry, and the entry and the carriageway/conservatory, the area covered would approximate to six square yards; however, the larger yardage must have included much more than simply the parlor window sills.⁹⁴ The removal of wall

⁹² F.S.Welsh's analysis is here supplemented by the references made to painting and decorating at Germantown in the Wyck papers, which are collated in Appendix III, and by samples taken and prepared by the author.

⁹³ Little of the first floor woodwork, such as baseboards and door trim, appears to pre-date 1824. However, the evidence on the west and east wall cupboards in the current dining room (the latter moved from the front parlor in c.1824) suggests repeated applications of a slightly tinted white oil paint. The evidence of the second floor rooms, rooms 201, 204 and 205 suggests regular whitewashing was practised. The baseboards of the second floor and other wooden elements at baseboard level show signs of being painted with a continuous 'mopboard line' of brown/black, a common eighteenth century practice: F.S. Welsh, "Paint Analysis", especially room 202 (second floor stair hall); pp.40-7.

⁹⁴ 1785 bill to George Ritter, Appendix III. This bill appears in Caspar Wister Haines' accounts, rather than those of his father, reinforcing the idea that Caspar was very much in charge of the maintenance and decoration of Wyck before his parents' deaths. This bill, apparently overlooked in the HSR, suggests that the house was extensively painted in 1785, with the 567 yards of three coat oil work probably encompassing much of the woodwork on the first and second floors of the front house. The pale yellow-

plaster in 1824 renders any suggestion of the wall finish conjectural, but the yardage for three coat work makes an oil finish for the walls possible; significantly, the bill notes that it was painting, and not coloring -- the common term for distempering -- and that it was a plain, rather than a "flatted" or fancy finish. In contrast to the old dining room in the back house, where evidence suggests annual applications of whitewash, the appearance of the parlor was calculated to set the front house apart from the tenant house to the west, and to render it worthy of the appellation "country seat", albeit not on the esthetic scale of a Stenton or 'The Solitude'.

The accounts indicate that the house was repainted with unusual frequency, although it is difficult to tell from the bills whether the work was executed on the exterior or interior. The 1796 and 1799 Frank bills suggest that they are probably for exterior treatments, as the first contract also included the brewery and new barn, while the later account corresponds to the proposed date of the house's stuccoing. The next substantial outlay recorded, both in the accounts of Reuben Haines and his mother Hannah, is in 1806-1807 (the latter year being when Reuben attained his majority), when bills for papering and a \$146.80 account to one William Haydock were paid. The bill for "papering the parlor" argues that the front parlor might have been decorated with wallpaper at or from this date, a possibility strengthened by Hannah Marshall Haines' query to Jane Bowne Haines in an 1823 letter as to the source of "blue paper" for the "front parlor".⁹⁵ The larger account suggests a thorough revamping of the interior of the front house, with the colored tints and graining of earlier decades being replaced by tinted whites and plain dark brown finishes, and the eradication of eighteenth century features, notably the differentiated mopboard line.⁹⁶

pink identified by Welsh as the initial finish on much of the eighteenth century wood trim in the parlor possibly dates to this period, although the bill does not explicitly mention any glazing work, which is apparent on investigation; Welsh, pp.3-4, 6.

⁹⁵ See Appendix III.

⁹⁶ For example, the covering of the graining on the front parlor sills, and the removal of the mop-line from the doors and balusters in the second floor hall: Welsh; pp.3, 7.

After 1812, at least the eastern house appears to have received annual attention. The lease of 1812 to James Worth, which required the lessee to paint the "parlor, hall and dining room" suggests that it was only the west wing of the house that was included in the lease. However, the rent paid -- \$400 per annum -- is what Reuben Haines paid to his mother for rent when his family moved into the entire house in 1820, and suggests that Worth was contracting to rent the whole house, in exchange for painting the chief rooms: the front parlor, the dining room in the west wing, and the "Hall" or carriageway.⁹⁷ Once the young family of Reuben and Jane began to use the eastern section of the house during summers, regular whitewashing was in order, both as a hygienic and suitably cooling finish.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, some of the letter extracts noted in Appendix III for this period differentiate between 'whitewashing' and painting, particularly those for 1818, which indicates that the woodwork was also regularly retreated.

The alterations of 1824 produced one major decorative change in three of the first floor rooms, two of which -- the dining room/library and hall/conservatory -- were effectively new interior spaces. The replacement of the existing wall plaster in these rooms and the front parlor with a new tinted finish coat has not been given much consideration in the recounting of the Strickland alterations, but it was clearly a finish consciously selected to contrast with the whitewashed walls which were still to be found in the breakfast room (now dining room) and the second floor rooms. The extraction of small samples cannot provide an overall impression of what effect was intended, but it is clear that the finish coat comprised two layers, with the upper coat containing a thinner dispersion of the glassy blue shards which Welsh identifies as smalt.⁹⁹ Smalt is known to be a poor hiding pigment,

⁹⁷ See Appendix III.

⁹⁸ Whitewashing was recommended as a sanitary finish, not only because it was mildly biocidal, but because it allowed walls to 'breathe' and could be easily renewed: see A.F.M. Willich, The Domestic Encyclopaedia, 4 volumes, Philadelphia, 1802-4; vol.4, p.325, entry under "whitewash".

⁹⁹ Welsh; p.4.

and its coarse pulverization makes thorough dispersion difficult, the result often being a streaked surface appearance.¹⁰⁰ The tinted plaster was probably intended to evoke a pale coloration, but also to suggest some texture, effected in the mottling distribution of the pigment. If this surface was then buffered to a slight sheen with pumice, the effect would have been soft and luminous, very much in character with the opening up, and subsequent airiness, of these contiguous spaces. The tinted coat does not appear to have been varnished or glazed, and was clearly far less expensive than the application of a flatted oil in a suitably muted colorway; but it served its purpose as a practical and visually pleasing solution to the problem of painting newly-rendered plaster. That this coat was intended only as a temporary finish is confirmed by a letter of 1827 in which preparations for the painting of the dining room/library are discussed; and a bill of 1829, which noted that the front parlor and the Hall/conservatory had been painted (as opposed to 'colored'), each with four coats, typical of a first-time application of oil paint to a plaster surface. The sequences of paint that follow the tinted finish coat indicate that the finish applied at these times was an off yellow white tinted with a glassy blue pigment, which might be blue verditer.¹⁰¹

Elsewhere in the house, the practice of whitewashing prevailed, and the woodwork appears to have been uniformly pale yellow-white. The exception to this might be present in an 1827 letter of Jane Bowne Haines to her cousin Ann, in which she mentions that the latter's chamber (now the Museum Room, room 203) and Hannah Marshall Haines' bedchamber (the Hall chamber, room 204) have been "nicely painted".¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Rutherford Gettens and George Stout, Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopaedia, Dover Publications Inc., New York, 1966; p.158.

¹⁰¹ See Appendix I: see also Welsh, pp.15, 20, although he accords these finishes a mid-nineteenth century date.

¹⁰² Room 203 was not sampled by Welsh, nor by this author; room 204 shows no apparent oil or oil emulsion layers on the plaster until the twentieth century: Welsh; p.51.

Wyck was certainly not a house of expensive finishes, or particular refinement in their application, and it might well be argued that Quaker 'simplicity' is the guiding tenet in this. Yet other factors argue a correspondence to dictates beyond the realm of 'holy conversation', notably the house's seasonal use except for the periods 1793-1801 and after 1820, the esthetic of the genteelly pastoral that pervaded late Federal and early Revival -- Greek and Gothic-- interiors, and the practicality of renewable coatings. Distinctions between more formal and more functional spaces were articulated, most visibly in the parlor that Caspar Wister Haines created, and to a lesser extent, with the linking color scheme of parlor, hall/conservatory and dining room/library of 1824 and after. The most that can be said to distinguish the decorative esthetic of Wyck during this period, is that it did not diverge from prevailing practices, nor did it fail to include some of the more fashionable hues and finishes, a pale palette to be offset with richly hued textiles and highly-polished warm-grained woods, but that these were subscribed to modestly. Where the relative wealth of both Caspar Wister Haines and his son could have sponsored elaborate finishes and embellishments at the more exuberant end of the neo-classical spectrum, they chose to occupy an esthetic middle ground where social conformity, esthetic conservatism and religious constraints blended almost indistinguishably.

Collen Brook Farm:

On the other hand, Collen Brook's appearance in the 1790s does much to support the suggestion that Abraham Lewis had status rather than simplicity foremost amongst his domestic intentions. The primary spaces, the front parlor and front bedchamber, were decorated in accordance with the hierarchy of architectural features. In the former, grained doors and window sills complemented the eared enframements finished in three coat work, pale yellow cream in color. The chair rail and baseboards were bi-colored, with the red-brown of the former's cap and the latter's fascia complementing the grained surfaces. In the

china cabinet, orange-red shelves set off Lewis's china and silverware. While the original wall finish does not survive, it is probable that Lewis chose an oil or flatted oil over distempers, which were utilized elsewhere.

In the main bedchamber, Lewis aspired to the effect the archetypal country gentleman of the period, George Washington, produced at Mount Vernon, with the lavish use of Prussian blue.¹⁰³ While Washington used the color in several reception rooms, Lewis sought to impress visitors to his bedchamber, where not only the door leaves, door and window eared architraves and chair-rail fascia and baseboard cap were painted turquoise blue in two coat work, but also the entire fireplace surround and panelled overmantle. While the wall plaster appears to have been simply distempered, the extravagance of the contrast color should not be underestimated. In William Pain's The Builder's Golden Rule of 1782, the application of prepared Prussian blue was estimated at ten old pence per yard, while "common colors" were quoted at only four pence.¹⁰⁴ The ubiquity of Lewis's chosen hue was to serve as a visual confirmation of that investment.

The first and second floor entry halls and staircase are palpably public spaces, defined as such with the use of graining on the non-exterior panelled door leaves. The graining was probably executed to simulate mahogany, in a lighter, more delicate approach than evident in the later, much varnished graining sequences.¹⁰⁵ The eared enframements announcing the entries to the major rooms were colored a yellow cream to complement the yellow-cream colored walls (the only surviving oil finish on any of the plaster that is probably contemporary). The north exit board-and-batten door and the main entry door were not embellished in this way, and by being painted the same color as the woodwork, receded in

¹⁰³ Matthew John Mosca, "Mount Vernon: The House Restored", The Magazine Antiques CXXXV (February 1989), pp.462-473; p.465.

¹⁰⁴ Pain [1782]; p.51.

¹⁰⁵ Again, Lewis was creating on his own scale what Washington achieved on a grand scale at Mount Vernon; the first floor through hall wainscot was grained in 1797, and the description of the graining sequence given by Mosca accords with that given for the first floor doors at Collen Brook; Mosca, p.467; see also Appendix I.

scale against the other doors, which channel the visitor's eye towards the staircase, with its pilasters and grained handrails. On the second floor, while the door leaves were not grained, each still turned a panelled face onto the hall.

Secondary spaces were concealed behind panelled doors that suggested parity with the more elaborately-finished areas. Yet the less formal nature of these rooms is amplified in the choice of finishes. Two coat work is substituted for three coat work on the woodwork, a cheaper yellow-orange ochre primer with a drab grey finish in the rear parlor and a similar ochre primer and finish in the second floor lumber room, for the pale yellow cream elsewhere. Untinted distempers and whitewashes replace oil finishes, and the picking out of window sills and door leaves was not attempted. The lower quality of these finishes argues a perspective of practicality, rather than one of self-promotion.

One room however, sends a more ambivalent message in its finishes. The rear bedchamber is marked as a different space by its moldings and its fireplace, but the paintwork suggests that this was not necessarily a secondary space. Instead it might be argued as a distinct semi-public space, possibly as the bedchamber of Lewis' widowed mother, Ann, who died in 1802.¹⁰⁶ The woodwork, with the exception of the window sash and sills, is treated as in the main bedchamber, with turquoise blue; the sash and sill may have been colored cream in contrast. The distempereed walls and unadorned trim and fireplace surround evoke a simplicity that may have been the choice of the older woman, while her son advertised their affluence in the continuation of the colorway.

With Prussian blue and grained doors, Abraham Lewis was subscribing to decorative practices rehearsed in many households, regardless of religious disposition, scaled to accommodate income, architectural detail and spatial disposition. What is important to reiterate is not the colors and finishes themselves -- they are very much of their time, culled

¹⁰⁶ Genealogy of George and Mary Smith of Upper Darby... Prepared by Dr. George Smith together with the Genealogy of their Descendants, 1876? updated by L.L. Smith [1938] and L.C. Smith [1968], on deposit at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; p.32.

from a thorough reading of available pattern books -- but rather Lewis's desire to incorporate them into his home.¹⁰⁷ Such attention to detail, to display and to the careful demarcation of space via appropriate finishes suggests that Lewis, not unlike his Quaker contemporary Caspar Wister Haines, considered his home as a sphere apart from the conduct he publicly practised as a visible Friend. The home could allow for a degree of indulgence that subverted the uniformity and rigor of the testimony of plainness.

It would be too simplistic to look for the answer to the conundrum of the Quaker interior in finishes analyses alone. And yet, as the paucity of available analytical research points up, few have attempted to negotiate the problem in such a direct manner. Practical issues might intervene -- some sites simply cannot be approached in this way -- but arguably it is also a function of a lack of sensitivity in rendering the material legible. This discussion has reinforced the idea of ambivalence at work in the embellishing of the Quaker home, an ambivalence borne of the tension between the home as religious hearth, and the home as the most private location of the 'outer plantation', in which public constraint could give way to the modest indulgence of comfort and occasionally, fashion.

¹⁰⁷ Schiffer's collation of references to interior colors in Chester County inventories shows "blue" to be the most frequently mentioned color, although this does not necessarily denote wall colorings or a Prussian blue of the intensity found at Collen Brook: Schiffer [1974]; p.78.

PART V: CONCLUSION - THE QUAKER ESTHETIC; ARTIFACT AND INTERPRETATION;

Man has an indispensable duty ...to provide food, shelter, and well-being for himself and his household. Indeed to neglect this duty is in effect to deny faith in Christ.

No man can serve two masters; to befriend the world is enmity to God.¹

Samuel Fothergill, the author of these words, and one of the most vehement reformers of the late eighteenth-century Society of Friends in Philadelphia, abhorred the apostate acquisitive world, and yet recognized the domestic 'plantation' as a sphere in which the Quaker was duty bound to "provide...well-being". This thesis has attempted to plot the territory between the functional realm of Fothergill's perception, and the actualized realm of the Quaker domestic interior, and how the entrance of the "creaturely" world into the latter was negotiated. While the two case studies employed do not constitute a comprehensive survey, this study of Wyck House and Collen Brook Farm suggests that a normative evaluation of this territory is an inadequate index of the complexity of the Quaker interior.

Amongst these Quakers at least, prescriptions against ostentation melded into contemporary moves towards a more restrained esthetic, to enable their homes to be at once consciously modish, yet still within the parameters of the Society's Discipline. The comments of Robert Smirke, an English architect of the Federal / English regency era define the prevailing esthetic in words that seem characteristic of Fothergill, were it not for their secular tone: "...as the moral character is corrupted by luxury so art is vitiated by the exuberance of ornament...an excess of ornament is the symptom of vulgar and degenerate taste."² The vogue for simplicity, for unadorned democracy and a clearcut tracing of its classical roots arguably made Quaker esthetic dictates indistinguishable from the prevailing

¹ Samuel Fothergill, quoted Kobrin, p.222, 224.

² Quoted by Peter Thornton, Authentic Decor; the Domestic Interior 1620-1920, Viking, New York, 1984; p.142.

secular direction. At Wyck, Caspar Wister Haines sought to make the modest hyphenated buildings into a "mansion house" that would perhaps provide a sphere and a time of respite away from the urban existence and concerns that led him to rigorous spiritual self-examination. His son, Reuben Haines III took the words of William Strickland to their logical end -- "the best effects [in architecture] are frequently produced by the simplest means, proportion and symmetry constitute the soul of architecture" -- but with the rational basis of these ideas, rather than his religious heritage, leading him to conceive of Wyck as he did.³ At Collen Brook Farm, Abraham Lewis III envisaged and created an architecture and an interior that would clearly denote station and investment. The house, occupying that under-charted zone between 'folk' and the upper echelons of provincial design, conveys aspiration and assimilation of late eighteenth century decorative tenets. The religiosity of Abraham Lewis III, while it may be registered in other spheres of his life not referenced here, is hardly palpable in his home.

Is the "esthetic" proposed historiographically and, less systematically, in contemporary prescriptive form redundant? It is clear that the precepts of "holy conversation" upon which Tolles and others have established one version of the "Quaker esthetic" had little definitive bearing upon the artifactual dimensions of either house. Yet this thesis has argued that, even if the artifactual evidence is ambivalent, there is nevertheless a domestic way of life that is distinctively Quaker, and through which practices the Society of Friends strove to maintain an inclusive communal base in contradistinction to a world with which mediation was ever more encountered. The continuity and contact provided through visitation made the Quaker home a primordial locus of ethical cultivation, and although the domestic context of furnishings and finish might have contributed to this end, the object of visitation was the propagation of a collective domesticity, with comfort and familiarity as the

³ Taken from notes made by Reuben Haines III at lectures given by William Strickland at the Franklin Institute in 1824-5; from lecture three; III:90:65: WP.

psychological hearth. As Brissot de Warville, the French Quaker apologist, noted on one of his visits to Philadelphia, members of the Society presented a "...singular image of domestic happiness... they are devoted to their duties as citizens, to their families ...thus they are beloved by their wives, cherished by their children and esteemed by their neighbours."⁴ Wyck, whether its tangible decoration can be defined as 'simple' or not -- an arbitrary issue in its own right -- was manifestly a Quaker home, into which family and Friends were regularly welcomed, accommodated and where time was passed under "those impressions of ...uniform kindness and hospitality."⁵

The artifactual direction taken in this thesis has helped underline the importance of supplementing the written archive with material evidence, which although it "does not speak to us directly", can be approached through sensitive interpretation to reveal the "line of sight" in which meaning is encoded.⁶ In this case, artifactual analysis of decoration and embellishment argues the need for further research into the surviving artifact, the Quaker home, if the idea developed here --that the artifact may reflect a reality quite different from the posited ideal -- is to be tested. But its limitations are also acknowledged; empirical data can answer whatever questions they are manipulated to fit, and new distorting perspectives established, if that fit is forced. Wyck and Collen Brook may be exceptions as esthetically ambivalent, rather than constituting a quantifiable rule, subverting simplicity. That caveat accepted, they may still be usefully viewed as sites where historical conduct is somewhat at odds with historical prescription.

The contemporary ideological and current interpretational aspects of this research bisect, in that the retreat of the Quaker community from the meeting house, the stage for schism, brought the Quaker home to the fore. The significance of the Quaker domestic

⁴ Brissot de Warville, *circa* 1778; Quaker Scrapbook, volume II, p.185; Manuscripts Department, HSP..

⁵ Mary Minturn to AH, 6/5/1825; II:26:399: WP.

⁶ Chappell; p.ii.

routine is not one that can be adequately presented in appropriate furnishings, decorative finishes and the rehearsal of prescriptive dictates alone. Both case study sites could be interpreted accordingly, and a more critical concept of the 'Quaker house' would be little advanced. For Friends like Jane Bowne Haines to whom "handsome ornaments and my nice house" were not antithetical to her belief that "we live very much in the simplicity", investigations of the realized and the psychological interior are essential in any re-evaluation of the Quaker domestic realm. To effect that advance, an interpretation of the intangible domestic realm is necessary, even while artifactual research must continue to assess the complexity of Quaker mediation with the world and its commodities as a crucial factor in the presentation of the tangible Quaker interior.

APPENDIX I

FINISHES ANALYSIS: WYCK HOUSE AND COLLEN BROOK FARM:

I.I. SCOPE OF WORK AND METHODOLOGY:

The intention behind sampling both Wyck and Collen Brook was not only to investigate and compare the surviving finishes at both sites, but also for the author to gain some experience in the gathering and analysis of decorative finish samples. The Director and Board of Trustees at Wyck kindly allowed samples to be taken from six rooms of the house, with particular attention being paid to the hall/conservatory and to the second floor front chamber; while Upper Darby Township and the Upper Darby Historical Commission gave permission for samples to be taken from the 1794, eastern wing of Collen Brook, seven rooms in total.

For the purposes of this study, chronological parameters were established on the following basis. The Wyck samples were considered in the context of F.S. Welsh's 1986 finishes analysis, and the chromochronology therein suggested, as well as against what is known of the building's construction chronology. Certain finishes are sufficiently distinctive to be related to documented applications, while others simply lie within a general chronology established by pigment and media analysis. While the sampling at Wyck was not as extensive as that at Collen Brook, in the two most sampled areas, suggestions are made below as complements to Welsh's findings.

The Collen Brook samples were taken from an area of the house historically and structurally believed to be of one construction date and thought to have undergone little alteration since that time. For the purposes of this study, it was assumed that the first paint layers surviving probably dated from construction or soon thereafter. This assumption was made on the grounds that molding profiles suggest an installation date for the decorative trim stylistically corresponding to the mid-Federal period; that, except where noted, most surfaces exhibit a sufficiently 'long' seriation for the first layers to date to the late eighteenth century; and that there appears to be little evidence of extensive alteration of interior surfaces to facilitate repairs, for example. Estimated later construction dates (see

above) might give clues to subsequent painting campaigns, but there was insufficient time, and currently, insufficient structural and historical documentation, to allow for a detailed investigation of subsequent layers/campaigns. However, the material collected for this study will be made available to the site to facilitate future investigations of this type.

Sampling: Before commencing sampling, preliminary survey visits to each site were made, to establish feasible locations for the removal of samples, and any areas that might yield samples of particular interest. All sampling was undertaken by the author, in the course of several site visits, between December 1991 and March 1992. A scalpel, a flat edge-blade "Exacto" knife and a pair of tweezers were the primary sampling tools, utilized in conjunction with a dental pick and adhesive tape, employed where required to keep detached layers affixed to the remainder of the sample.

Inconspicuous locations were selected for sampling wherever possible, and it was attempted with each sample to remove a portion of the substrate, in order to ensure a complete stratigraphic reading. In some cases however, this was not successful; those samples which were removed without accompanying substrate, or which separated into two or more portions on removal are noted as such in the accompanying schedules.

Each sample was placed in an individual coin envelope which was marked with the room code and sample number and a short description of the sampling location (wall orientation, element, approximate position); this information was also recorded on a separate record sheet at the time of sampling, and small sketches made of sample location on elevations where necessary. Some observations of revealed contemporary finishes germane to the period of study were made on site, using a 10x power hand lupe (for example, the blue-tinted plaster exposed by sample removal on the east wall of the conservatory).

The sealed envelopes were then transported directly to the Architectural Conservation Laboratory at the University of Pennsylvania, where the samples were prepared for microscopy.

Laboratory preparation: Each sample was observed under normal reflected light using a Nikon stereoscope at magnifications between 7x and 30x. The quality of the sample was ascertained and if the sample was to be used for further analysis, a portion was removed for mounting in casting resin. All samples were returned to their individual envelopes after examination and division.

Selected samples (noted in the schedules) were cast in an acrylic/polyester resin, using 1/2" square ice cube trays as molds, pre-treated with a releasing agent; these were left to cure for 48 hours. Each sample was numbered on removal, before being cross-sectioned. An Isomet cutting saw was used to cut 1-2 mm thick cross-sections from each sample, the remainder of the sample being retained for additional cutting where necessary.

Each cross-section was handpolished using the following sequence of grit papers and polishing cloths: 400 grade fine grit paper; 600 grade fine grit paper (both lubricated with distilled water); Buehler Texmet polishing cloth prepared with Buehler Meta-Di II compound; and Buehler Micropolish cloth prepared with a paste of Buehler 005 μ Micropolish II powder in distilled water. Each sample was polished until no surface scratches could be seen at 50x magnification, then washed with distilled water.

The polished samples were mounted on individual glass microscope slides using paraffin wax as a temporary mounting medium. Each slide was labelled with the sample number, the author's initials and date of preparation, before being stored.

Laboratory observation: Primary observation was undertaken using a Nikon Labophot-Pol polarizing stereoscope with reflected and transmitted light options; the

illumination was quartz halogen, using a daylight filter. Each sample was observed in normal reflected light under varying magnifications (50–400x) and the observed seriation recorded on a prepared standardized form. Color and depth of color (opacity), layer thickness, consistency and visible pigmentation were noted, as well as disruption of the paint film(s), for example the stripping of layers, evidence of superficial soiling and other visible finishes, such as layers of wallpaper.

A photomicrographic record of selected samples was made, using Kodak Ektar 25 ASA print film under normal reflected light conditions with a blue daylight filter at either 25 or 50x magnification. Details of the photomicrographic conditions were recorded on the seriation sheets. The resulting photomicrographs were produced as 3.5" by 5" glossy prints.

Selected samples were also studied under ultra-violet fluorescent light conditions, using a Nikon Alphaphot 2-YS2, in order to ascertain distinctions between seriations that could not be easily distinguished under normal light.¹

Analysis: Color, and to a lesser extent, the nature of the finish are germane to this study; thus the samples were investigated primarily in reference to these components. The collected seriations and photomicrographs were assessed on a room-by-room, element by element basis, firstly to evaluate the patterns of application within a single space, and then to compare applications across rooms. This survey also helped to establish areas of differing seriation, which might denote paint disturbance, or the replacement/addition of a particular element. Representative samples, and those exhibiting inconsistencies were selected for closer analysis.

¹ Marie L. Carden, "Use of Ultraviolet Light as an Aid to Pigment Identification", Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology XXIII:3 (1991), pp.26-37, especially p.31.

A 'scenario' for the decorative schema in each space was established, utilizing this method. For particular samples exhibiting distinctive pigmentation, further optical observation, utilizing plain transmitted light was undertaken, as well as simple microchemical tests; these are described below. For optical differentiation of visibly similar variations ultra-violet fluorescence was employed; this was also used to highlight resinous coatings not easily visible under reflected light conditions. To identify the presence of water-soluble protein-based media finishes and oil-containing layers, simple staining tests were made; these are also described below.²

The following microchemical tests were utilized for pigment and media identification:³

Media testing:

- i: Oil Red stain for the identification of lipids (occurring in drying oils, lard, etc..). Stains lipid-containing layers pink through red.
- ii: Amido Black 1 stain for the identification of egg protein. Stains blue for a positive reaction.
- iii: Amido Black 3 stain for the identification of animal proteins containing collagen. Stains blue for a positive reaction.

Pigment testing:

each sample was treated with dilute nitric acid (HNO_3) and observed for effervescence, dissolution and discoloration. The following reagents and indicators were then used upon individual acid-treated samples to confirm cation/anion presence:

²Wherever microchemical testing was undertaken, a sample of the relevant layer was extracted using a tungsten needle tip and placed on a clean microscope slide. Individual samples were tested for individual pigments and a clean slide was treated with the relevant indicators and reagents as a control. Only positive results are recorded here, but all possible confirmatory tests were attempted for each sample.

³For details of these tests and other instrumental analysis used for media identification, see D. Erhardt, et al., "A Systematic Approach to the Instrumental Analysis of Natural Finishes and Binding Media", AIC Preprints, 16th. Annual Meeting, American Institute for Conservation, Washington, DC, 1988, pp.67-84; for standard pigment tests and procedure, see Joyce Plesters, "Cross-Sections and Chemical Analysis of Paint Samples", Studies in Conservation 2:3 (April 1956), pp.110-57.

calcium carbonate (whiting): addition of dilute sulfuric acid, and the generation of acicular gypsum (CaSO_4) crystals on heating to evaporate.

gypsum: generation of acicular gypsum (CaSO_4) crystals on heating of acid-treated sample.

lead (white and red leads, litharge): yellow precipitate and formation of yellow hexagonal disc-like crystals on addition of aqueous potassium iodide (KI).

zinc (zinc white): no effervescence on addition of acid. Addition of dilute sodium hydroxide (NaOH) to render sample alkaline, and discoloration of green dithizone reagent to deep red on presence of zinc.

iron (oxides in ochres, haematite, siennas, umbers): sample treated with aqua regia to dissolve iron oxides. Evaporation of acid by heating followed by addition of either potassium ferrocyanide ($\text{K}_4\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6$), which will produce a deep blue precipitate in the presence of Fe^{2+} ; or the addition of potassium thiocyanate, which will produce a brick red precipitate in the presence of Fe^{3+} .

sulfide anion (vermilion): addition of sodium sulfide (Na_2S) to acid-treated sample will produce a brown-black precipitate. Another acid-treated sample tested with sodium azide/iodine reagent will generate nitrogen gas and discolor the reagent in the presence of sulfides.

ultramarine: discoloration on addition of dilute HNO_3 ; will also give a positive reaction for sulfides.

Prussian blue: no discoloration on addition of dilute HNO_3 . A brown color will be generated on the addition of dilute sodium hydroxide (NaOH), and the blue color will return on the addition of dilute hydrochloric acid (HCl).

The above procedure outlines a rudimentary approach to the analysis of domestic decorative finishes. Time and experience dictated limits to what could be undertaken, while the nature of the study as discussed in the text above, did not require elaborate confirmatory instrumental analysis, qualitative or quantitative, to provide contextualizing material. The following room-by-room, element-by element summary supplies the technical information to accompany the historical observations made in Part III and is illustrated by means of representative seriation and photomicrographic records. To conclude, a complete schedule of all samples removed from both sites in tabulated form is supplied as a reference index.

II: COLLEN BROOK FARM: PROPOSED FINISHES

Front Parlor: Room 101:

The woodwork (window frame, sash, door frame) in this room exhibits the longest seriations, of 17-18 layers, with the first campaign appearing as probably three-coat work, pale yellow cream in color. A negative result with AB3 stain for proteins, and a weakly positive result with both an Oil Red stain for lipids, and AB1 stain for egg protein suggests that the medium may be an egg/oil based emulsion. The layers test positive for lead, indicating the base pigment is probably white lead; the positive reaction for lead may also indicate the presence of litharge, a cheap yellow lead oxide pigment, as the tint; however the tinting color may be present in such small amounts that microchemical testing did not identify such traces positively. [sample 101: 24]

The woodwork of the fireplace and the exterior woodwork of the corner cabinet exhibit 15-16 layers, but the initial campaign is as for the remaining woodwork. [101: 50]

The baseboard and chair-rail are bi-colored, with the fascia of the former and the cap of the latter executed in three coat work, with a primer of pale yellow-cream and intermediate and finish coats of red-brown; this layer does not dissolve in warmed dilute acid, and tests positive for the presence of iron and lead. Optical examination under both reflected and

transmitted light revealed a mixture of off-white opaque agglomerates (probably lead white), small bright orange rounded agglomerates (red lead?) and duller red brown rounded agglomerates that exhibited moderate birefringence in transmitted light (sienna, umber). The sub-angular black-brown agglomerates appear similar to burnt umber, while the smaller angular black particles are probably carbon in the form of lampblack.

The cap of the baseboard and the fascia of the chair-rail are treated as for the other
woodwork. [101: 15, 17]

The sill of window 01 provides evidence of being grained. Window 01 has a seriation of at least 18 layers, with the first campaign appearing as a primer of red-brown as above, followed by a fragmented intermediate (ground?) layer of cream and a finish layer of brown-black (not exhibiting fluorescence). [101:22]

Window 02 - frame, sash and sill - has been extensively stripped, leaving only fragments of either the finish layer or the orange-red layer that appears as layer 4 in sample 101:22 on the sill, and negligible evidence of the three-coat work as noted above. [101: 20]

The door panels of the door to room 102 suggest that the door was colored to match the woodwork, with an orange primer followed by a yellow-cream intermediate coat and a pale-yellow cream finish layer. There is no evidence of a glazing tint or varnish to suggest that this leaf was originally grained. No complete sample was extracted from the door to Room 103 but it is assumed that this door was treated similarly. [101:47]

The shelves of the corner cabinet exhibit very short seriations (3-5 layers), with the possibility that they may also have been stripped or replaced, or simply painted less frequently than more exposed elements. The lower enclosed shelf shows a primer and finish layer, yellow-cream in color, that corresponds to the finish on the woodwork; the finish layer is also very dirty suggesting a long exposure before further treatment. The upper shelves exhibit a pale pink-red layer that tests positive for lead and for vermilion. The

bright red pigment agglomerates were observed optically to be similar to vermilion, angular and glassy in appearance, between 3 and 9 μ in length. The layer is moderately dirty, but it is unclear whether this is an original finish; however, the colorway accords to contemporary eighteenth century finishes for the interiors of display cabinets.⁴

[101:54, 55b]

The plaster walls reveal a seriation of only six layers and microchemical tests suggest that the walls, both below and above the chair-rail, have been completely stripped, and the finish coat possibly renewed.⁵ The yellow-cream primer and finish coat do not dissolve in warmed acid, and test positive for the presence of zinc, as zinc white. The wide availability of zinc white in oil paints only after circa 1850 suggests that wall plaster was renewed after this date.⁶ No pigments were tested.

[101:03]

Rear Parlor; Room 102:

The woodwork (door frames, plain panelled doors, fireplace overmantle) in Room 102 exhibits seriations of 20-22 layers and the first campaign is executed in two-coat work, with a yellow-orange primer followed by a drab grey finish coat. Both layers test negative when stained with AB3, and are weakly positive when stained with Oil Red stain. When stained with AB1, a stronger positive reaction was gained, suggesting the possibility of an egg-based oil emulsion. The yellow-orange layer was tested for the presence of lead (positive) and iron (negative, except some trace reactions); this latter negative reaction may be due to the difficulty in dissolving the pigment agglomerates even in aqua regia. A sample was observed under reflected and transmitted light; in reflected light the particles formed

⁴ Wolfe, "Bowne House"; pp.98, 104.

⁵ Two samples of wall finish coat were extracted from each surveyed room. They were observed under the microscope in reflected light, before being tested for the presence of lime (as CaCO₄) and gypsum (CaSO₄). No distinctive differences between the plasters was observed, and all tested positive for lime only.

⁶ Gettens and Stout; p.177.

small rounded opaque and dull mustard-colored agglomerates and in transmitted light these exhibited negligible birefringence, suggesting that the pigment was a yellow or golden ochre. The drab grey layer tested positive for the presence of lead, with a weakly positive test for whiting also; the small brown-black particles did not dissolve in acid, and are probably carbonaceous, suggesting lampblack. [102:4a]

The chair-rail appears to be bi-colored, with a drab grey cap and a pale yellow-cream fascia. The baseboard fascia was probably treated as in room 101, with a contrasting cap and red-brown fascia; however the samples for the baseboard are incomplete, and the fascia sample reveals only fragments of a red-brown film. [102: 9]

There are exceptions to the treatment of the woodwork. The door frame and door to the water closet are modern (early twentieth century?) additions. The frame and muntins of window 05 have a similar number of layers to the wood work but the finish coat on top of the ochre primer is a pale yellow-cream, which tests positive for lead. [102: 17]

The fireplace surround and the sill of window 05 have serialations of at least 20 layers, but neither shows evidence of an orange primer or the drab grey finish as original finishes. Instead they exhibit two coat work of a pale yellow-cream primer and finish coat, which both test positive for lead. [102:16]

The wall plaster does not appear to have been stripped or replaced, and samples from both below and above the chair rail show serialations of at least twenty layers. The first sixteen off-white layers appear grainy and opaque, and test positive when stained with AB3; they also dissolve in warmed dilute acid, suggesting an animal protein-based distemper finish. [102:01]

A sample from the floorboards which are painted reveals an initial campaign of graining, with a yellow-cream primer followed by a dark brown-black ground and a very thin broken brown-black resinous layer. This may not be the original finish however, as

the substrate appears to have accumulations of dirt and a grey-brown substance that could be residual oil or wax. [102:22]

First Floor Entry and Stair Hall, Second Floor Hall: Rooms 103 and 203:

While these two areas are here considered as contiguous and currently exhibit identical colorways except in the treatment of the door leaves, several differences emerge in their original appearances.

The first floor woodwork -- door frames, exterior door leaves, triangulated wainscot under the stairs, the window frame to window 06, and the wall pilasters and balusters of the staircase -- exhibit seriations of between 21-23 layers, with the first two layers of a pale cream primer followed by a pale cream yellow finish corresponding to two coat work. The wainscot carries slightly fewer layers, but the first two layers are as above. These layers were stained with Oil Red, AB1 and AB3; the first two tested very weakly positive, while there was no positive result with AB3, suggesting the possibility of an egg/oil emulsion.

[103:13]

The second floor woodwork -- door frames and door leaves -- carry seriations of only 15-18 layers, and the first two layers appear slightly more orange in hue than those for the first floor; the films also have a more grainy, poorly mixed consistency. [203:18]

The samples extracted from the chair rails on the first and second floors showed signs of disturbance, and possibly of stripping (particularly the west wall of the first floor entry). However, there are indications that on both floors the cap was treated as elsewhere, although the first floor cap appears to have a red-brown primer and finish (similar to that described for Room 101), while the second floor carries the same primer as the other woodwork, finished with a red-brown coat. Only two complete fascia samples were taken, from the first floor, on the east and west walls; these have only 14-15 layers, and the primer and finish are more yellow-orange than the other woodwork colorway, suggesting

that this might be a later addition (although the cap carries at least 20 seriations).

[103:8; 203:3]

The baseboards of the first floor and staircase were treated in a similar fashion, with the fascia carrying both an initial primer and finish of red-brown, and the cap being treated as the remainder of the first floor woodwork. No complete samples were taken from the second floor baseboards, but as they appear contemporary, it is assumed that they were probably treated in the same manner as the chair rail (fascia - cream primer and red-brown finish; cap - pale cream primer, pale cream yellow finish).

[103:10]

The first floor door leaves to rooms 101, 102 and to the west wing, carry clear evidence of several graining campaigns, the first comprising a thin priming layer of yellow-orange, followed by an intermediate layer of the same color, a thicker ground layer of opaque orange-red which exhibits some ultra-violet fluorescence, suggesting a glaze tinted with a pigment optically similar to red-lead; and a final thin film of opaque grey-brown, which also exhibits fluorescence, probably as a varnish. The tint of the glazing layer suggests that the simulated wood was possibly mahogany, a popular wood finish of the period.

[103:20a]

The wall-mounted handrail and the bannister of the staircase also exhibit an initial graining seriation, similar to that of the doors above, although the tinted orange-red glaze does not appear to carry a final translucent finish film; this may have been worn away through use, or stripped in preparation for applying subsequent layers.

[103:26]

The risers and treads of the staircase are currently painted but the shorter seriations suggest that they were originally left unpainted or were carpetted with a runner. A visible uneven layer of drab grey-brown flecked with what are probably dirt particles, on both riser and tread samples indicate that these may have been initially unpainted or oiled or waxed.

[103:28]

The walls of both first and second floor, as well as those of the staircase, were treated identically, both below and above the chair rail, although samples from below the chair rail exhibit more layers (approximately 15) than those above (10-12). The initial layer on the plaster finish coat is a thin opaque yellow-grey, which, although not analyzed, and not producing any distinctive result in either staining with AB3 or Oil Red, might correspond to a tinted size coat applied to prepare the walls for later applications of oil color. The following cream layer stained positively with Oil Red, and tested positive for the presence of both lead and gypsum, but this layer may have been applied after 1794.

[103:37]

Front Bedchamber: Room 201:

This room appears to have been extensively stripped during this century. This is reflected in the majority of the woodwork (window frame and sash, chair-rail, baseboard). The only elements that seem to retain complete serialations of 15-16 layers are the fireplace surround and overmantle, and the door frame and door to room 203. These reveal a first campaign of two coat work, executed in turquoise blue, a lighter tint as primer followed by a darker tint as finish. These do not dissolve in warmed acid, and test positive for the presence of lead. Agglomerates of the deep blue pigment were removed and were considered optically and microchemically. They exhibited the optical properties of Prussian blue in transmitted light, being of variable size, between 3 and 35 μ in length, angular and isotropic; and tested positive in the potassium ferrocyanide test for Prussian blue. They were also tested for ultramarine, and a negative result was gained.⁷ [201:18, 20]

It should be noted that even on the door frame, the left jamb appears to have been stripped while the right jamb retains a full serialation, just as the mantle ledge of the fireplace

⁷ F.S. Welsh, "Particle Characteristics of Prussian blue in an Historical Oil Paint" Journal of the American Institute for Conservation, 27:2 (Fall 1988), pp.55-63.

reveals only three modern layers (ultra-violet fluorescence suggests these are titanium dioxide-based paints).

Most of the stripped elements however retain clues to the original finishes, echoing those found on the above elements. The chair rail carries evidence of two layers of the same blue on a fascia sample, and evidence of at least one layer of the same color on a cap sample; no evidence of a contrasting finish on the cap could be found. [201:3,11]

The baseboard of the west wall suggests that the fascia and cap were treated as distinct elements, with the cap showing possibly two fragmented layers of blue, while the fascia has a blue primer followed by a red-brown finish. [201:4]

The wall plaster above and below the chair-rail appears to be original, and carry seriations of approximately fourteen layers. The opaque grainy appearance of the first five off-white layers suggest a water and glue-based finish, but a weak positive test with Oil Red stain and with AB3 suggest an oil-enriched distemper. The layers tested positive for the presence of gypsum and for zinc, suggesting a more expensive distemper.

[201:10]

Rear Bedchamber; Room 202:

The evidence remaining in this bedchamber is more complete than for room 201. The woodwork -- fireplace surround, door frame and leaf, and window trim -- show seriations of between 18-20 layers and carries the same two coat work of turquoise blue as in room 201, the primer being grainier and less 'blue' than the finish coat. [202:15a]

The exceptions to this are the sash and sill to window 12. Neither show evidence of being painted as above, and the sill shows no evidence of being grained or finished with red-brown. The initial two coat work comprises a pale cream primer and finish. These finishes do not show any positive reaction with Oil Red or AB3, and only a very weak positive reaction with AB1. They test positive for the presence of lead. [202:26]

The chair rail, which has a different profile to those in other rooms does not appear to have been bi-colored, but instead treated as the rest of the woodwork. [202:4]

The baseboards however do carry evidence of being bi-colored, with a fascia treated as in room 201 (turquoise blue primer, red-brown finish), and a turquoise blue cap.

[202:21]

The walls exhibit seriations of at least 20 layers, with the first ten off-white, grainy opaque finishes testing positively when stained with AB3, and dissolving almost completely on the addition of warmed acid, suggesting an animal protein-based distemper finish. However no positive result was gained in testing for the presence of either lead, gypsum or whiting, or zinc.

[202:13]

'Lumber' Room: Room 204:

This room, currently a bathroom, has clearly been altered to accommodate necessary plumbing fixtures. The dado rail and the baseboard, which exhibit profiles different from those in any other room in this wing, have very short seriations, suggesting recent installation.

The window and door frames and the door leaf, exhibit seriations of between 18-20 layers, with initial two coat work executed in a yellow-orange primer and a slightly lighter yellow-orange. The sill of window 10 has been stripped, but fragments of the yellow-orange are visible. The primer coat tested positive for the presence of lead, but dissolution of the yellow-orange pigment(s) in aqua regia was unsuccessful; optically the particle agglomerates suggest yellow ochre.

[204:4,5,]

The wall plaster appears to be original, and carries at least 15 layers of paint, with the first six layers appearing as off-white, grainy and opaque. These layers show a weakly positive reaction with the AB3 stain, and dissolve completely in warmed acid, suggesting a whitewash, possibly without the addition of a glue binder.

[204:1]

III: WYCK:

This short analysis is intended as a complement to the 1986 report submitted as part of the Historic Structures Report, on deposit at Wyck. All references to this report are footnoted, rather than described in full.

Front Parlor: Room 101 (WPar):

Samples taken from the parlor (see following schedule) were concentrated on the walls. Samples from the baseboards confirm Welsh's findings, while a sample from the sill of window 102 suggests that there may have been two graining campaigns before the element was stripped; layer 4 is a fragmented yellow-orange layer comparable to the primer layer 1. Layers 5 and 6 fluoresce suggesting a leaded zinc oxide preparation which would date stripping to the mid-nineteenth century.⁸ [WPar 6,7]

The walls appear to present a more complicated chronology. All samples reveal that there is no seriation prior to the application of two coats of the tinted plaster described by Welsh. The priming coat is coarser, with a greater frequency of shard-like pigment particles, while the finish layer appears more homogenous, with fewer but larger blue particles.

While Welsh does not suggest that these walls have been disturbed, samples from the east and south walls reveal sequences of only 10-14 layers, with no evidence of the pale blue zinc-based finish and oil glaze, but instead an off-white layer that fluoresces to suggest the presence of zinc at layer 5 (WPar 3) and layer 3 (WPar 5). A sample from the north wall has a longer seriation of 16 layers, but again lacks the above-described layer, although the sequence does correspond to layers 4-18 in Welsh's sampling.⁹ The only sample that does correspond to this sequence is that taken from archeological material extracted during

⁸ Welsh [1986]; pp.2, 3-4; Carden, p.31.

⁹ Welsh [1986], p.4.

excavations on the west side of the house in 1985. The plaster fragments, complete with substrate showed evidence of the tinted blue plaster when inspected on site, and were thought to be remnants of the plaster removed from the hall/conservatory south and north walls (see below). However, when observed microscopically, the sample reveals a sequence of at least 24 layers, which approximate to the Welsh seriation, including the pale blue zinc and glaze layers at layers 4 and 5. Layers 1-11 on sample WPar 3 (south wall) and layers 6/7-15 on sample WPar 1 (north wall) correspond to layers 16-24 on the archeological sample.

While it is unclear how much plaster might have been removed and from which wall -- to constitute what was found during the excavations -- it is obvious that some disturbance has taken place on possibly all walls, particularly in the sequences immediately following the tinted finish plaster; the location of Welsh's samples is not noted. A more detailed examination of the wall plaster is required to establish a possible chronology for the changes.

[WPar 1,3,5; Arch.sample]

Entry Hall; Room 102 (WHall):

Evidence in the entry hall suggests that some elements dated to the alterations of 1824 might survive from an earlier period. A sample taken from the tread profile and nosings of the second stair exhibits no less than 17 layers, while Welsh suggests that this area dates from 1824. The first 10 layers appear to correspond to those of the sequence Welsh establishes for the side architrave of the stair, dated between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁰ Layers 9 and 10 fluoresce bright yellow, indicative of zinc oxide.

[WHall 7a]

Similarly, while it is apparent that the stair risers were originally unpainted, a sample from the ninth riser suggests a sequence of at least 10 layers; this sample also lacks

¹⁰ *ibid*; p.9

substrate, which might carry more layers; this should be compared to the Welsh sample that carries only 5 layers.¹¹ [WHall 10]

Evidence from other wooden elements correspond to Welsh's sequencing. However, samples from the west wall suggest that there is evidence of coatings prior to those indicated as mid-nineteenth century layers. Both samples carry at least 3 off-white opaque layers that dissolve almost completely in warmed dilute acid; these layers also contain a pale blue tinting pigment, possibly to complement the blue tinted finish in the contiguous rooms. Also layers 8-15 of WHall 2 do not appear in WHall 9, suggesting a discontinuity in the latter, possibly between layers 8-9. [WHall 2,9]

Hall/Conservatory; Room 103 (WCon):

This room was investigated in more detail, in order to confirm the suggestion that the north and south walls had been stripped at some point to install the sliding doors, or adjust the hardware on the doors. This appears to have taken place, with the stripped walls having a new untinted plaster finish coat treated with a fine white primer (?) and a translucent, possibly oil, glaze; the subsequent layers correspond to the sequence beginning with layer 4 (a zinc-oxide based layer) on the sample taken from the west wall. All the walls, the stripping notwithstanding, carry seriations of at least 17-19 layers. [WCon 9,15]

It also appears that much of the woodwork -- architraves and baseboards -- has undergone partial or complete stripping. While the architrave trim to the sliding doors appears to carry a full sequence corresponding to Welsh's chronology, the trim to the swing doors has undergone stripping or is a replacement.

The baseboards show several different seriations. While the cap of the north wall baseboard shows a complete sequence from 1824, with at least 28 layers (compare with Welsh's 18 layers), the cap of the west wall baseboard (WCon 2) has been partially

¹¹ *ibid.*

stripped (between layers 5 and 6, which correspond to layers 4 and 18 of WCon 19), and the fascia of the north and south wall baseboards carry only 10-11 layers, with none of the green or blue finishes apparent on the cap samples. Welsh makes no reference to the possibility of late-nineteenth century bi-coloring, nor to the possibility of stripping/replacement.¹² [WCon 2,11,19]

The woodwork of the sliding doors corresponds to Welsh's sequencing.[WCon 29]

Library/Dining Room; Room 104 (WLib):

Most of the samples taken in this room correspond to Welsh's findings. The walls carry sequences of approximately 15 layers, beginning with the tinted finish coat dating to 1824, and the wainscoting is clearly a late nineteenth century or early twentieth century Colonial-Revival addition, the few layers exhibiting fluorescence that suggest leaded zinc oxide and later titanium dioxide-containing paints. The swing doors to room 103 exhibit at least 18 layers in a sequence that corresponds to Welsh's findings. [WLib 3,6,11]

While Welsh took no samples from the window sills, it appears that these have been stripped, although fragments of a glassy dark brown film might correspond to an earlier varnish or even graining layer. [WLib 10]

Dining Room; Room 105 (WDin):

Given the possible partition of this room after its alteration in 1824, the introduction of elements from other parts of the house at that time, and subsequent changes, this area requires more attention, although Welsh did undertake a very detailed examination of the wooden features. Samples taken from the north wall support the idea that the plaster has

¹² *ibid*; p.13.

been renewed, but there is no correspondence between the seriations of the two samples, nor with the sequence Welsh suggests.¹³ [WDin 1,3]

Investigation of the east wall cupboards suggest that a turquoise blue was a repeated eighteenth century finish for the fancy shelves, while the straight front shelves were more prosaically finished with a red-brown, iron-oxide containing paint; the blue pigment was micro-chemically identified as Prussian blue. This finish was clearly a show color while the cupboards were installed in the parlor; the few subsequent seriations suggest that, after being removed to the room that probably served as a breakfast room, the cupboards were painted as the other woodwork in the room, and were painted infrequently.

[WDin 6,8]

Welsh, while confirming that the sash of various windows dated from differing periods, did not sample any of the window sills. A sample from window 117 carries 15 layers, according with the seriation for the sash that date to 1824, while a sample from window 108 reveals extensive stripping (which is also apparent in the sash of the same window), and only fragments of a yellow-white finish. [WDin 4,11]

Front Bedchamber; Room 201 (WFB):

This room was investigated in some detail, and while many of Welsh's findings were confirmed, it is also clear that there has been extensive stripping of wooden elements. The door architrave trim was sampled at baseboard level and at lintel level; the former carries only two modern layers and has possibly been stripped or replaced, while the latter carries fewer than the eighteen layers Welsh suggests, although there are several layers of yellow-white present that correspond to his sequence.¹⁴ [WFB 27,28]

¹³ *ibid*; p.33.

¹⁴ *ibid*; p.36.

Samples from the window sash and sills of windows 202 and 217 also exhibit short seriations. The window sill samples carry between 3-5 layers of modern white paint, with fragments of a yellow-white more coarsely-textured paint retained in the surface cells of the wood. The window sash samples carry between 6-7 layers, the initial yellow-white layers being fragmented and disturbed; the subsequent layers are more modern paints, exhibiting fluorescence characteristics of zinc and titanium dioxide containing paints.

[WFB 4,34]

The baseboard samples taken were only complete for the east wall but they suggest that this element has also been stripped, as the sequence comprises only 5-9 layers. WFB 25 carries fragments of a yellow-white retained in the surface wood cells. The first complete layer of both samples tests positive for the presence of lead, while layer 2 tests very strongly for the presence of zinc.

[WFB 25]

The walls, cornice and summer beam retain lengthy seriations, although no sample was gained with substrate intact, and the current finish also proved very friable. Despite this, the extracted samples exhibit sequences of at least 19 layers, with between 6-14 grainy opaque layers; WFB 34 was stained with AB3 and all 14 layers tested positively for the presence of animal protein, confirming Welsh's suggestion that the room was repeatedly whitewashed or distempered. Some of these layers contain mid-blue glassy and dull yellow-orange agglomerates as tinting colors.

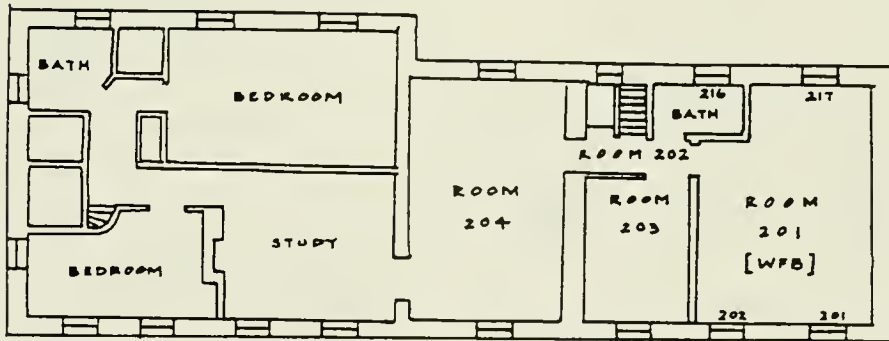
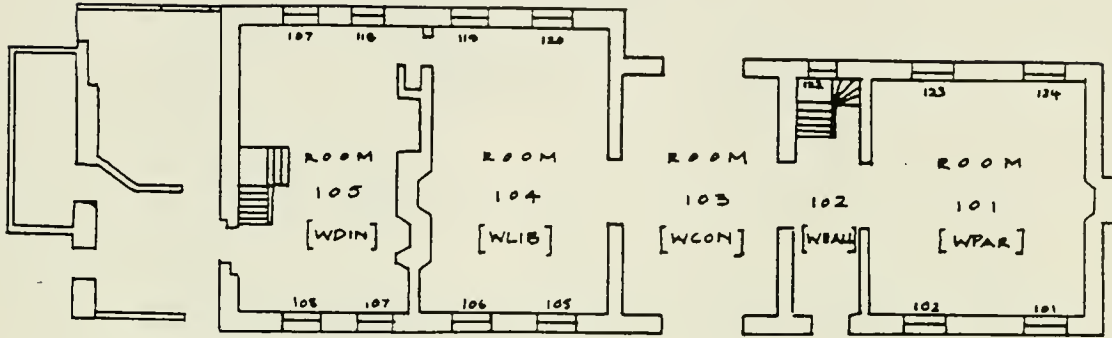
[WFB 22,37]

The door to Room 202 (stair hall) carries evidence of the repeated graining campaigns noted by Welsh, although it is very difficult to discern in the samples taken the presence of the clear resin varnishes he suggests as layers 4,7 and 10; the orange yellow glazing color fluoresces slightly as do the later nineteenth century dark brown-black varnishes. More sophisticated instrumental analysis would be needed to see if the glazing colors were actually varnished, or whether this sample, due to its location, is atypical. [WFB 26]

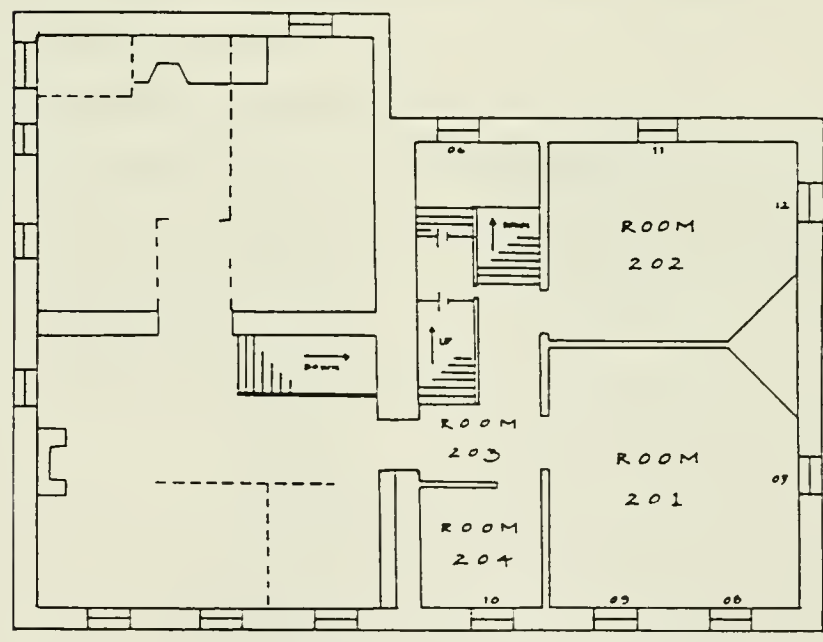
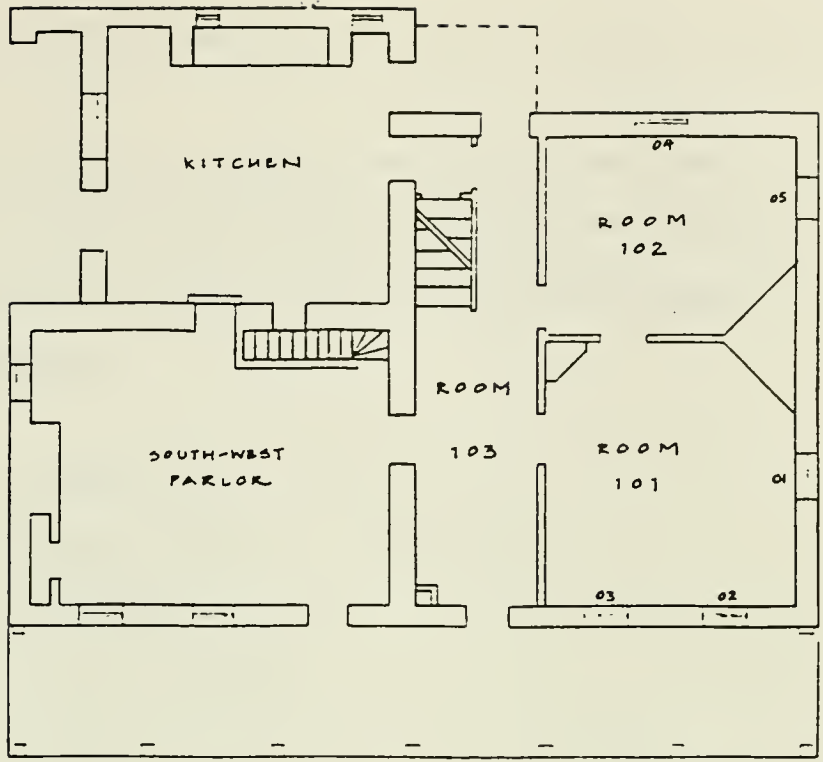
The wooden tester frame of the reeded maple bedstead was sampled to observe the gilding which has since been obscured by overpainting. The seriation shows that the gilding was of applied leaf on a primer coat of white and a very thin opaque size of red-orange coloration (possibly a clay for the gilding bole). The red pigment was not tested.

[WFB 33].

I:IV. FINISHES DOCUMENTATION: SITE FLOOR PLANS



Wyck House, Germantown, Philadelphia, PA:
First and Second Floor Plans, showing Room Numbers and Sampling Notations
[not to scale]



SECOND FLOOR, NTD NORTH ▲

Collen Brook Farm, Upper Darby, PA:
 First and Second Floor Plans, showing Room Numbers and Sampling Notations
 [not to scale]

I:V. SERIATION RECORD SHEETS, WYCK HOUSE AND COLLEN BROOK FARM:

The following seriation record sheets refer to those samples mentioned in the foregoing text. All mounted samples were recorded in this fashion, and the remainder of the record sheets are on deposit at the respective sample sites. The following legend was employed in the recording process:

FINISH LAYER: F

PRIMER LAYER: P

INTERMEDIATE LAYER: I

GROUND LAYER: GR

THICK/THIN: +/- [VERY THICK/ THIN: ++/--, AND SO ON]

**DIRT ACCUMULATION ON SURFACE OF LAYER: D [THICK/THIN
ACCUMULATION DENOTED AS ABOVE].**

FRAGMENTARY, DISINTEGRATING: FR

FRACTURED, CRACKED (VERTICAL FISSURES): V

LARGE BINDER PARTICLES, UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF PIGMENT

AGGLOMERATES: COARSE.

LARGE PORES AND VOIDS: VOIDS

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

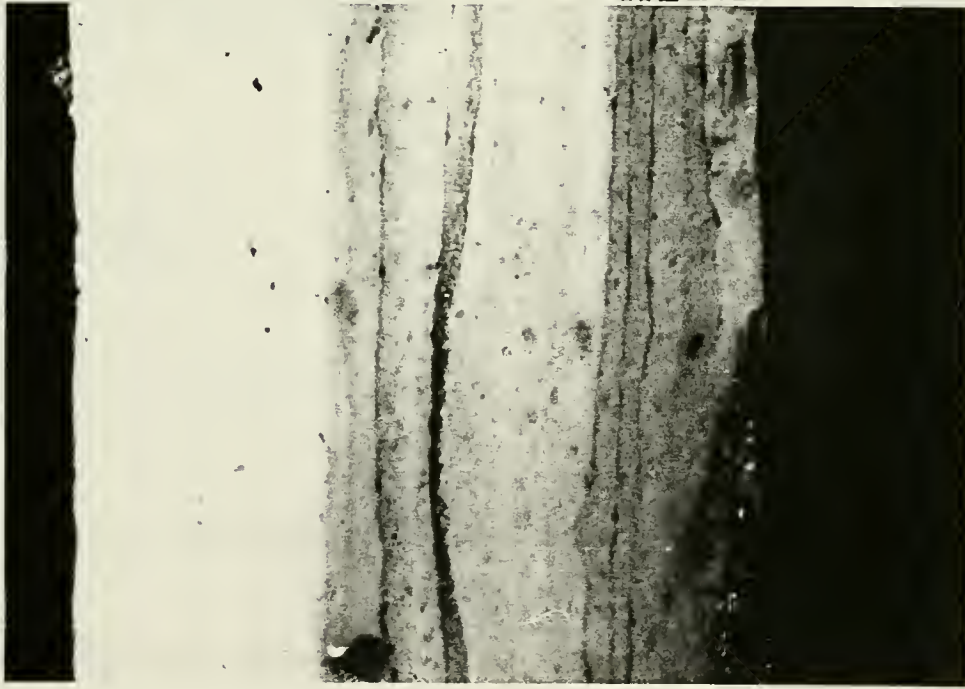
SAMPLE #: CB101:24 DATE REMOVED: 3/5/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
window 01, eared enframent, quarter round molding

PHOTOMICROGRAPHI MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

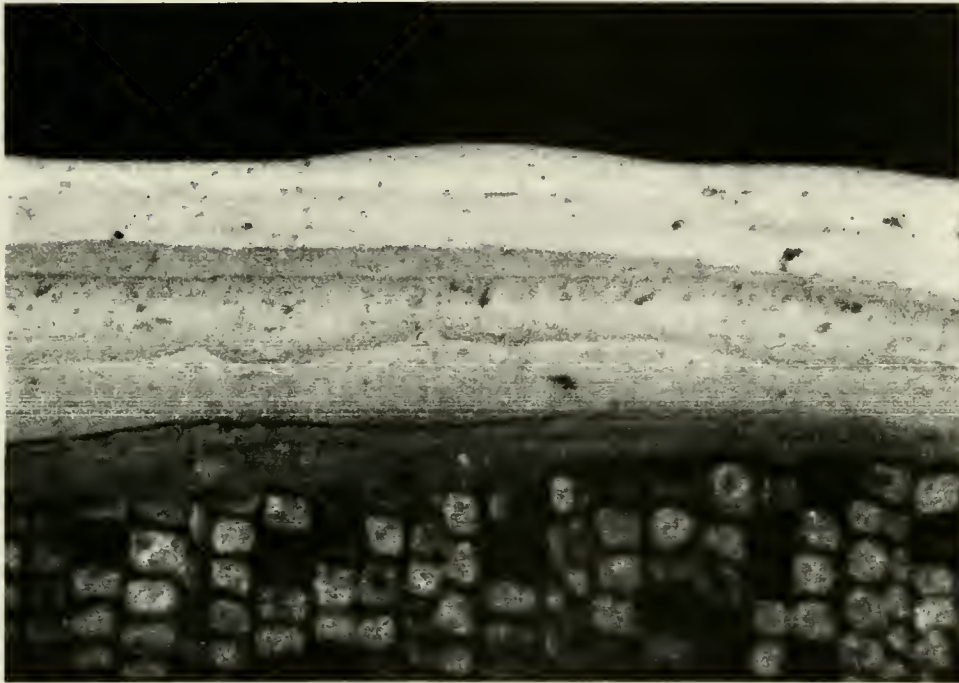
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1: PALE CREAM, -, P, D-, FR. | 11: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D- |
| 2: PALE CREAM, -, I | 12: PALE YELLOW-GRAY, +, F |
| 3: PALE CREAM, -P | 13: PALE CREAM, -, F, D--
ORANGEPIGMENT PARTICLES |
| 4: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F | 14: PALE CREAM, +, P, BLUE
PIGMENT PARTICLES |
| 5: PALE YELLOW CREAM, - F, D-- | 15: PALE CREAM, -F |
| 6: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D-- | 16: PALE CREAM, - F, D-- |
| 7: OFF-WHITE, ++, P | 17: OFF-WHITE, ++, F,
OCCASIONAL LG. BLACK BLEBS |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, -, F | 18: WHITE, -, F |
| 9: OFF-WHITE, -, F | |
| 10: OFF-WHITE, --, F, D, OPAQUE, CRYSTALLINE | |



MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL
FINISH:
5Y.9/2

SUMMARY:
Layers 1-3 possibly tinted oil emulsion finish.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB101:50

DATE REMOVED: 3/10/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

corner cabinet, lower unit, outer square file of frame, l/h side, 2' above floor.

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/30/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: PALE YELLOW CREAM, --, P

2: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, I

3: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F

4: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, P?

5: PALE CREAM, -, F, V

6: PALE CREAM, -, F, V

7: OFF-WHITE, -, P OPAQUE, GRAINY

8: OFF-WHITE, -, F

9: OFF-WHITE, ++, P OPAQUE, CRYSTALLINE

10: PALE GRAY WHITE, -, F

11: CREAM, -, F

12: CREAM, -, F

13: OFF-WHITE, -, F

14: OFF-WHITE, -, F

15: OFF-WHITE, +, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5Y.9/2

SUMMARY:

Layers 7 & 8 fluoresce for presence of zinc. Layers 1-3 as for remainder of woodwork in 101.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB: 101:15

DATE REMOVED: 3/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N.wall base board, upper bead edge of cap

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1: PALE CREAM YELLOW, -,P | 11: CREAM YELLOW, +, F, D |
| 2: PALE CREAM YELLOW, -, F, FR | 12: PALE CREAM, -, F |
| 3: PALE CREAM YELLOW, -, F, D- OCCASIONAL YELLOW BLEBS | 13: OFF-WHITE, -, F |
| 4: YELLOW CREAM, -, F, D- OCCASIONAL YELLOW BLEBS | 14: OFF-WHITE, -, P VERY COARSE |
| 5: YELLOW CREAM, -, F, D- | 15: MID-GRAY, P BLACK & DK. BLUE PIGMENT BLEBS |
| 6: PALE CREAM, +, F | 16: WHITE, +, F |
| 7: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- SOME RED PIGMENT BLEBS | 17: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 8: PALE VREAM, -, F | 18: WHITE, -, F |
| 9: WHITE, -, P? OPAQUE, COARSE | |
| 10: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D- POSS. 2 LAYERS | |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5Y.9/2

SUMMARY:

As for remaining woodwork in 101, c.f fascia.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB: 101:17

DATE REMOVED: 3/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N.wall base board fascia, 18" r. of door to 102

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -,P | 11: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D- COARSE |
| 2: DEEP RED-BROWN, -, F, FR | 12: PALE CREAM, -, P |
| 3: PALEYELLOW CREAM, -, P, FR MIXED W. LAYER 4 | 13: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- SOME RED PIGMENT PARTICLES |
| 4: DEEP RED-BROWN, +, F RED & BALCK PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES | 14: PALR CREAM, -, F OCCASIONAL ORANGE & BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES |
| 5: PALE CREAM, +, F | 15: OFF-WHITE, -, P |
| 6: PALE CREAM, +, F | 16: OFF-WHITE, -, F |
| 7: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- | 17: OFF-WHITE, -, F |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, -, F OPAQUE, COARSE | 18: WHITE, -, F |
| 9: OFF-WHITE, -, F OPAQUE, COARSE | |
| 10: OFF-WHITE, +, F VERY COARSE | |

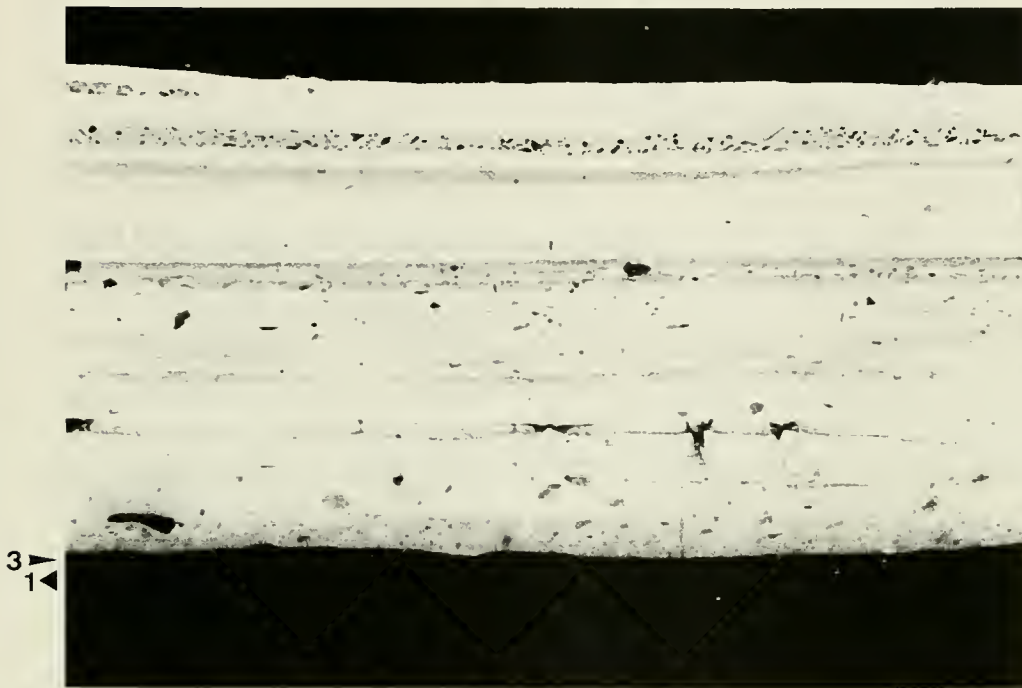
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5Y. 9/2

SUMMARY:

As for remaining woodwork in 101, c.f fascia.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB101:22
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
window 01, sill: horizontal face

DATE REMOVED: 3/5/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1: DEEP RED-BROWN, -, F, FR. RED & BLACK PIGMNT AGGLOMERATES | 13: GRAY-YELLOW, --, F |
| 2: PALE CREAM YELLOW, FR | 14: GRAY-YELLOW, -, F |
| 3: DEEP RED BROWN, --, F | 15: PALE CREAM, +, F |
| 4: PALE CREAM, -, P | 16: WHITE, +, F |
| 5: PALE CREAM, -, F | 17: YELLOW CREAM, FR? |
| 6: PALE CREAM, +, F D- | 18: WHITE, +, F |
| 7: OFF-WHITE, + F, D- V SLIGHTLY OPAQUE | 19: PALE CREAM YELLOW, -, F |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D- VERY CRYSTALLINE | 20: YELLOW CREAM, -, F |
| 9: PALE CREAM YELLOW, -, F, D- | 21: OFF-WHITE, -, P COARSE |
| 10: YELLOW CREAM, +, F | 22: PALE GRAY, -, F MOTTLED |
| 11: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F, D- | 23: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 12: PALE YELLOW-ORANGE, +, F, D- SMALL ORANGE SPECKS | 24: WHITE, -, F |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
5Y. 2/4

SUMMARY:

Fascia finished in contrast to cap. See also baseboard.
Layer 7 fluorescing for presence of zinc.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB101:20

DATE REMOVED: 3/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

window 02, outer file to enframent

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F, FR. D POSS. FRAGMENTS OF 2 LAYERS
- 2: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D-
- 3: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 4: OFF-WHITE, -,F
- 5: WHITE, +, F

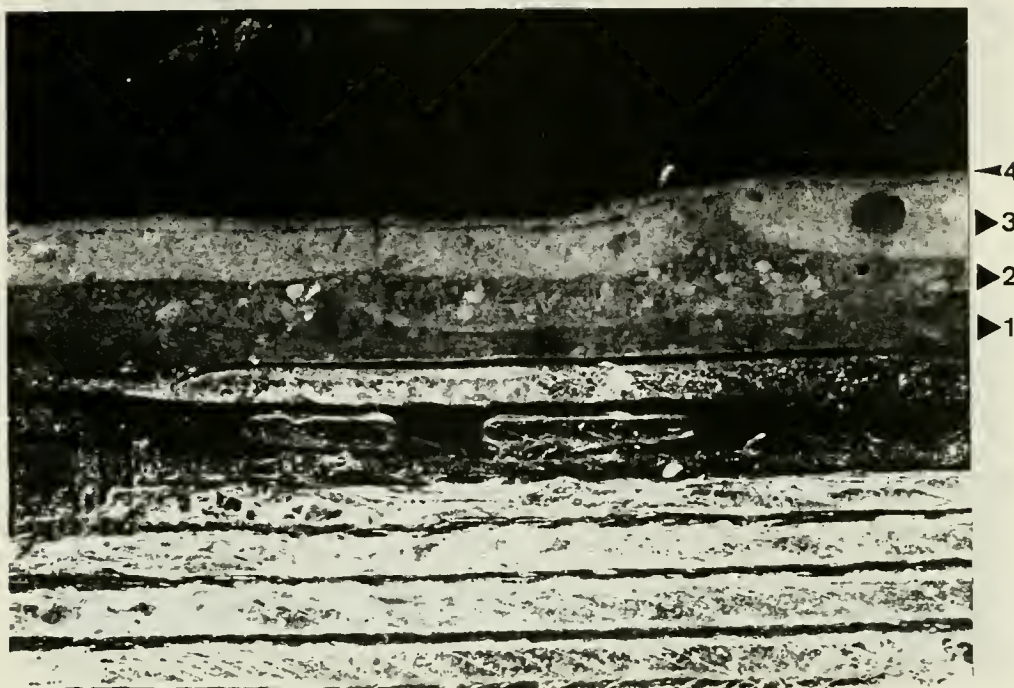
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5Y. 9/2?

SUMMARY:

Element has been stripped. Unclear whether fragments are of original c. 1794 finish.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB101:47
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
door to room 102, raised field panel

DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/30/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

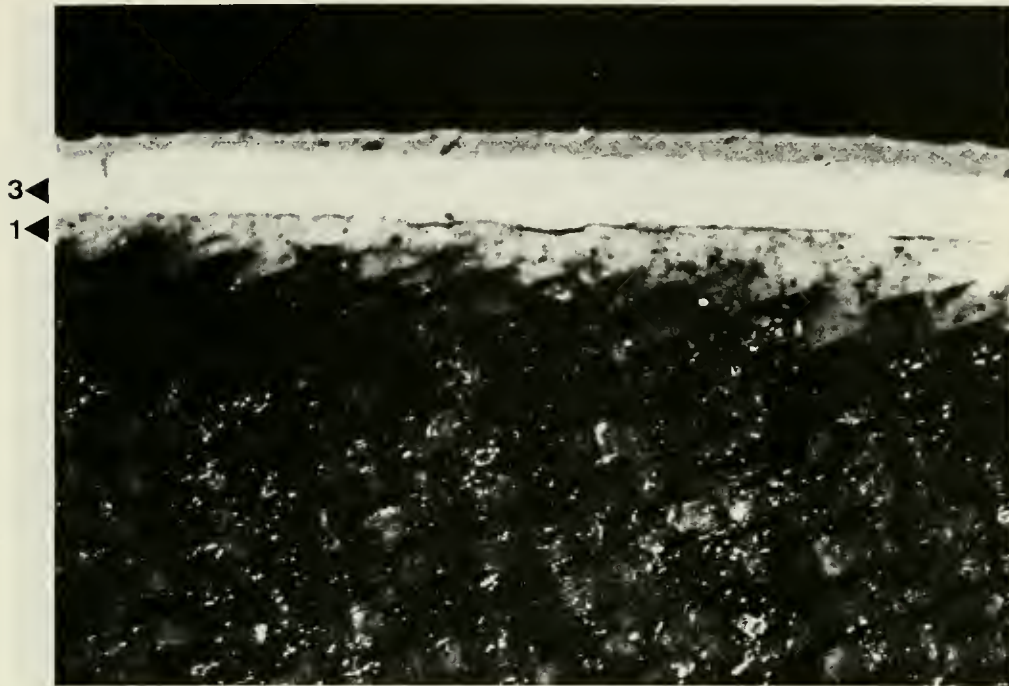
- 1: DEEP ORANGE, +, P COARSE W/ SMALL YELLOW OPAQUE BLEBS
- 2: YELLOW-GRAY, -, I, OPAQUE, COARSE
- 3: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F
- 4: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F
- 5: DARK BROWN BLACK, +, F OPAQUE & SLIGHTLY GLASSY
- 6: DARK BROWN BLACK, - F OPAQUE & SLIGHTLY GLASSY
- 7: DEEP RED-BROWN, -F SMALL ORANGE & RED PIGMENT PARTICLES. SLIGHTLY GLASSY

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
5Y. 9/2

SUMMARY:

No apparent glazing for graining- possibly stripped? Layers 5-7 probably varnish layers.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM , UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB101:54

DATE REMOVED: 3/10/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

corner cabinet glass fronted section, 2nd butterfly shelf, edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/30/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: PALE PINK-RED, -F, D- LG. WHITE BLEBS W/ BRIGHT RED GLASSY PARTICLES

2: MID TURQUOISE BLUE, +, F. FR

3: CREAM, +, F

4: PINK-ORANGE, -, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

2.5YR 7/6

SUMMARY:

Original layer containing vermilion. Mounted sample contained no turquoise blue layer; observed in unmounted samples.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM , UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB101:55b

DATE REMOVED: 3/10/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

corner cabinet, lower unit, shelf edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/30/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, P? FR

2: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F, D+

3: PALE CREAM, +, F BLUE & ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES

4: CREAM, +, F

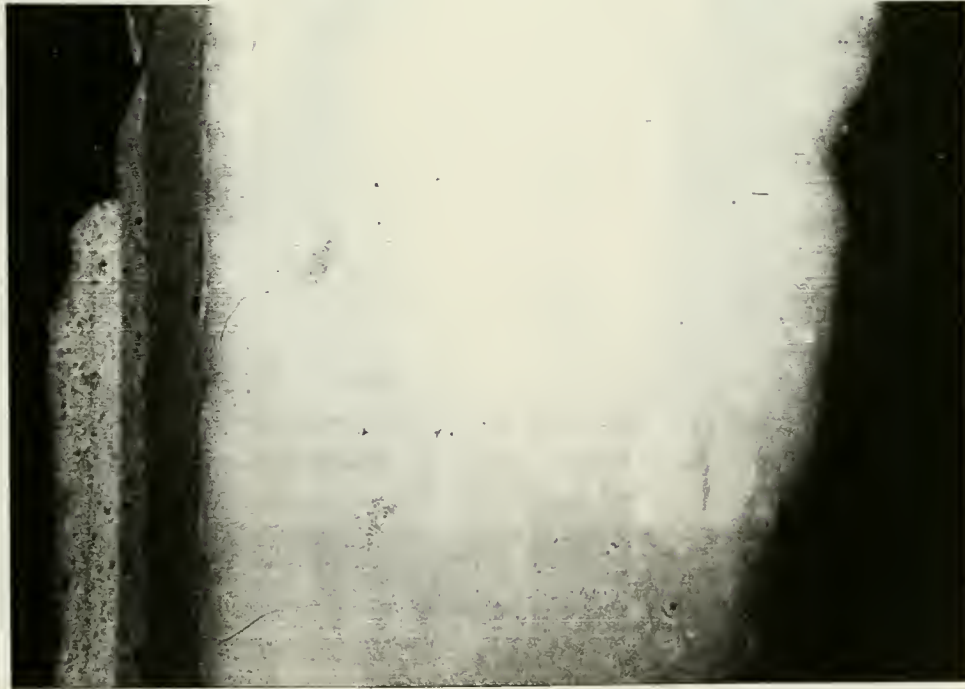
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5 Y.9/2?

SUMMARY:

Possibly stripped?

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM , UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB 101:03 DATE REMOVED:3/5/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
s.wall plaster, above chair rail

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/28/92

SUBSTRATE: lime plaster

SERIATION:

- 1: TRANSLUCENT , --- [SIZE PERPARATION FOR OIL PAINT?]
- 2: MID-YELLOW CREAM, +, P
- 3: MID-YELLOW CREAM, +, I
- 4: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F
- 5: WHITE, +, F
- 6: PALE BLUE-WHITE, +, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL
FINISH: n/a

SUMMARY:
Layer 2 testing positive for Zn; probably stripped mid-19C.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB102.4a DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92

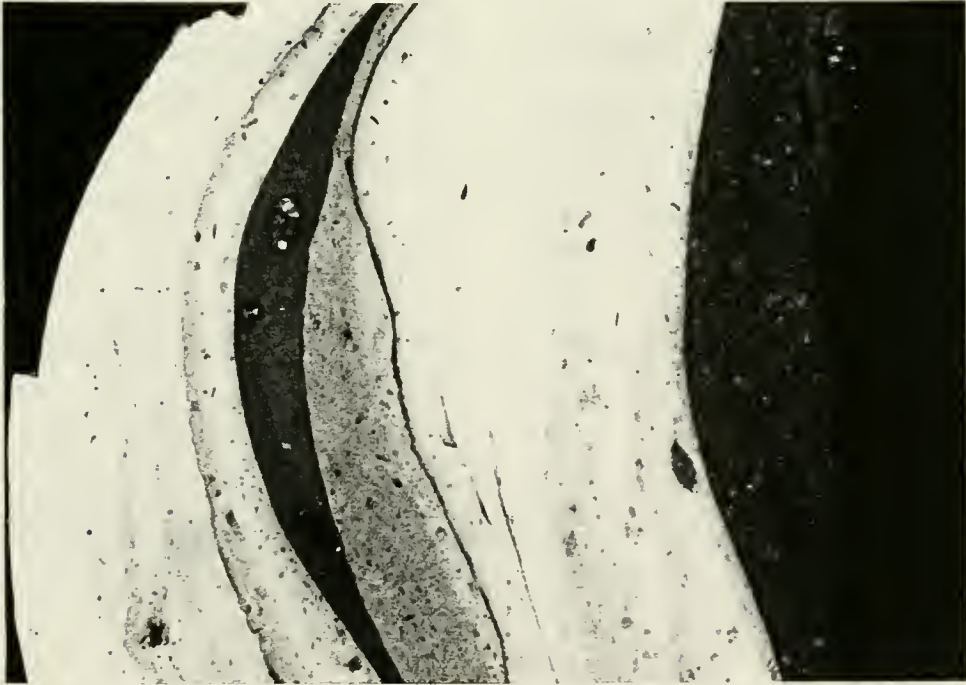
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
door to room 103, recessed panel

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/30/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERiation:

- 1: YELLOW-ORANGE, -F POSS. 2 LAYERS
- 2: MID-GRAY, ++F, MOTTLED W/BLACK PARTICLES
- 3: PALE CREAM, +, P?
- 4: PALE CREAM, +, F
- 5: PALE CREAM, ---, F
- 6: OFF-WHITE, -F OPAQUE, COARSE
- 7: WHITE, -F DARKER SURFACE COLOR
- 8: PALE CREAM, +, F
- 9: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 10: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 11: PALE CREAM, -F
- 12: PALE CREAM, -F SOME ORANGE & RED PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 13: PALE CREAM, -F
- 14: YELLOW-GRAY, +, F
- 15: OFF-WHITE, ++, F, D
- 16: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F
- 17: PALE CREAM, +, F
- 18: CREAM, ---, F
- 19: OFF-GRAY WHITE, -F
- 20: PALE YELLOW, +, F
- 21: WHITE, +, F
- 22: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 23: WHITE, --, F



MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
10 YR. 6/8 primer; 5B.7/1 finish

SUMMARY:

Primer is possibly two coats.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB102:9

DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

S.wall baseboard fascia, N. of door to 101

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1: PALE YELLOW CREAM, FR | 16: PALE YELLOW-GREEN, -,F YELLOW AGGLOMERATES |
| 2: DEEP RED-BROWN, -, F, FR | 17: PALE DRAB GRAY-GREEN, +, F OPAQUE, COARSE |
| 3: PALEYELLOW CREAM, -, P, YELLOW PARTICLES | 18: OFF-WHITE, +, P? |
| 4: DEEP RED-BROWN, -,F ORANGE & RED PARTICLES | 19: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- |
| 5: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D- | 20: PALE YELLOW, -,F |
| 6: PALE CREAM, +, F POSS. 2 LAYERS | 21: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -,F |
| 7: OFF-WHITE, -, F | 22: PALE CREAM, -, P |
| 8: YELLOW-GRAY, --, F OPAQUE | 23: OFF-WHITE, --,F |
| 9: OFF-WHITE, -,P | 24: PALE GRAY, --,F, OPAQUE COARSE |
| 10: WHITE, +, F, D- | 25: CREAM-GRAY, -, F, D- YELLOW & BLUE PIGMENT
PARTICLES |
| 11: PALE CREAM, -, F | 26: PALE CREAM, +,F RED PIGMENT PARTICLES |
| 12: PALE CREAM, -, F DARK BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES | 27: WHITE, +,P? |
| 13: PALE CREAM, -, F DITTO | 28: WHITE, -,F |
| 14: CREAM, -, F | 29: WHITE, --,F CRYSTALLINE |
| 15: PALE GRAY GREEN, -, F | |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5YR. 2/4

SUMMARY:

Differentiated from cap; as for baseboards in Room 101, 103

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB102:17

DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

Window 05, enframent, inner cyma molding

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/1/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

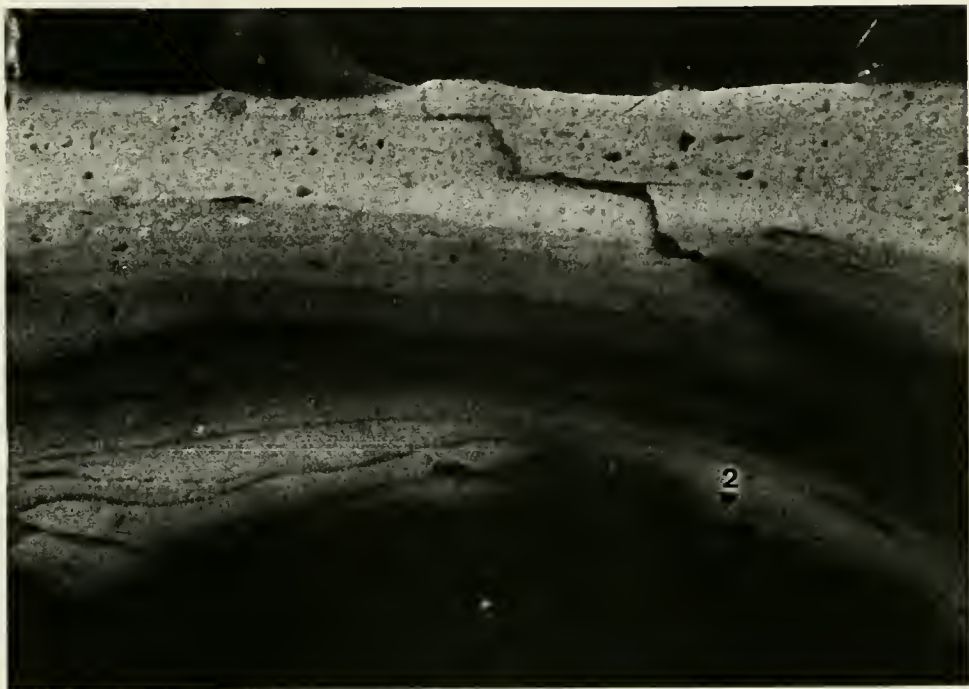
SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, P, FR POSS. 2 LAYERS | 11: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- |
| 2: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- CRYSTALLINE | 12: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- |
| 3: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- | 13: PALE CREAM, -, F |
| 4: OFF-WHITE, -, P? OPAQUE, CRYSTALLINE | 14: PALE YELLOW, +, F |
| 5: OFF-WHITE, -, F | 15: WHITE, +, F |
| 6: PALE CREAM, --, F | 16: OFF-WHITE, ++, P FREQUENT VOIDS |
| 7: PALE CREAM, -, I | 17: WHITE, -, F |
| 8: PALE CREAM, +, F | 18: WHITE, -, F |
| 9: PALE YELLOW GRAY, -F, SLIGHTLY OPAQUE W/ DARKER SURFACE LAYER POSS. GLAZE? POSS. 2 LAYERS | |
| 10: DRAB GREEN BROWN, -, F, D- OPAQUE, CRYSTALLINE | |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5YR.8.5/2

SUMMARY:



3



1

CB102:17

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB 102:16 DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
window 05, sill edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPHI MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/1/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

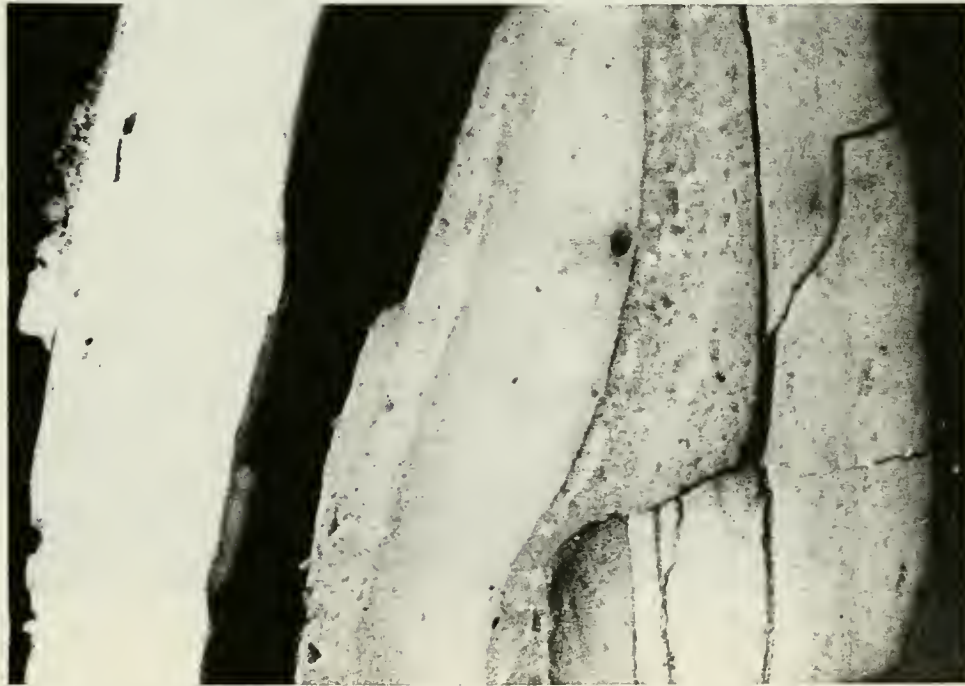
SERiation:

- 1: PALE CREAM, +, P
- 2: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 3: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 4: MID-GRAY, --, F? OPAQUE CRYSTALLINE
- 5: PALE CREAM, +, P
- 6: PALE CREAM, +, F
- 7: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 8: PALE CREAM, - F
- 9: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 10: PALE CREAM, +, F, D--
- 11: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F?
- 12: PALE YELLOW GREEN, -, F, D-
- 13: PALE YELLOW-GRAY, -, F, D
- 14: YELLOW-GRAY, +, F? D- OPAQUE, CRYSTALLINE
- 15: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D--
- 16: PALE CREAM, +, F
- 17: PALE CREAM, -, F, D--
- 18: PALE CREAM, -, P
- 19: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 20: PALE YELLOW-GRAY, -, F
- 21: PALE YELLOW, -, P? FR.
- 22: PALE YELLOW, -, F
- 23: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 24: PALE YELLOW, -, F
- 25: OFF-WHITE, +, P?
- 26: CREAM-WHITE, -, F
- 27: OFF-WHITE, -, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
5Y.8.5/2

SUMMARY:

Not finished as for other woodwork in 102; fireplace surround treated similarly.



SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB102:1 DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
W.wall plaster, from above chair-rail, below light switch

PHOTOMICROGRAPHI MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/30/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERiation:

- 1-16: OFF-WHITE / MID-GRAY, ---, F, D OPAQUE, COARSE, SOME LAYERS
W/ FREQUENT VOIDS.
- 17: CREAM, -, P CRYSTALLINE
- 18: PALE YELLOW-ORANGE, +, P
- 19: YELLOW-CREAM, -, P
- 20: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, P OCCASIONAL ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 21: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D--
- 22: PALE CREAM, +, F
- 23: WHITE, -, F
- 24: OFF-WHITE, ++, F VERY COARSE. MANY VOIDS
- 25: WHITE, +, F
- 26: WHITE, +, F, LOSSES FROM SURFACE

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL

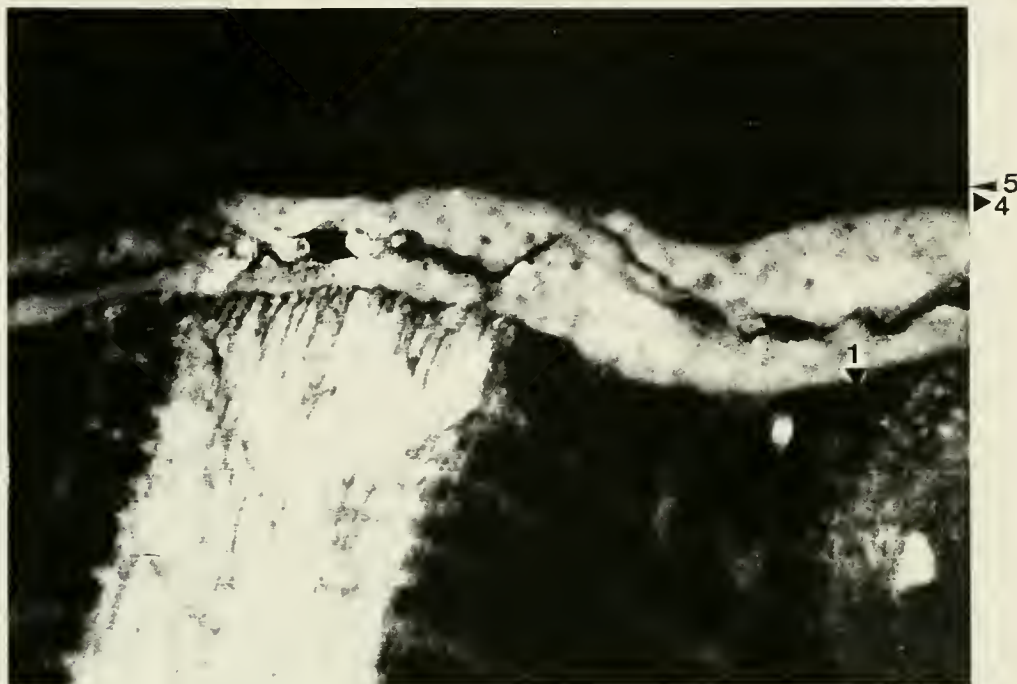
FINISH:

not matched

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-16 distemper/ whitewash finishes

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB102:22
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
floorboards

DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/9/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: MID YELLOW-BROWN, -D, FR
- 2: YELLOW CREAM, -, P, SMALL YELLOW PARTICLES
- 3: YELLOW-CREAM, -, F, DITTO
- 4: CHOCOLATE BROWN, -, F, SLIGHTLY GLASSY
- 5: CHOCOLATE BROWN, --, FR.
- 6: DARK BROWN-BLACK, --, F
- 7: DARK BROWN-BLACK, -, F
- 8: DARK BROWN-BLACK, -, F
- 9: ORANGE-BROWN, +, F.

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
Not matched

SUMMARY:
Layer 1 probably oil/wax accumulation. Layers 4-8 resinous.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARRY, PA

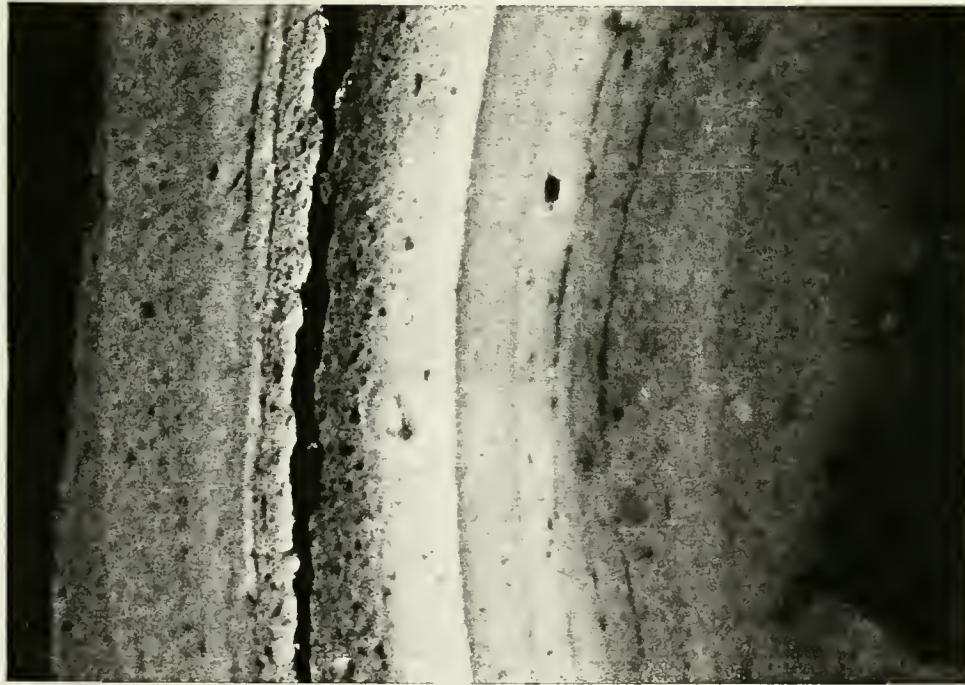
SAMPLE #: CB103:13 DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
wainscoting on E.side of staircase, top triangular panel

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/3/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, P COARSE
- 2: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F
- 3: PALE CREAM +, F, D--
- 4: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 5: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F, D-
OCCASIONAL RED PIGMENT BLEBS
- 6: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 7: PALE CREAM, --, F, D-
- 8: PALE CREAM, ++, F? OCCASIONAL BLUE PIGMENT BLEBS
- 9: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 10: VERY PALE YELLOW, --, P?
- 11: WHITE, --, F
- 12: MID-SKY BLUE, -, P
- 13: PALE SKY-BLUE, --, F
- 14: MID-APPLE GREEN, --, F
- 15: PALE APPLE GREEN, -, F
- 16: MID-LIME GREEN, +, F
- 17: LIME GREEN, +, F



MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL
FINISH:
7.5Y .8.5/2

SUMMARY:

Possibly 3 coat work. Wainscot carrying 2-3 fewer layers than other woodwork in 103.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB203:18

DATE REMOVED: 3/27/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

Door to 201, left jamb of frame, outer ovolo molding of trim

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/7/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, P, FR

11: PALE YELLOW-GREEN, —, F?

2: YELLOW CREAM, -, F, FR

12: PALE GRAY-WHITE, +, F, D-

3: OFF-WHITE, +, P

13: WHITE, -, F

4: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D-

14: OFF-WHITE, +, F

5: PALE CREAM-GRAY, -, F

15: WHITE, -, F SOME VOIDS

6: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F OCCASIONAL ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES

7: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F DITTO

8: PALE CREAM-GRAY, +, F, D DITTO

9: PALE CREAM, +, F, FR

10: OFF-WHITE, +, F, COARSE, FREQUENT VOIDS

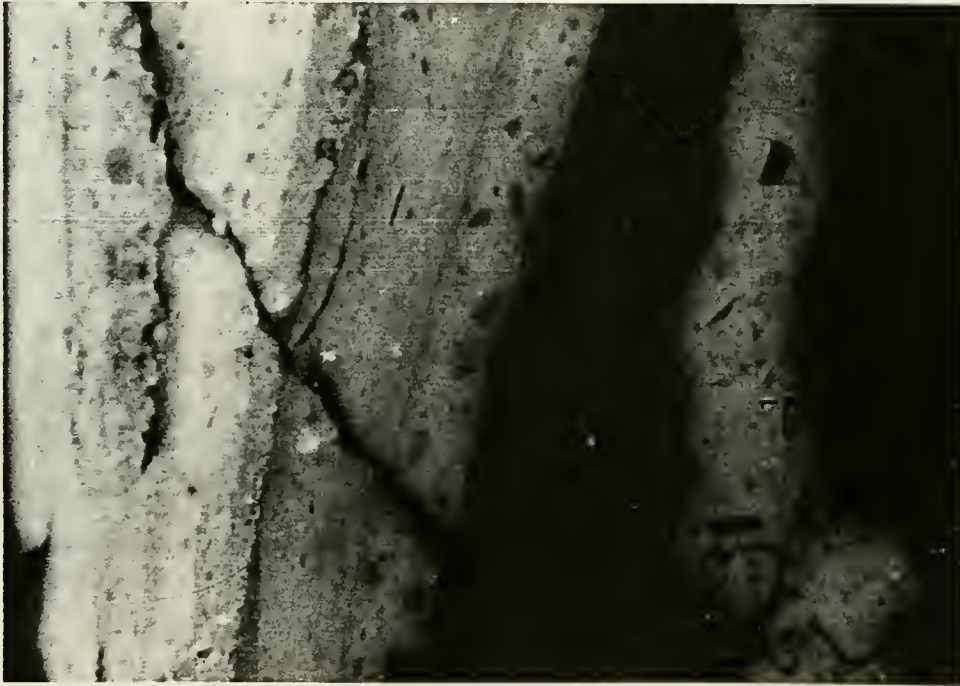
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

2.5Y.7/6

SUMMARY:

Original finish layers 1-2 appear more coarse and poorly mixed than those for wood work in 103.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB103:8 DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
W.wall chair-rail, fascia, 2' from S.wall

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/3/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

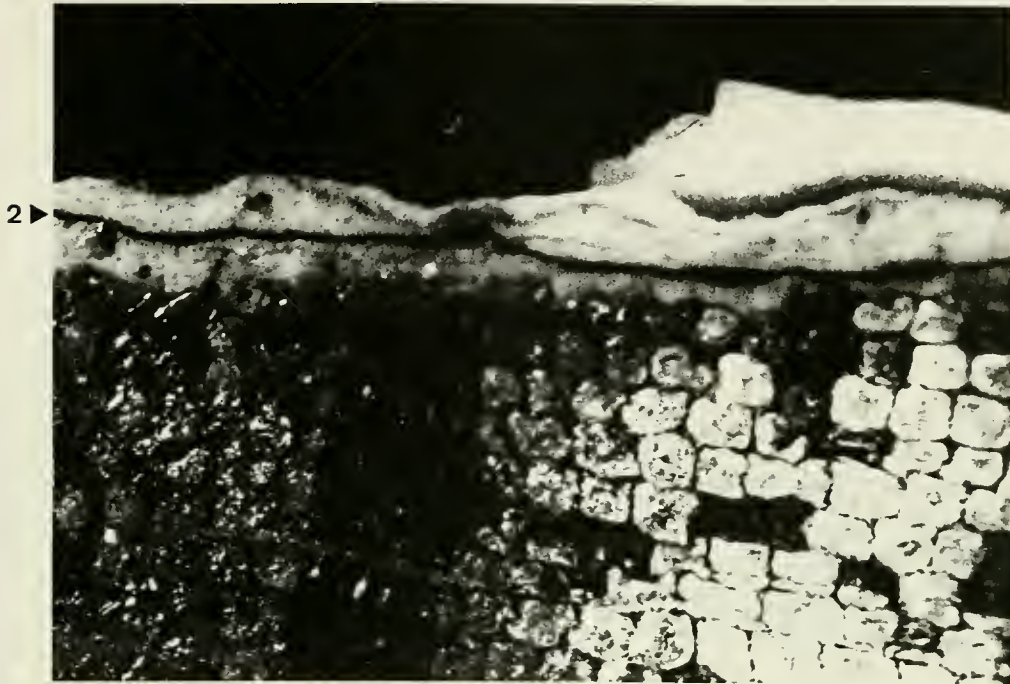
SERIATION:

- 1: YELLOW-ORANGE, +, P V MIXED W/ LAYER 2
- 2: [WHITE, +, F, LG. CRSTALLINE BLEBS: SEEPING LAYER]
- 3: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, F
- 4: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, F,D
- 5: WHITE, -, F, D-- LG. CRYSTALLINE BLEBS
- 6: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F
- 7: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 8: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 9: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F
- 10: PALE CREAM, -, F SMALL BLACK PARTICLES
- 11: WHITE, +, F
- 12: WHITE, -, F
- 13: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 14: OFF-WHITE, +,P COARSE
- 15: WHITE, +, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
not matched

SUMMARY:
Original circa 1794 layers disturbed.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB203:3

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E.wall, chair-rail cap between doors to 201 and 202

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/5/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, --, P | 11: PALE CREAM, -, F |
| 2: DEEP RED-BROWN, --, F OCCASIONAL ORANGE BLEBS | 12: PALE CREAM WHITE, -, P |
| 3: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F | 13: WHITE, +, P? |
| 4: PALE CREAM, --, F | 14: WHITE, +, F |
| 5: PALE CREAM, -, F | 15: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 6: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F | 16: OFF-WHITE, ++, F? VERY COARSE, FREQUENT
VOIDS |
| 7: PALE CREAM, +, F | 17: WHITE, -, F |
| 8: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F, D- | |
| 9: PALE CREAM-GRAY, +, F, D- | |
| 10: PALE CREAM, -, P OCCASIONAL BLUE & ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES | |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5YR 2/4

SUMMARY:

Photomicrograph shows layers 1-7.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB103:10 DATE REMOVED: 3/11/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
W.wall baseboard fascia, 2' S. of bottom stair

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/3/92

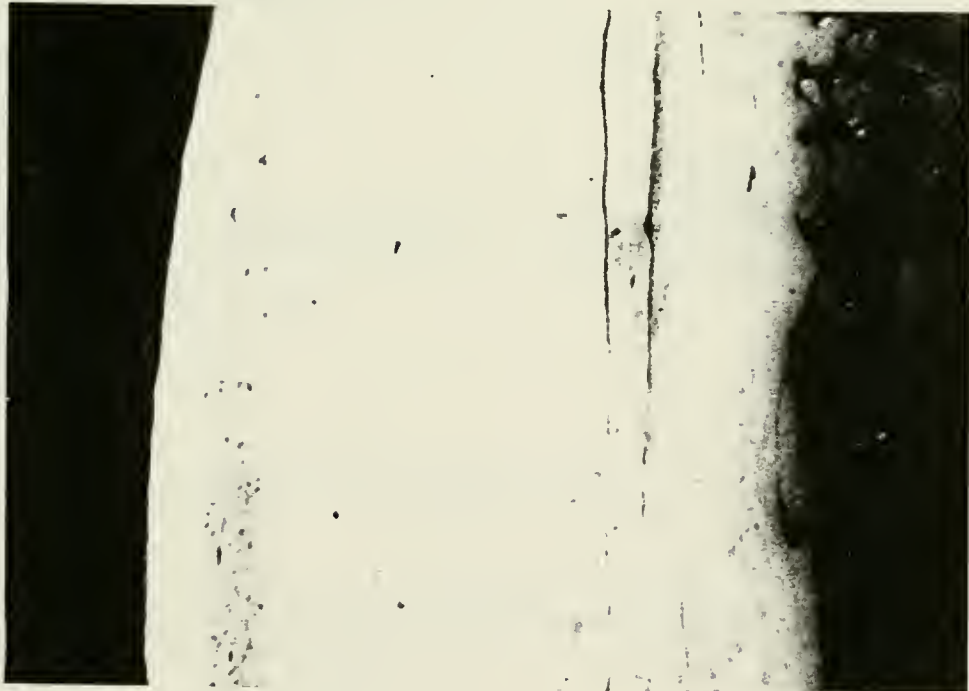
SUBSTRATE: wood

SERiation:

- 1: DEEP RED-BROWN, --, P
- 2: DEEP RED-BROWN, --, P
- 3: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 4: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 5: PALE CREAM, -, I
- 6: PALE CREAM, -, F, D--
- 7: PALE CREAM, -, F, D
- 8: PALE CREAM, -, F, D
- 9: PALE CREAM, -, F, D+
- 10: OFF-WHITE, +, F POSS. 2 LAYERS
- 11: CREAM, -, F, D-
- 12: CREAM, -, F
- 13: CREAM, -, F
- 14: PALE CREAM, +, F OPAQUE
- 15: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -I
- 16: PALE CREAM, -, F OCCASIONAL RED
 PIGMENT BLEBS
- 17: WHITE, -, I
- 18: WHITE, -, P
- 19: OFF-WHITE, -, I
- 20: WHITE, -, F
- 21: [LIME GREEN, +; DRIP FROM WALLS?]

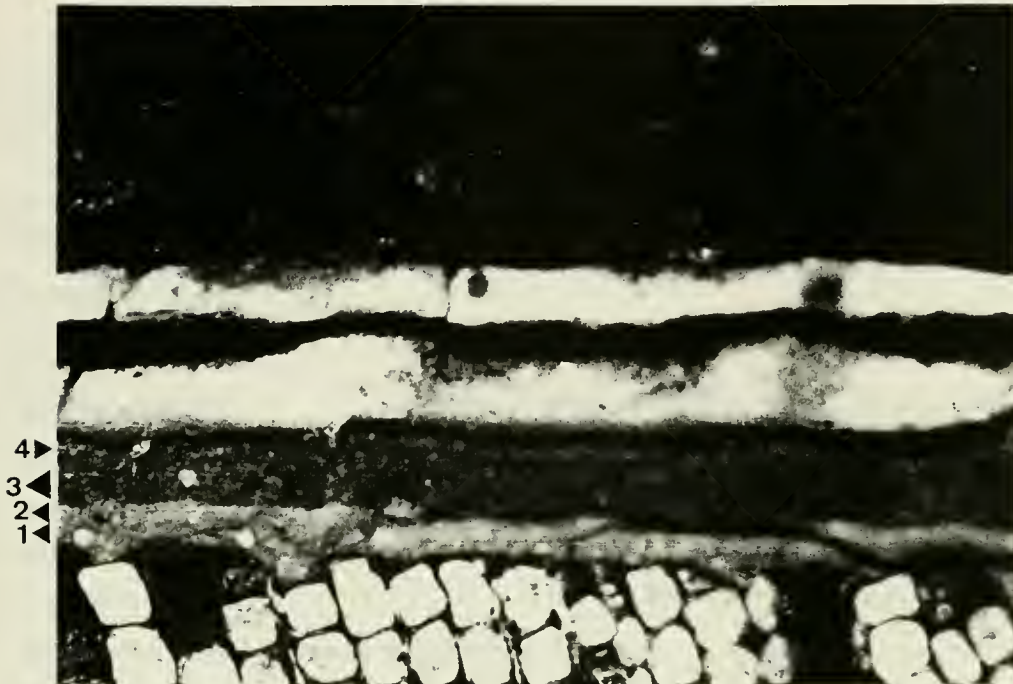
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
5 YR. 2/4

SUMMARY:
cap treated as remaining woodwork in 103.



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SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB103:20a
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
door to w.wing, middle left raised panel

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/4/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1: YELLOW-ORANGE, —, P | 10: PALE CREAM, -, P |
| 2: YELLOW-ORANGE, —, GR | 11: DEEP BROWN-BLACK, -, F, GLASSY |
| 3: DRAB RED-GRAY, +, F? RED, BLACK & CREAM PIGMENT PARTICLES | 12: DITTO, -, F, D+ |
| 4: GREY-BROWN, —, F OPAQUE SLIGHTLY GLASSY | 13: MID-BROWN, +, F GLASSY |
| 5: PALE CREAM, +, GR | 14: MID-BROWN, -, F, D |
| 6: DEEP BROWN-BLACK, —, F GLASSY | |
| 7: DITTO, —, F, GLASSY | |
| 8: DITTO, —, F, D+, v GLASSY | |
| 9: PALE CREAM, +, GR | |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
7.5YR. 3/6 [approx.]

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-4 correspond to graining sequence, with layer a tinted glazing color, and layer 4 tinted? resinous layer. Layers 7-8, 11-14 also resinous.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB103:26

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

Wall-mounted bannister, dark-painted/ varnished section of hand-rail, above 3rd. & 4th. stair

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, P | 11, PALE CREAM, --, GR |
| 2: YELLOW-ORANGE, --, GR | 12: DEEP BROWN-BLACK, --, P, FR |
| 3: ORANGE-RED, -, F, FR. OPAQUE, ORANGE PARTICLE AGGLOMERTAES | 13: DEEP BROWN-BLACK, -F, GLASSY |
| 4: PALE CREAM, -, GR | 14: DEPP BROWN, -, P |
| 5: PALE CREAM, --, P | 15: DEEP BROWN-BLACK, -, F, GLASSY |
| 6: RED-BROWN, -, F SMALL ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES | |
| 7: PALE CREAM, --, GR | |
| 8: PALE YELLOW CEEAM, +, F | |
| 9: DEPP BROWN-BLACK, +, F STREKY, GLASSY | |
| 10: DARK BROWN, +, F BALCK PIGMENT PARTICLES | |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

not matched

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-3 possibly correspond to graining sequence but no visible resinous finish layer. Layers 9, 13, 15 resinous.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB103:28
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
11th. stair tread, nose

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/4/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: DRAB BROWN, --, D SLIGHTLY OPAQUE
- 2: OFF-WHITE, +, P
- 3: WHITE, +, F

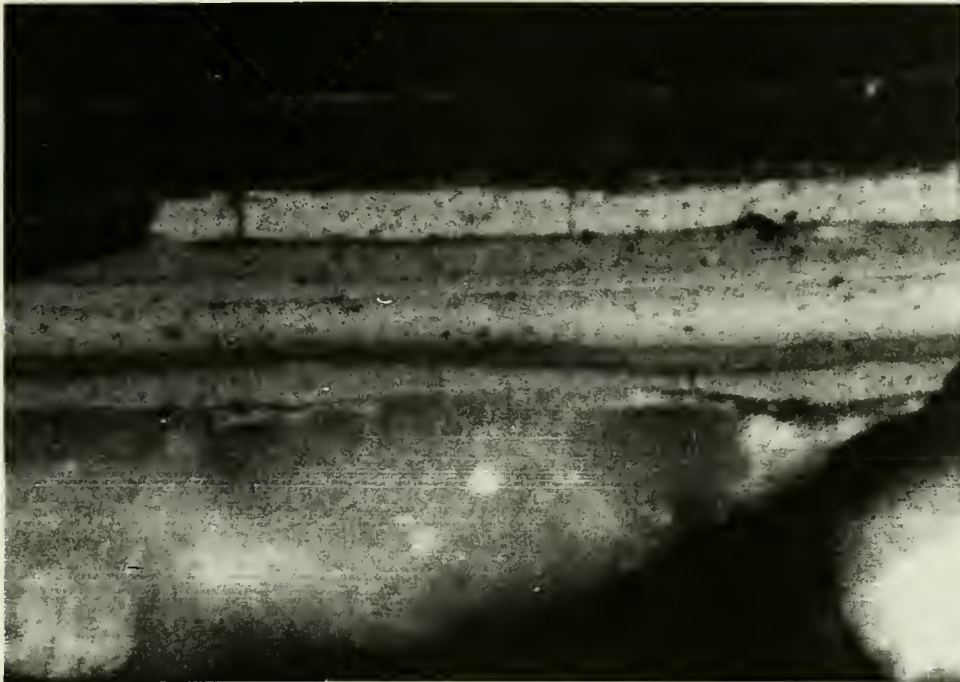
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

not matched

SUMMARY:

Originally oiled or waxed: layer 1 corresponds to residue?

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB103:37

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N. wall, E.. of landing wall, plaster above chair-rail

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/4/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- 1: PALE YELLOW GRAY, --, F, D+
- 2: PALE CREAM, +, F
- 3: PALE YELLOW GRAY, -, F, D-
- 4: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 5: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D-
- 6: PALE CREAM, -, F, D
- 7: PALE CREAM-YELLOW, -, I, SMALL ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 8: PALE CREAM YELLOW, -, F, D+ DITTO
- 9: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F, V
- 10: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 11: WALLPAPER

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

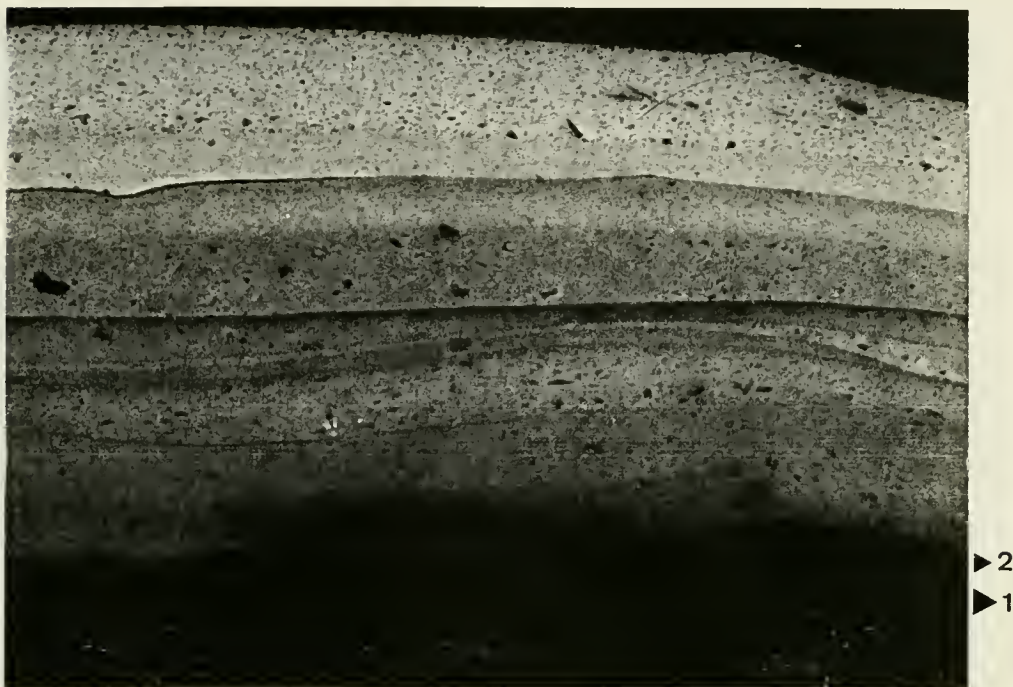
2.5 Y. 8/4

SUMMARY:

Sequence below chair-rail is identical, layers 1-10, then:

- 11: MID-SKY BLUE, +, F
- 12: APPLE GREEN, -, F
- 13: PALE LIME GREEN, -, F
- 14: PALE LIME GREEN, +, F?
- 15: LIME GREEN, +, F

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB201:20

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION: fireplace, punched decoration in central frieze panel of mantlepiece

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/5/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: TURQUOISE BLUE, +, P

2: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F

3: CREAM-YELLOW, +,F

4: CREAM-YELLOW, -,F

5: CREAM-YELLOW, -,F

6: CREAM-YELLOW, -, F, D--

7: OFF-WHITE, +, P

8: CREAM-GRAY, --, F

9: CREAM, -,P

10: CREAM-YELLOW, -, F

11: CREAM-GRAY, +, F

12: PALE YELLOW, +,F

13: CREAM-GRAY, +, F, D--

14: PALE CREAM, +,F

15: WHITE, +, F

16: WHITE, +, F

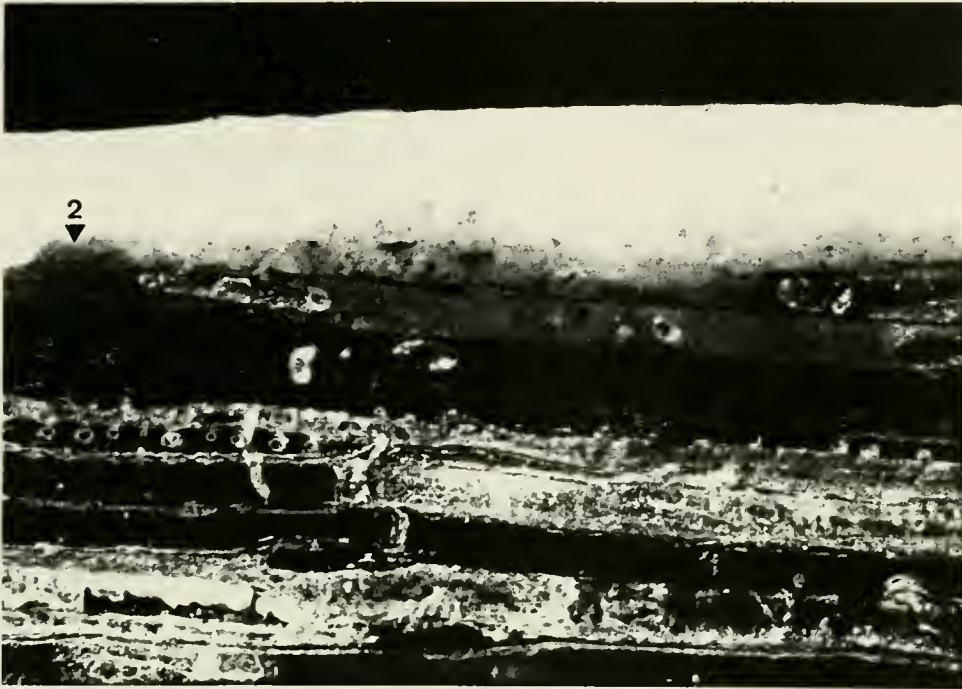
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

2.5B 5/4

SUMMARY:

blue layers containing Prussian blue; finish on all wood work in 201

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB201:18

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

window 02, left coverboards, 2' above sill

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/5/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, P SMALL ANGULAR DK. BLUE PARTICLES

2: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F FR.

3: OFF-WHITE, +, F? FR.

4: WHITE, -, F

5: OFF-WHITE, +, F

6: WHITE, -, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

2.5B 5/4

SUMMARY:

Stripped element

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB201:3 and CB201:11

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

W.wall, chair-rail fascia, 6" s. of door to 203

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/4/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, P, FR.

2: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F SMALL ANGULAR DARK BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES

3: PALE CREAM, +, F

4: PALE CREAM, -, F

5: OFF-WHITE, +, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

2.5B 5/4

SUMMARY:

Stripped element. Cap sample 201:11 carries only 4 layers, with no evidence of bi-coloring:

1: TURQUOISE BLUE, FR COLLECTED IN WOOD CELLS

2: WHITE, +, P

3: PALE CREAM, +, P

4: WHITE, +, F. COARSE, FREQUENT VOIDS

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB: 201:4

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

W.wall, baseboard fascia, 6" S. of door to 203

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, FR, COLLECTED IN WOOD CELLS

2: DEEP-RED-BROWN, -, F

3: PALE CREAM, -, F

4: DEEP RED-BROWN, -, F RED & BLACK PIGMENT PARTICLES

5: OFF-WHITE, --, P COARSE, SLIGHTLY OPAQUE

6: DARK DRAB BLUE-GRAY, -, F BLUE-BLACK PARTICLES

7: WHITE, --, I

8: WHITE, --, F

9: WHITE, --, F

10: WHITE -, F

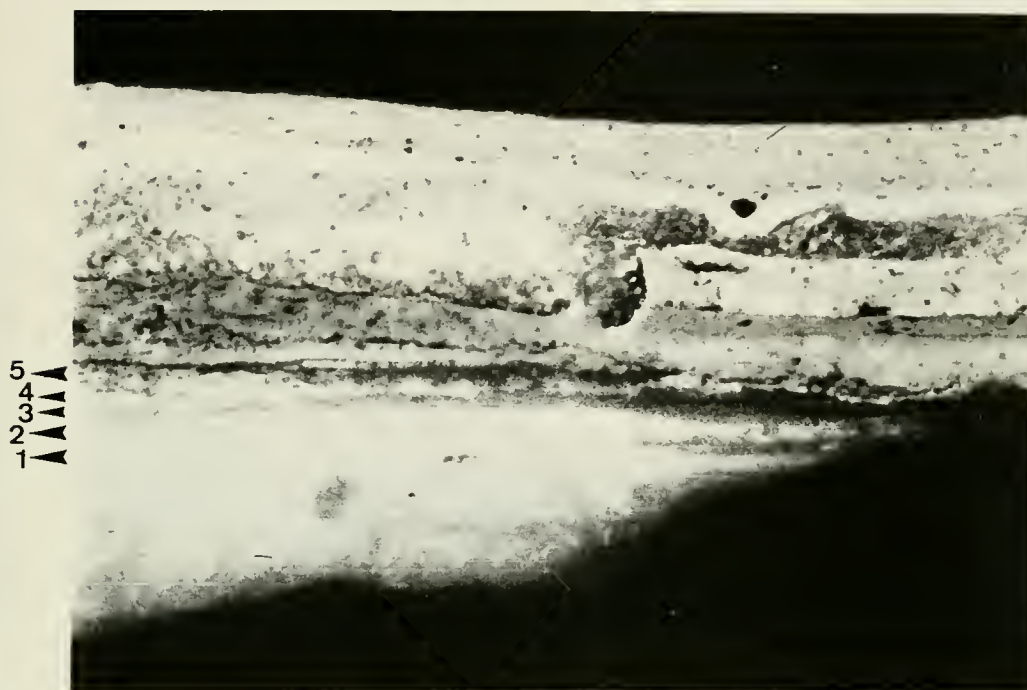
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

2.5B 5/4

SUMMARY:

Bi-colored baseboard as for rooms 101-3

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB201:10

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E.wall, plaster above chair-rail, 4" N. of window 07

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/5/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

1: OFF-WHITE, —, F OPAQUE, COARSE

2: OFF-WHITE, +, F DITTO

3: OFF-WHITE, —, F DITTO

4: OFF-WHITE, +, F, DITTO W/ LG. VOIDS

5: OFF-WHITE, -, F

6: GRAY-CREAM, -, F

7: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F,D-

8: YELLOW-CREAM, -, P, D-

9: PALE CREAM, +, F

10: OFF-WHITE +, P? OPAQUE, COARSE, VERY UNEVEN LAYER

11: WHITE, -, F?

12: PALE SKY BLUE, -, F

13: SKY-BLUE, +, F

14: SKY-BLUE, -, F

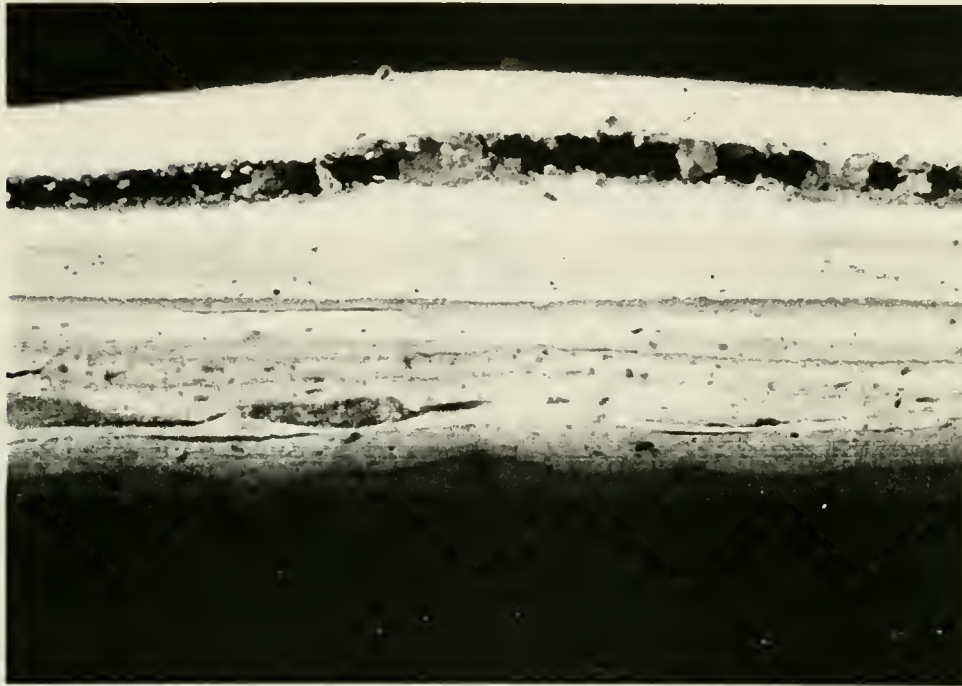
MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

not matched

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-5 possibly distempers w. some oil component. Plaster has not apparently been stripped.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



SAMPLE #: CB202:15a
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
fireplace surround, left 'ear' of mantle support

DATE REMOVED: 3/27/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/8/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

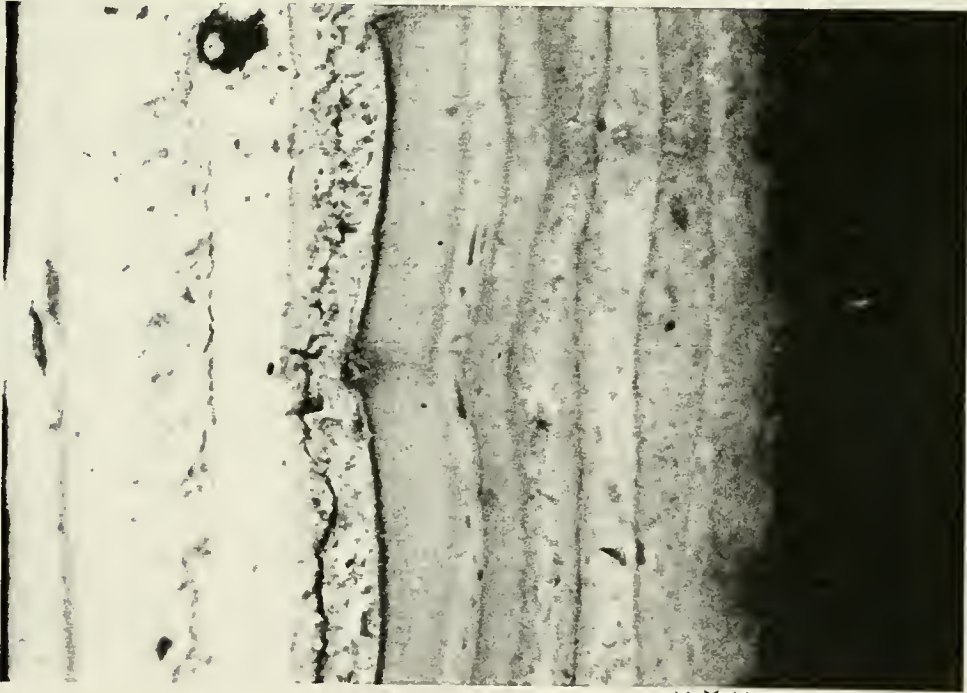
SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, P, LG. DARK BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES | 11: PALE CREAM, +, F |
| 2: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F DITTO | 12: PALSE CREAM, +, F |
| 3: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F | 13: PALE YELLOW, +, F |
| 4: OFF-WHITE, -, F | 14: PALE CREAM, -, I |
| 5: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F | 15: PALE CREAM, -, F |
| 6: PALE YELLOW WHITE, -, F | 16: WHITE, +, F |
| 7: PALE CREAM, -, F LG. CRYSTALLINE BLEBS | 17: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D- | 18: WHITE, -, F |
| 9: PALE CREAM-YELLOW | |
| 10: PALE CREAM, +, F | |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
2.5B:5/4

SUMMARY:
As for room 201.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA



2
1

SAMPLE #: CB202:26 DATE REMOVED: 3/27/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
window 12, muntin

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/8/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERiation:

- 1: PALE CREAM-WHITE, -, P
- 2: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 3: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 4: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D--
- 5: OFF-WHITE, +, I
- 6: PALE GRAY, -, F, D--
- 7: PALE CREAM-GRAY, +, F, D--
- 8: PALE CREAM, -, P
- 9: PALE CREAM GRAY, +, F, V DARKER OPAQUE SURFACE LAYER
- 10: PALE YELLOW, +, F POWDERY
- 11: PALE CREAM GRAY, +F, D
- 12: WHITE, +, F?
- 13: PALE GRAY, +, F
- 14: PALE GRAY, +, F
- 15: WHITE, +, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

not matched

SUMMARY:

Muntin and sash of this window different from all other woodwork in 202

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB202:4

DATE REMOVED: 3/27/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

W.wall chair-rail fascia, 18" n. of door to 203

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1: TURQUOISE BLUE, +, F POSS. 2 LAYERS | 11: PALE GRAY-CREAM, -, F |
| 2: PALE GRAY, —, F | 12: PALE YELLOW, -, F |
| 3: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F | 13: PALE CREAM-GRAY, -, I |
| 4: PALE YELLOW-WHITE, +, F | 14: WHITE, +, F |
| 5: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D— | 15: PALE GRAY, +, F |
| 6: OFF-WHITE, -, F | 16: WHITE, -, F |
| 7: WHITE, —, F | 17: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D— | 18: WHITE, -, F |
| 9: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, I | |
| 10: PALE CREAM, -, P | |

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5B.5/4

SUMMARY:

Chair-rail does not appear to have been bi-colored.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB202:21
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
E.wall, baseboard, top edge of fascia

DATE REMOVED: 3/27/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/8/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: PALE TURQUOISE BLUE , FR COLLECTED IN WOOD CELLS	11: CREAM-GRAY, +, F
2: DEEP RED-BROWN, --,F, COARSE	12: PALE YELLOW, +, F
3: CREAM, --, P	13: CREAM-GRAY, --, I
4: RED-BROWN, +, F ORANGE, RED AND BLACK PIGMENT PARTICLES	14: WHITE, -, F
5: BLUE-GRAY, +, F, D MOTTLED	15: OFF-WHITE, -, P
6: GRAY-CREAM, -, P COARSE	16: WHITE, -, F?
7: PALE GRAY-CREAM COARSE	17: OFF-WHITE, +, F
8: OFF-WHITE, -, F OPAQUE, COARSE	18: WHITE, -, F
9: PALE CREAM, -, I	
10: PALE CREAM-WHITE, -, F	

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

5YR.2/2

SUMMARY:

Baseboard probably bi-colored as in other rooms. No visible dark blue pigment particles in first fragmented layer.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

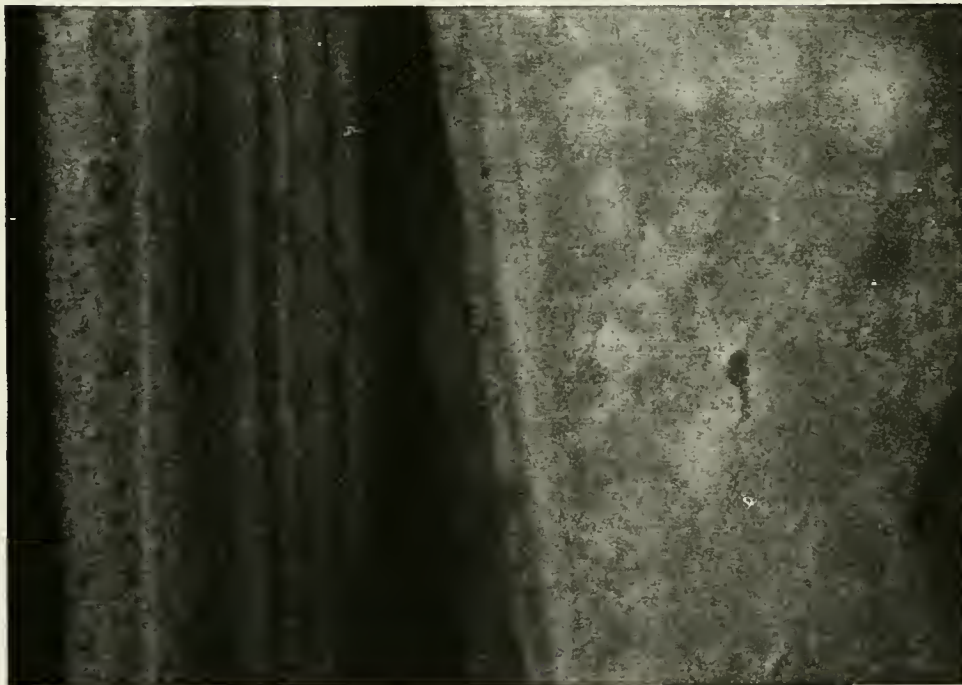
SAMPLE #: CB202:13 **DATE REMOVED:** 3/27/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
E.wall plaster above chair rail, 2.5' N. of fireplace

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED:5/8/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- 1-10: OFF-WHITE, --, F OPAQUE, COARSE
- 11-16: CREAM-WHITE, --, F, OPAQUE, SOME VOIDS
- 17: PALE CREAM, -, P
- 18: PALE YELLOW, -, F
- 19: GRAY-CREAM, +, F? I.G. BROWN OPAQUE CRYSTALS
- 20: YELLOW-CREAM, +, F
- 21: YELLOW-ORANGE, +, P
- 22: WHITE, -F
- 23: PALE GRAY, +, I
- 24: OFF-WHITE, -P
- 25: WHITE, --, F, POWDERY SURFACE



MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL

FINISH:

not matched

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-16 possibly distempers / whitewash

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB204:4

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

window 09, sill edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/7/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: WHITE, --, F FREQUENT VOIDS

2: PALE CREAM-WHITE, +, F?

3: OFF-WHITE, +, F

4: OFF-WHITE, +, F

5: OFF-WHITE, -, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

not matched

SUMMARY:

Stripped but does show tiny fragments of orange layer visible in sample 204:5

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARRY, PA



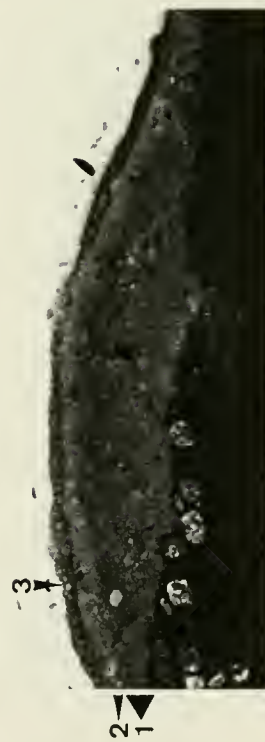
SAMPLE #: CB204:5 DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
window 09, enframent, r. jamb outer filet edge, 2" above dado

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 5/7/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1: YELLOW-ORANGE, +, P | 13: OFF-WHITE, -, F? |
| 2: PALE YELLOW-ORANGE, -, F | 14: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 3: MID-GRAY, -, F BLACK PIGMENT PARTICLES | 15: PALE YELLOW, +, F. |
| 4: OFF-WHITE, +, I | 16: YELLOW-CREAM, -, F, D- |
| 5: OFF-WHITE, ++, F | 17: PALE CREAM, +, F |
| 6: OFF-WHITE, -, F | 18: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 7: OFF-WHITE, -, F | 19: WHITE, +, F |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, +, I, DIRT PARTICLES | 20: WHITE, ++, F POSS. 2 LAYERS |
| 9: OFF-WHITE, + | 21: OFF-WHITE, ++, F |
| 10: PALE CREAM, --, F | 22: WHITE, +, F |
| 11: CREAM-WHITE, +, F | |
| 12: PALE CREAM, +, F | |



MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:
10YR 6/8

SUMMARY:
Finish for door, door enframent.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: COLLEN BROOK FARM, UPPER DARBY, PA

SAMPLE #: CB204:1

DATE REMOVED: 3/18/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E.wall, plaster above dado rail, 3' S. of door to 203

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/29/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

1-6: OFF-WHITE, -/-, F OPAQUE, CRYSTALLINE, COARSE

7: PALE SKY BLUE, +, I, MID-BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES

8: PALE GRAY-BLUE, -, F

9: YELLOW-CREAM, -, F

10: YELLOW-CREAM, -, F

11: PALE ORANGE CREAM, +, F

12: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F

13: PALE CREAM, +, F

14: PALE GRAY, +, F

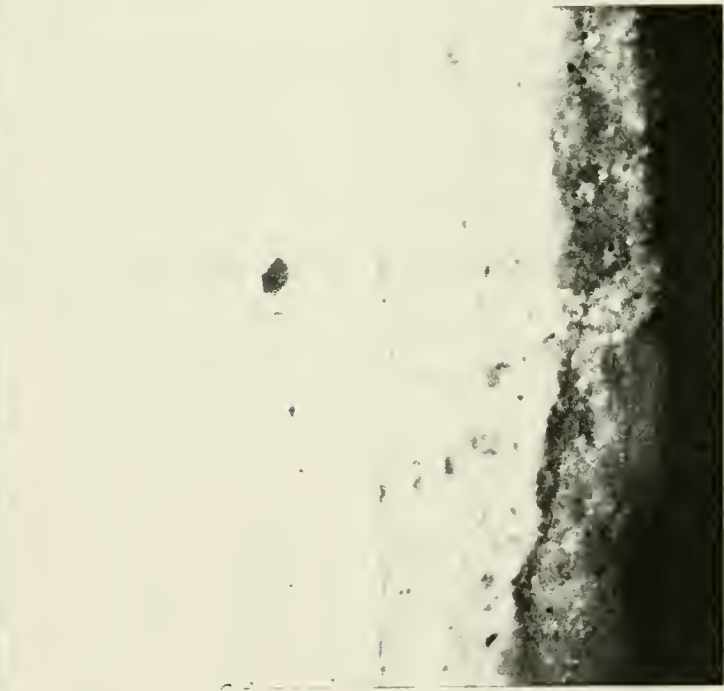
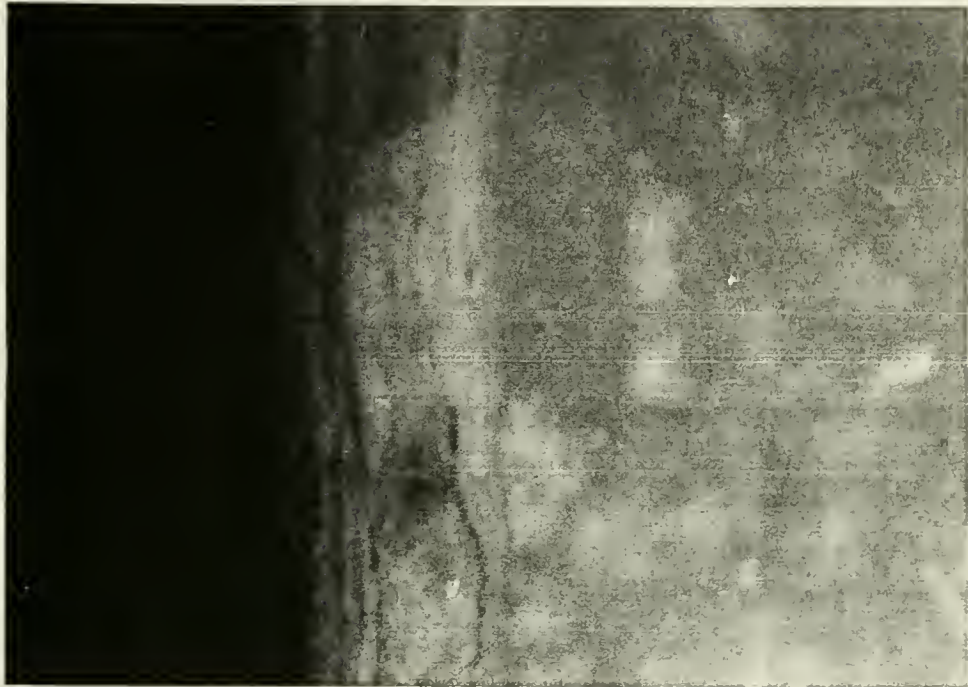
15: WHITE, +, F

MUNSELL COLOR NOTATION FOR ORIGINAL FINISH:

not matched

SUMMARY:

Layer 1-6 possibly distempers/whitewash



CB 204:1

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WPar 6

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E.wall, 1' N. of fireplace, baseboard cap

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: OFF-WHITE, --, F, FR

11: WHITE, +, F

2: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, --, F,FR

12: GRAY-YELLOW, ++, F? COARSE, CRYSTALLINE

3: OFF-WHITE, +, F

13: WHITE, +, F

4: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, --, F? SOME RED PIGMENT PARTICLES

14: OFF-WHITE, +, F

5: YELLOW-CREAM, +, F

15: OFF-WHITE, --, F

6: OFF-WHITE, -, F

7: PALE CREAM, --, F

8: PALE CREAM, +, F

9: GRAY-CREAM, ++, F OPAQUE, COARSE

10: PALE CEEAM, +, F

SUMMARY:

Incomplete; missing top 2 layers. Layer 6 fluoresces for the presence of zinc.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WPar 7

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

S.wall, window 102, sill

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/25/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, P, FR | 11: PALE CREAM, +, F, V, FR |
| 2: ORANGE-BROWN, --, GR, FR | 12: PALE CREAM, ++, I |
| 3: DEEP-BROWN, ---, F, FR GLASSY | 13: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F |
| 4: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, P, FR | 14: YELLOW-CREAM, +, F, FR OPAQUE |
| 5: PALE GRAY, +, F, D- | 15: WHITE, ++, F, D |
| 6: PALE GRAY, +, F, D- | 16: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F |
| 7: OFF-WHITE, --, F, D- | 17: OFF-WHITE, -, I |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D+ | 18: PALE CREAM, +, F |
| 9: OFF-WHITE, -, F, FR, D- | 19: WHITE, --, F, POWDERY SURFACE |
| 10: PALE CREAM, +, F, D- | |

SUMMARY:

Incomplete; no substrate. Layers 1-3 possibly correspond to graining. Element appears to have been stripped after layer 4..

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WPar 1

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N. wall plaster beneath window 123

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/25/92

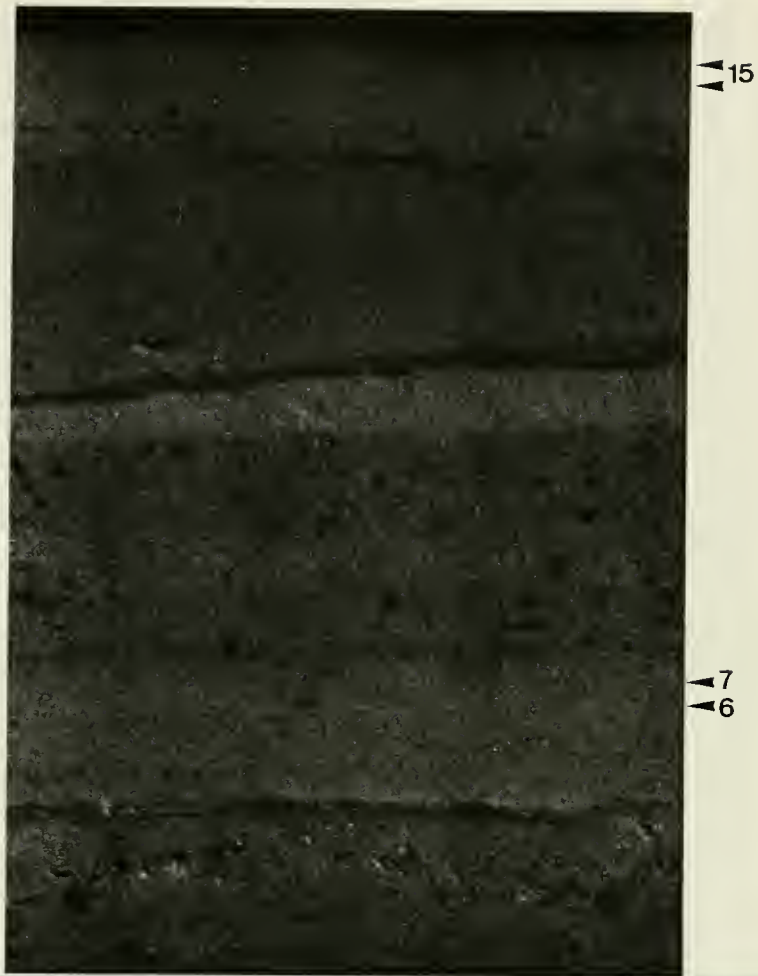
SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1: OFF-WHITE W. BLUE GLASSY PIGMENT PARTICLES, +++, F | 11: OFF-WHITE, +, P? OPAQUE, CRYSTALLINE |
| 2: OFF-WHITE, --, F FR | 12: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 3: PALE CREAM, +, F, OCCASIONAL BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES | 13: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 4: PALE CREAM, +, F | 14: PALE GRAY, +, F |
| 5: OFF-WHITE, +, F | 15: PALE GRAY, -, F |
| 6: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F | 16: WHITE, +, F |
| 7: PALE CREAM, +, I, SMALL RED PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES | |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, +, F, SMALL RED PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES | |
| 9: PALE GRAY, +, I A FEW RED PIGMENTS | |
| 10: WHITE, +, F, V | |

SUMMARY:

Layer 5 fluoresces for presence of zinc. Layers 6/7-15 correspond to layers 16-24 on Wyck archeological sample.



WPar 1

194

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WPar 3

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

S.wall plaster , 5" E. of window 101

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/25/92

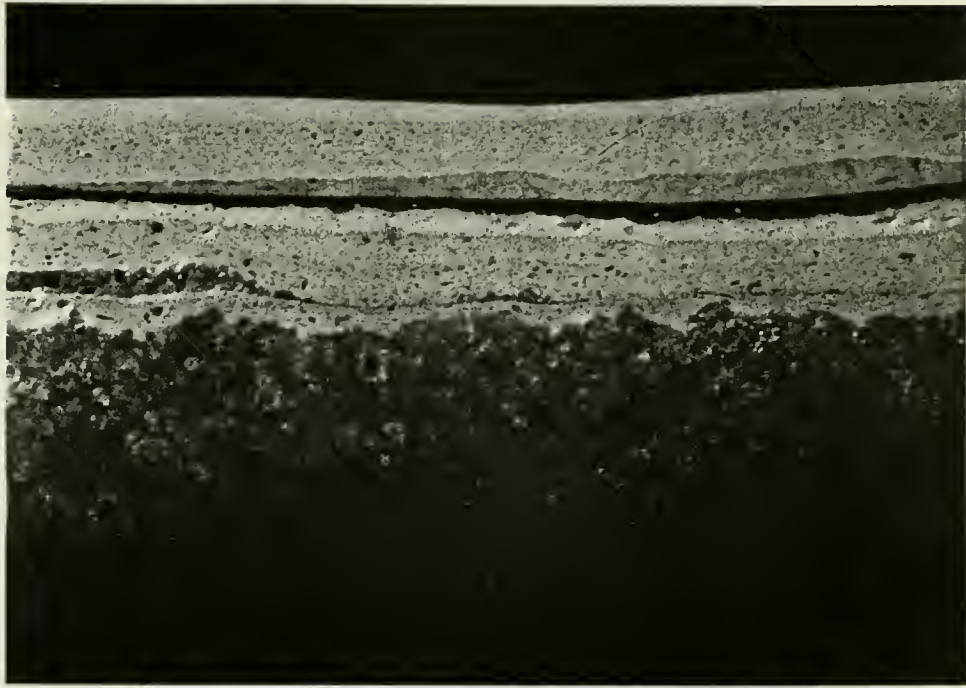
SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1: OFF-WHITE, ++, W. OCCASIONAL BLUE PARTICLES | 11: PALE GRAY, -, F, OPAQUE |
| 2: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F BROWN CRYSTALLINE PARTICLES | 12: OFF-WHITE, -, F |
| 3: OFF-WHITE, ++, F, OPAQUE | 13: PALE GRAY, +, I |
| 4: OFF-WHITE, -, F | 14: PALE CREAM, -, F |
| 5: OFF-WHITE, -, F | |
| 6: PALE CREAM, -,F, SOME RED PIGMENT PARTICLES | |
| 7: PALE CREAM -, F A FEW RED PIGMENT PARTICLES | |
| 8: PALE GRAY-CREAM, -, I DITTO | |
| 9: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D | |
| 10: OFF-WHITE, -, F, FR OPAQUE | |

SUMMARY:

Layer 5 fluoresces for the presence of zinc. Layers 1-11 correspond to layers 16-24 on Wyck archeological sample.



11



1

1

WPar 3

196

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WPar 5

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E.wall, plaster 1' N. of fireplace

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/25/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- 1: PALE BLUE-WHITE, ++, F, W. BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 2: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F SOME RED-ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 3: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 4: PALE YELLOW, -, F
- 5: OFF-WHITE, -, F OCCASIONAL RED & BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 6: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 7: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 8: GRAY-WHITE, -, F FR OPAQUE, COARSE
- 9: OFF-WHITE, ++, F RED & BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 10: OFF-WHITE, +, F

SUMMARY:

Layer 3 fluoresces for the presence of zinc. Layer 1 corresponding to tinted finish coat, c.1824.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

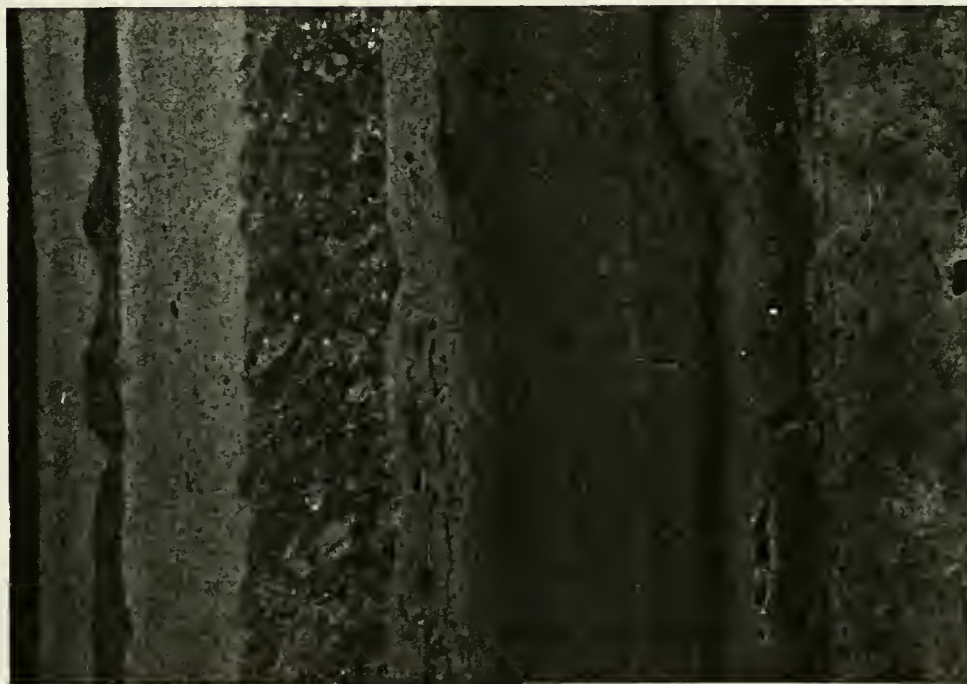
SAMPLE #: Wyck archaeological sample
DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
excavated 1986 from W.end of house, in vicinity of lean-to

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/28/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERiation:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1: PALE BLUE -WHITE, ++, F, MID-BLUE GLASSY SHARDS | 13: YELLOW-CREAM, -F |
| 2: YELLOW-GRAY, +, P | 14: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F |
| 3: OFF-WHITE, --, F COARSE | 15: PALE CREAM, --, F |
| 4: PALE SKY BLUE, +, F, | 16: OFF-WHITE, ++, F CRYSTALLINE |
| 5: BLUE-GREEN, --, F SLIGHTLY OPAQUE | 17: PALE CREAM, -f |
| 6: PALE CREAM, ++, F MID-BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES | 18: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, I |
| 7: PALE MINT GREEN, +, I, SLIGHTLY OPAQUE | 19: PALE CREAM, -, F |
| 8: PALE MINT GREEN, -, F DITTO | 20: OFF-WHITE, --, F, D-- |
| 9: MINT GREEN, +, F, D-- POSS. 2 LAYERS | 21: OFF-WHITE, -, F, OPAQUE |
| 10: PALE GRAY-BLUE, --, I | 22: WHITE, -, F |
| 11: PALE BLUE, -, F, D- | 23: PALE GRAY-CREAM, -, F COARSE |
| 12: MID-YELLOW CREAM | 24: WHITE, -, F |



24

16

SUMMARY:

Layer 4 fluorescing for zinc. Layers 16-24 correspond to layers 1-11 on WPar 3 and layers 6/7-15 on WPar 1.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WHall 7a

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

Staircase, profile of 2nd. tread.

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/26/92

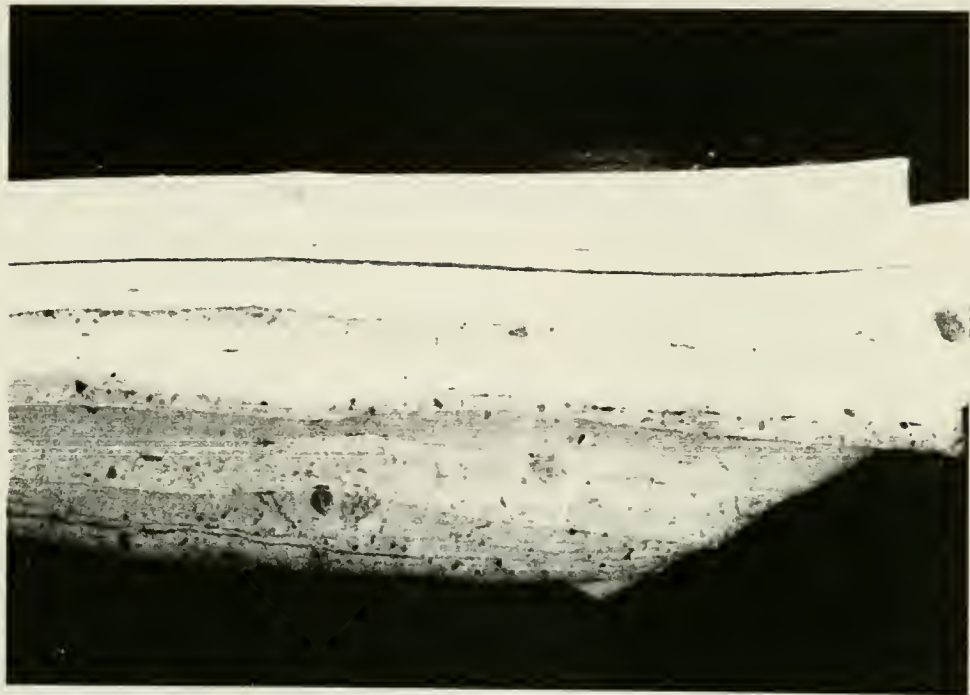
SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1: YELLOW-CREAM, -, P, D- YELLOW PIGMENT PARTICLES | 11: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D |
| 2: YELLOW-CREAM, -, F, D- | 12: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D- SOME VOIDS |
| 3: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, I | 13: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D- |
| 4: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F, D- | 14: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D SEPARATION AT SURFACE |
| 5: PALE YELLOW CREAM, -, F, D- A FEW LG. YELLOW/ WHITE PIGMENT BLEBS | 15: PALE CREAM, -, P |
| 6: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F, V | 16: OFF-WHITE, -, I |
| 7: PALE CREAM, +, F | 17: WHITE, +, F |
| 8: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F, D-- | |
| 9: PALE CREAM, -, F, D | |
| 10: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- | |

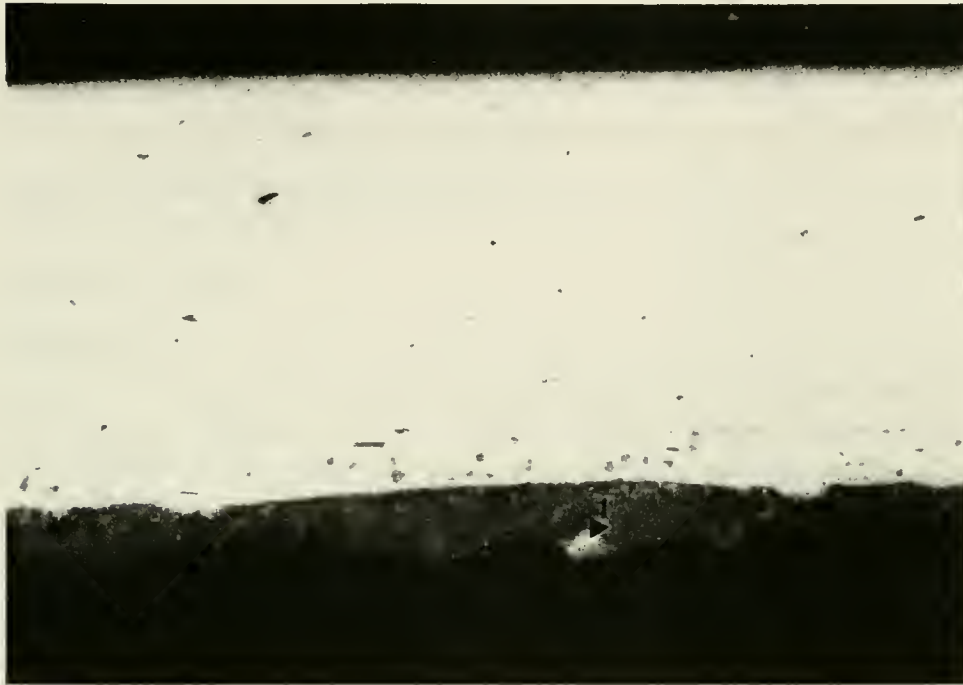
SUMMARY:

Layers 9 & 10 fluoresce for the presence of zinc.



WHall 7a
200

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA



SAMPLE #: WHall 10
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
9th. staircase riser

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/26/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: WHITE, -, FR
- 2: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, F? COARSE
- 3: OFF-WHITE, +, F SOME VOIDS
- 4: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, ++, 1? ISOLATED ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 5: OFF-WHITE, -F, D-
- 6: WHITE, -, F?, D-
- 7: PALE CREAM, +, F, SOME LG. CRYSTALLINE ORANGE-RED AGGLOMERATES
- 8: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 9: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 10: OFF-WHITE, +, F

SUMMARY:

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WHall 2

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

W.wall plaster 1' S. of doors to Room 103/ WCon

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/25/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1: OFF-WHITE, —, F, OPAQUE | 11: DARK GRAY-BLUE, —, F,D |
| 2: PALE YELLOW-GRAY, +, P | 12: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, I |
| 3: OFF-WHITE, —, F, D-- | 13: MID-YELLOW ORANGE, -, F SOME ORANGE GLASSY PARTICLES |
| 4: PALE SKY BLUE, —, F OPAQUE, | 14: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F, D- |
| 5: PALE SKY BLUE, —, F, OPAQUE, DISINTEGRATING | 15: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F,D. |
| 6: PALE BLUE-GRAY, —, F, OPAQUE | 16: CREAM, +, F |
| 7: PALE GRAY-WHIYE, +, F? BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES | 17: PALE CREAM, -, F |
| 8: PALE GRAY-WHITE, -, F DITTO | 18: OFF-WHITE, +, F |
| 9: PALE BLUE-GRAY, -, F, D-- | |
| 10: SKY BLUE, -, F OCCASIONAL BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES. | |

SUMMARY:

Compare with WHall 9; latter missing layers 8-15.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WHall 9

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

W.wall, staircase, near 2nd. bannister rail attachment

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/26/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

1: OFF-WHITE, -, F OPAQUE, COARSE

11: PALE CREAM-WHITE, +, F

2: PALE YELLOW-GRAY, +, F OPAQUE

12: OFF-WHITE, +, F POWDERY SURFACE

3: YELLOW-GRAY, +, F, OPAQUE

4: YELLOW-BROWN, -, I? OPAQUE

5: PALE GRAY BLUE, ++, F SOME LG. RED PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES

6: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D-

7: PALE SKY-BLUE, ++, F

8: PALE SKY BLUE, +, F OCCASIONAL MID-BLUE ANGULAR PIGMENT PARTICLES

9: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, I/F?

10: CREAM, +, F OCCASIONAL RED-ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES

SUMMARY:

Compare with WHall 2. Possible discontinuity between layers 8-9.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WCon 9

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

W. wall plaster, 3" above baseboard

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/23/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

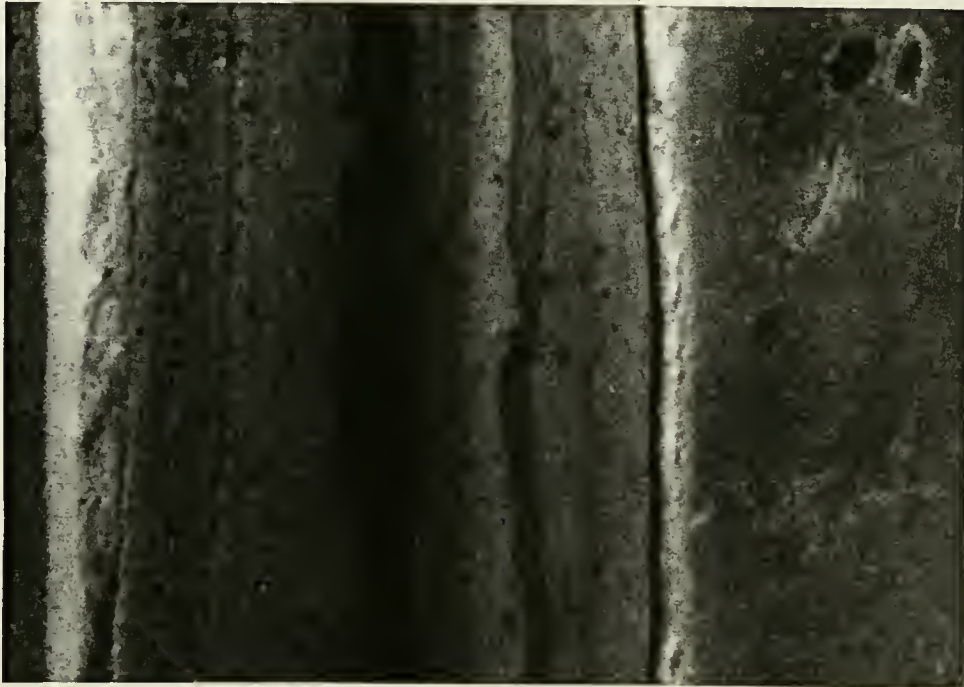
SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1: PALE BLUE-WHITE, +++, F, W. BLUE ANGULAR PIGMENT AGGLOM.. | 11: PALE MINT GREEN, -, I |
| 2: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F SOME BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES | 12: PALE YELLOW-GREEN, +, F |
| 3: OFF-WHITE, --, F, D- | 13: PALE GRAY-BLUE, -, F |
| 4: PALE CREAM, -, F, D- | 14: PALE GRAY-BLUE, -, F |
| 5: OFF-WHITE, --, F, D- | 15: PALE SKY-BLUE, +, F |
| 6: PALE GRAY, +, F | 16: WHITE, -, F |
| 7: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D- OPAQUE | 17: PALE SKY-BLUE, +, F |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, +, F, LG. BLUE PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES | |
| 9: OFF-WHITE, +, F? SLIGHTLY OPAQUE | |
| 10: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D- | |

SUMMARY:

Layer 4 corresponds to layer 2 in sample WCon 15.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA



SAMPLE #: WCon 15 DATE REMOVED: 1/2/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
S.wall plaster at S.W corner

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/25/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- 1: ORANGE ---, F? OPAQUE
- 2: YELLOW-CREAM, ++, F, ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 3: PALE GRAY, +, F SOME BLUE PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES
- 4: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D--
- 5: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D-- OCCASIONAL BLUE PIGMENT PART.
- 6: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 7: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 8: OFF-WHITE, IR TRACES OF LAYER
- 9: MINT-GREEN, +, I
- 10: PALE YELLOW-GREEN, +, F
- 11: PALE MINT-GREEN, --, F
- 12: PALE YELLOW-GREEN, -- F
- 13: PALE MINT-GREEN, --, F, D
- 14: OFF-WHITE ---, F?
- 15: PALE BLUE, -, F
- 16: PALE SKY-BLUE, -, F, D-
- 17: OFF-WHITE, + F, POWDERY
- 18: WHITE, +, I
- 19: PALE BLUE, +, F

SUMMARY:

Layer 1 possibly a size or glaze layer on plaster

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WCon 2

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

W.wall, baseboard fascia to s. of doors to 104/ WLib

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/23/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, --, P?, FR

11: OFF-WHITE, + F?

2: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D-

12: SKY-BLUE, ++, F

3: OFF-WHITE, -, F, OPAQUE

13: WHITE, +, F

4: PALE GRAY, -, F, D

5: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D+

6: PALE MINT GREEN, +, F FR

7: OFF-WHITE, --, F?

8: PALE GRAY-GREEN, +, F MANY VOIDS

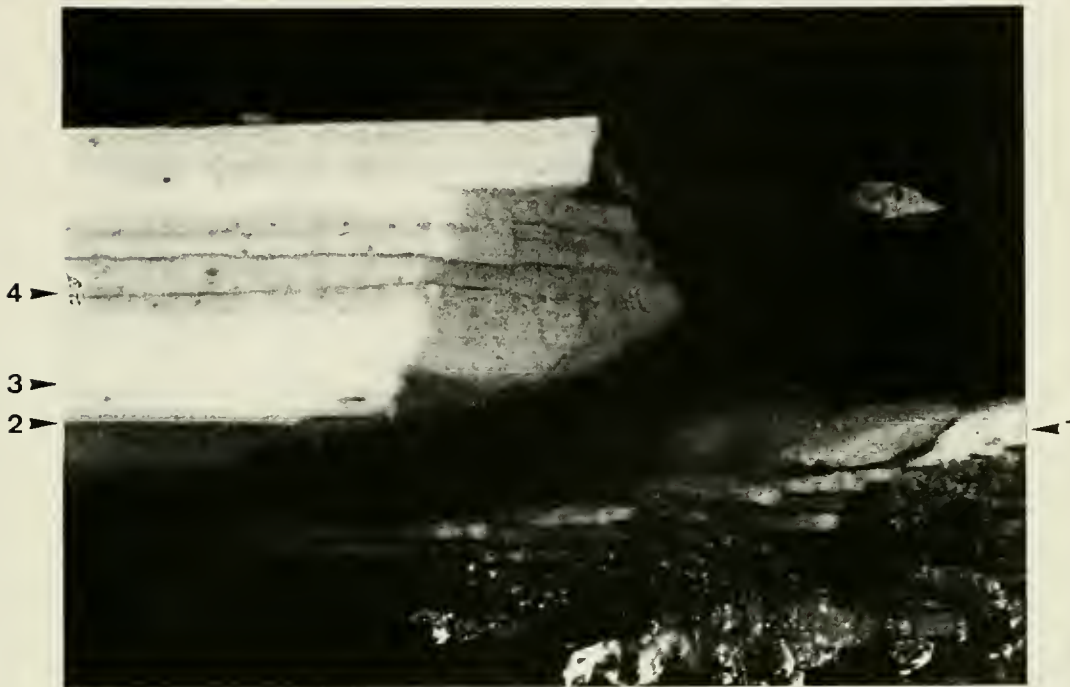
9: PALE CREAM, --, I?

10: SKY-BLUE, +, F OCCASIONAL LG. BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES, SOME VOIDS

SUMMARY:

Layers 5 and 6 possibly corresponding to layers 4 and 18 of WCon 19.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA



SAMPLE #: WCon 11
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
S.wall baseboard, fascia

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/23/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

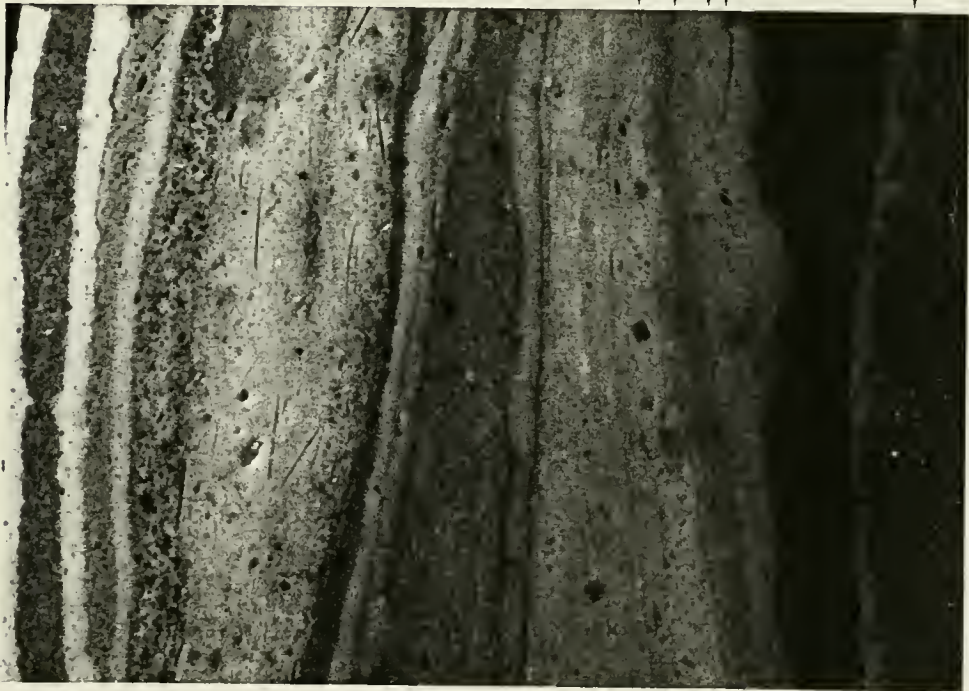
SERIATION:

- 1: YELLOW-CREAM, +, P
- 2: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D-
- 3: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +++, F, D-
- 4: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D-
- 5: PALE CREAM, +, I
- 6: PALE CREAM, --, F
- 7: PALE CREAM, -, F, D-
- 8: WHITE, +, F
- 9: PALE GRAY, +, F ISOLATED RED PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 10: PALE CREAM, +, F SOMEYELLOW PIGMENT PARTICLES

SUMMARY:

Possibly stripped; compare seriations from cap samples.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA



SAMPLE #: WCon 19 DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
N.wall, baseboard cap, bead

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/23/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: YELLOW-CREAM, --, P
- 2: YELLOW-CREAM, --, F, FR
- 3: PALE GRAY-GREEN, +, F
- 4: WHITE, --, F?
- 5: PALE CREAM, +, F, D-
- 6: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, --, F, D-
- 7: PALE CREAM, --, F, D-
- 8: PALE CREAM, --, F, D-
- 9: OFF-WHITE, -, F
- 10: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, ++, F, D--
- 11: OFF-WHITE, ++, F ORANGE & BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 12: PALE CREAM, ++, F, D-
- 13: OFF-WHITE, --, F, D- OPAQUE COARSE
- 14: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D+, FR
- 15: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D+
- 16: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D+, FR
- 17: PALE YELLOW-GREEN, ++, F
- YELLOW & BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 18: OFF-WHITE, -, I, FR
- 19: PALE GRAY-GREEN, -, F, FR
- 20: PALE CREAM, -, F, D-
- 21: PALE GRAY-GREEN, -, F, FR
- 22: OFF-WHITE, ++, F MANY VOIDS
- 23: MID-BLUE, +, F I.G. BLUE-BLACK AGGLOMERATES
- 24: CREAM, -, F
- 25: PALE SKY BLUE, +, I
- 26: OFF-WHITE, +, F
- 27: SKY-BLUE, ++, F
- 28: WHITE, +, F

SUMMARY:

Compare WCon 2 [possibly stripped]

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WCon 29

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N.wall sliding doors to exterior, left jamb to frame, outer squared edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/23/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: YELLOW-CREAM, +, P

2: YELLOW-CREAM -, F

3: OFF-WHITE, -, F, D-

4: OFF-WHITE, +, I OCCASIONAL BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES

5: PALE CREAM, +, F, D-

6: OFF-WHITE, +, F

7: PALE CREAM, +, F

8: PALE GRAY-BLUE, +, F, SOME BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES

9: PALE CREAM, -, I

10: OFF-WHITE, ++, F, D+

11: OFF-WHITE, ++, F, D

12: OFF-WHITE, +, F, D-

13: YELLOW-CREAM, --, I

14: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, --, F

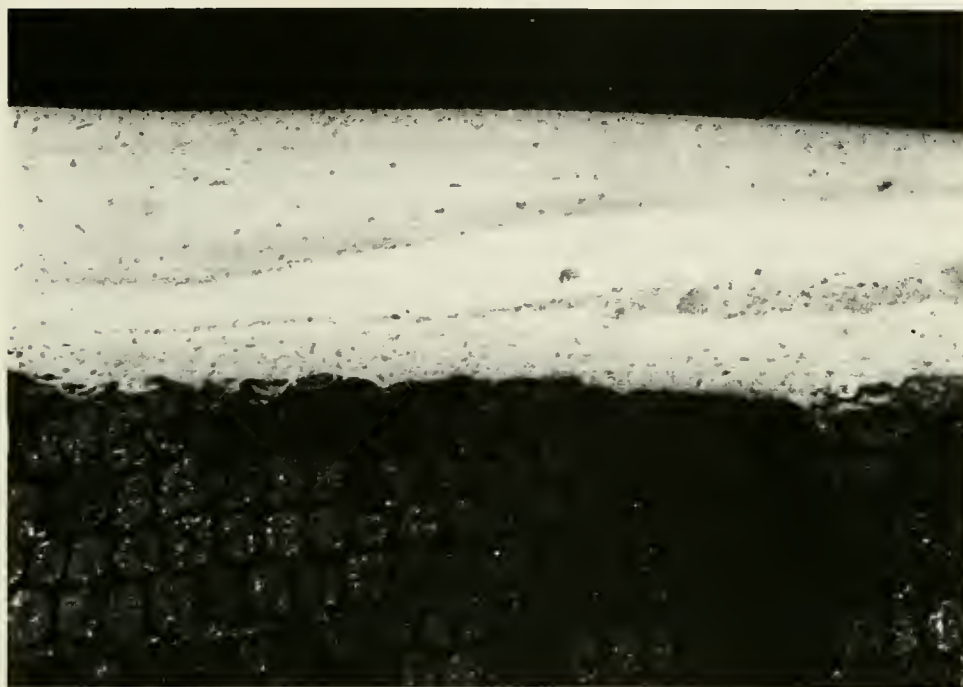
15: WHITE, +, F

16: PALE CREAM, --, F,

17: PALE CREAM, +, F

SUMMARY:

Compare with Welsh's 1986 seriation for sliding doors [HSR Appendix 3, p.13].



SAMPLE #: WLib 3

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N.wall, wooden wainscot beneath window 120, top edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/24/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: PALE CREAM, +, P QUITE AS COARSE

2: OFF-WHITE, +, F, FR

3: OFF-WHITE, -, P

4: WHITE, ++, F ISOLATED BLUE-BLACK PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES

SUMMARY:

Wainscotting probably added in late 19th. century.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WLib 6

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

W.wall plaster from panel between door to 105 and library cabinet

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/24/92

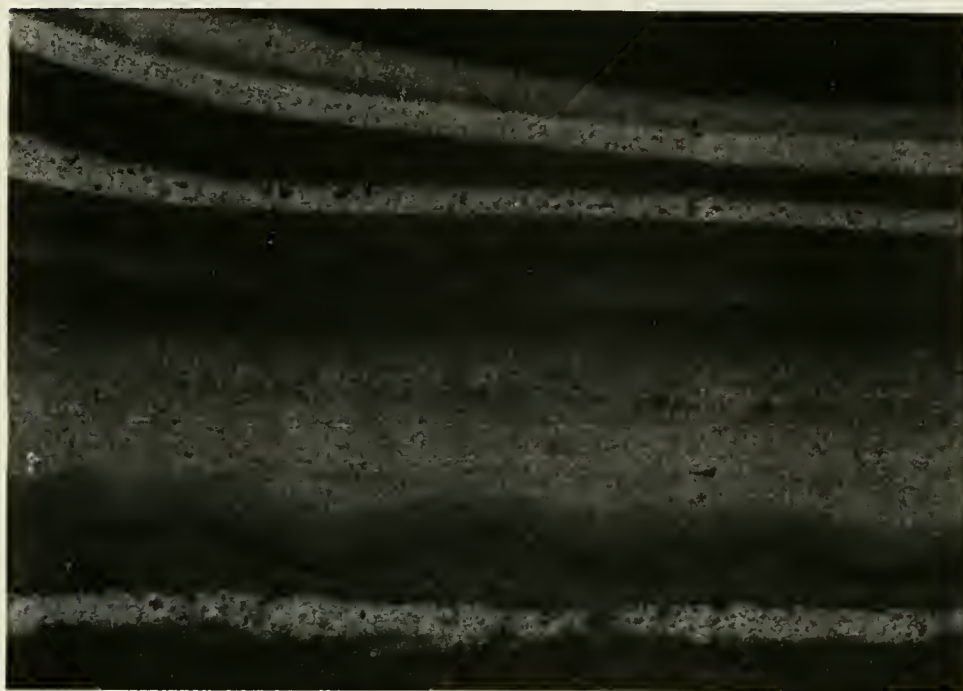
SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1: PALE BLUE-WHITE, +++, W. BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES | 11: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F |
| 2: PALE YELLOW CREAM, --, F FR OPAQUE COARSE | 12: PALE YELLOW-GREEN, +, I DK. RED PIGMENT PARTICLES |
| 3: PALE YELLOW-GRAY, --, F FR BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES | 13: PALE GRAY-GREEN, --, F BLUE-BLACK PIGMENT PARTICLES |
| 4: PALE BLUE-GRAY, --, F, D- | 14: OFF-WHITE, -, F |
| 5: PALE MINT GREEN, +, F, D- | 15: PALE GRAY GREEN, +, P |
| 6: PALE MINT GREEN, -, F | |
| 7: PALE GRAY-GREEN, -, F | |
| 8: GRAY-GREEN, -, I DARK RED PIGMENT PARTICLES | |
| 9: PALE GRAY BLUE, -, F | |
| 10: PALE GRAY-BLUE, -, F BLUE & RED PIGMENT PARTICLES | |

SUMMARY:

Layer 1 corresponds to c.1824 tinted finish plaster. See also Room 101, 103.



SAMPLE #: WLib 11

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E. wall swing doors to 103, r/h door, lowest panel molding

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/24/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F POSSIBLY 2 LAYERS
2: WHITE, -, F, D- OPAQUE, COARSE
3: YELLOW CREAM, ++, F, D
4: YELLOW-CREAM, +, F, -, F, D-
5: PALE CREAM, +, F
6: PALE CREAM, ++, II, COARSE
7: OFF-WHITE, -, F RED & BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES
8: PALE SKY BLUE, +, F DITTO
9: GRAY-GREEN, -, I
10: PALE YELLOW GRAY, -, F

11: PALE MINT GREEN, +, F FR RED PIGMENT PARTICLES
12: PALE MINT GREEN, —, F
13: PALE MINT GREEN, +, F ISOLATED RED PIGMENT PARTICLES
14: WHITE, +, F
15: APPLE GREEN, ++, F SMALL BLUE-BLACK PARTICLES
16: PALE MINT GREEN, --, F
17: OFF-WHITE, —, F
18: PALE GRAY-GREEN, --, F
19: WHITE, +, F.

SUMMARY:

Corresponding to Welsh's seriation for swing doors in 104.



SAMPLE #: WLib 10
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
S.wall, window 105, sill edge

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/24/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: DARK BROWN, --, F? SLIGHTLY GLASSY
- 2: PALE CREAM, +, F
- 3: OFF-WHITE, --, F
- 4: OFF-WHITE, -, I
- 5: OFF-WHITE, --, F
- 6: WHITE, +, F
- 7: WHITE, +, F COARSE

SUMMARY:

Probably stripped. Layer 1 possibly varnish or residue of graining?

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WDin 1

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N. wall, NE corner, 6" above baseboard

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/26/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

1: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F? SOME RED PIGMENT PARTICLES

2: PALE CREAM, -, F, D-

3: PALE CREAM, -, I, OCCASIONAL RED PIGMENT PARTICLES

4: PALE YELLOW-ORANGE, -, F, SOME ORANGE GLASSY PARTICLES

5: OFF-WHITE, -, F BLUE-BLACK PIGMENT PARTICLES , NR. SURFACE OF LAYER

6: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F

SUMMARY:

Possibly plaster Substrate has been renewed, cf. WDin 1.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA



SAMPLE #: WDin 3

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N. wall beneath window 117, just below sill

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/26/92

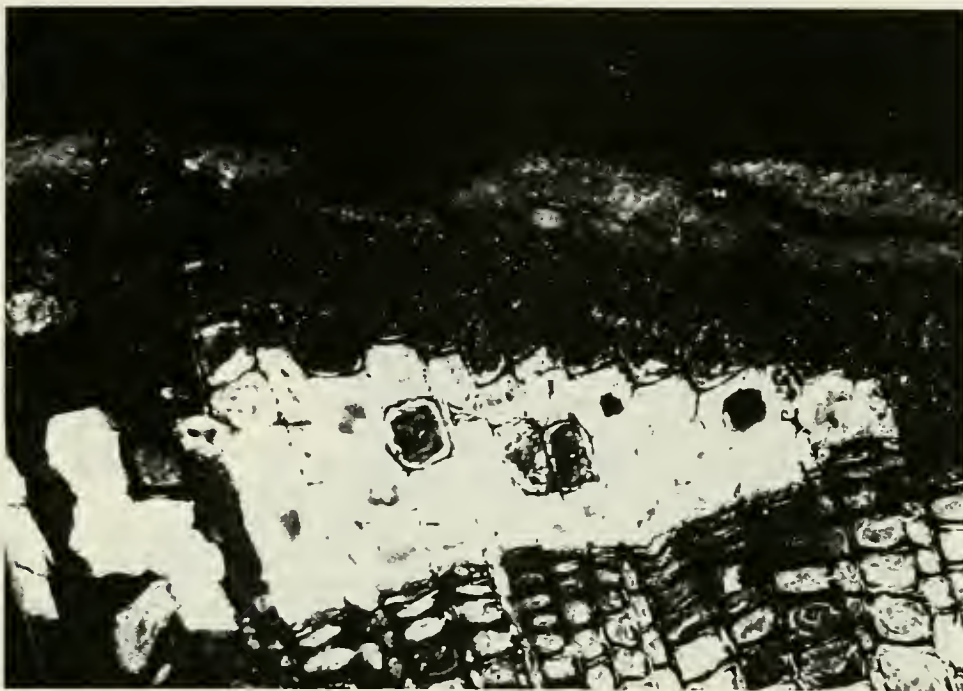
SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1: PALE CREAM, -, F | 11: WHITE ++, F |
| 2: OFF-WHITE, ++, F OPAQUE, SOME LOSSES | 12: PALE CREAM, +, F, D- |
| 3: PALE CREAM, +, F, D- | 13: PALE GRAY CREAM, -, F, SEPARATION BETW.
12 & 13 |
| 4: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, I | 14: WHITE, +, F ISOLATED BLUE PIGMENT
PARTICLES |
| 5: OFF-WHITE, -, F | |
| 6: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F ORANGE PIGMENT PARTICLES | |
| 7: OFF-WHITE, -, I | |
| 8: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F | |
| 9: OFF-WHITE, -, I | |
| 10: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F | |

SUMMARY:

Plaster has possibly been renewed. Compare with WDin 1.



SAMPLE #: WDin 6

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E.wall, cupboard 161, lower unit, shelf edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/26/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: RED-BROWN, +, F FREQUENT BLACK-RED PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES. POSSIBLY 2 LAYERS

2: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, P SOME BLUE-BLACK PARTICLES

3: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F, FR, D-

4: PALE GRAY, -, F, FR SMALL BLACK PARTICLES; DIRT?

SUMMARY:

Possibly stripped? Compare with WDin 8.



SAMPLE #: WDin 8

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E.wall, cupboard 161, r/h unit, underside of 1st. shelf

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/28/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

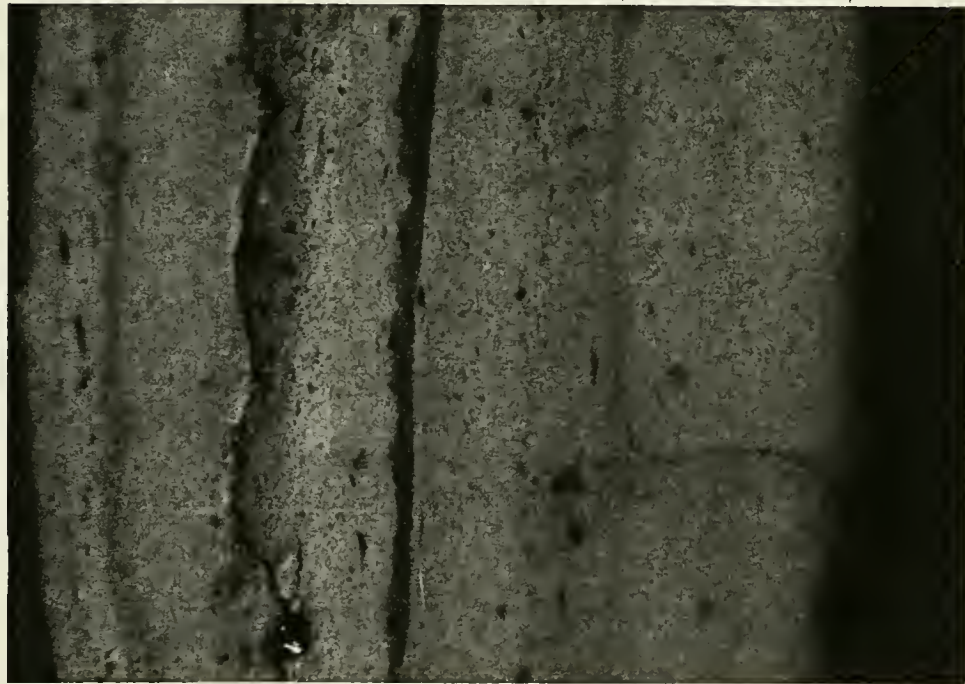
SERIATION:

- 1: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F FR OCCASIONAL WHITE AGGLOMERATES
- 2: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F, D- SMALL BLUE-BLACK PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 3: TURQUOISE BLUE, -, F, D- LG. WHITE AGGLOMERATES
- 4: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, I
- 5: ORANGE-BROWN, -, GR?
- 6: BROWN-BLACK, -, F SLIGHTLY GLASSY
- 7: WHITE, +, F
- 8: TURQUOISE BLUE, +, F

SUMMARY:

Cupboards removed from Room 101.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA



SAMPLE #: WDin 4 **DATE REMOVED:** 2/5/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
N.wall, window 117, sill edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/28/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1: PALE CREAM, -, P | 11: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, F, FR |
| 2: OFF-WHITE, ++, I, V | 12: WHITE, +, I |
| 3: PALE GRAY, --, F, D-- | 13: PALE CREAM, -, F, D-- |
| 4: OFF-WHITE, --, F, D-- | 14: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, -, F |
| 5: PALE YELLOW CREAM, +, F OCCASIONAL ORANGE PARTICLES | 15: WHITE, +, F |
| 6: PALE YELLOW-CREAM, +, I DITTO | |
| 7: PALE CREAM, --, F | |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, FR OPAQUE | |
| 9: PALE CREAM, +, F, D-- | |
| 10: WHITE, -, I | |

SUMMARY:

Layer 2 fluorescing for presence of zinc.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WDin 11

DATE REMOVED: 2/5/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

S. wall, window 108, sill edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/28/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: WHITE, -, FR

2: OFF-WHITE, ++, P OPAQUE, COARSE

3: PALE CREAM, -, I

4: OFF-WHITE, -, F

SUMMARY:

Probably stripped/ replaced, cf. WDin 4.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WFB 27

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

Door frame, r. jamb at baseboard level

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: OFF-WHITE, ++, P

2: WHITE, ++, F

SUMMARY:

Both layers appear to be modern latex-type paints, suggesting area has been stripped or replaced



SAMPLE #: WFB 28

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

Door frame, r. jamb near joint with lintel

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1: ORANGE-CREAM, +, P FR POSSIBLY FRAGMENTS OF 2 LAYERS | 11: WHITE, +, F |
| 2: ORANGE-CREAM, +, F, D- | |
| 3: YELLOW-CREAM, +, F | |
| 4: YELLOW-WHITE, ++, F OCCASIONAL WHITE AGGLOMERATES | |
| 5: YELLOW-WHITE, ++, F | |
| 6: YELLOW-WHITE, -, F | |
| 7: YELLOW-WHITE, +, F | |
| 8: OFF-WHITE, ++, I, V | |
| 9: WHITE, +, F | |
| 10: WHITE, +, I | |

SUMMARY:

Fewer layers than Welsh's sampling.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET; WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WFB:34

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N.wall, window 217, sill edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: YELLOW-WHITE, +, F FR SOME ORANGE PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES, COARSE

2: PALE CREAM, ++, P

2: WHITE, ++, F

SUMMARY:

Layer 1 disturbed. Subsequent modern paints suggest stripping of earlier layers.

SAMPLE #: WFB 4

DATE REMOVED: 12/13/91

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

S. wall, window 202, stiles, lower sash

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

1: YELLOW-CREAM, -, F?, FR

2: YELLOW-CREAM, -, FR

3: YELLOW-CREAM, -, FR

4: OFF-WHITE, +, P, COARSE, SOME RED PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES

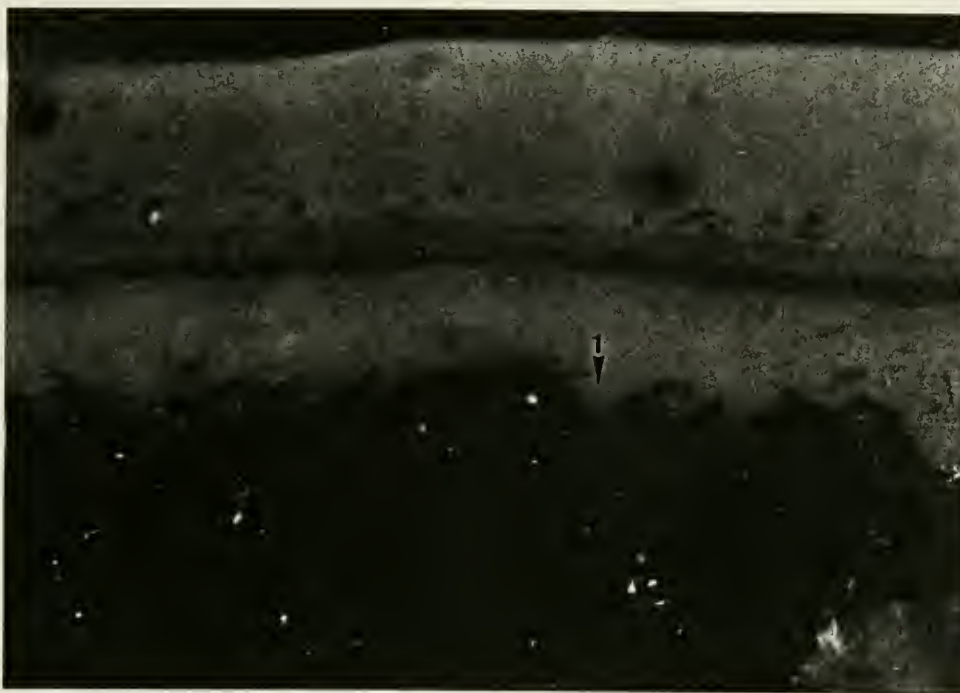
5: OFF-WHITE, -, F

6: OFF-WHITE, FR, APPEARING ON ONLY PART OF SAMPLE

7: PALE CREAM, ++, F

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-3 possibly fragments of earlier disturbed finishes. Layers 4-7 appear as modern latex type paints.



SAMPLE #: WFB 25

DATE REMOVED: 12/13/91

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

E.wall baseboard cap beading, N. of fireplace

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: YELLOW-CREAM, FR
- 2: PALE CREAM, +, P OCCASIONAL ORANGE PARTICLES
- 3: OFF-WHITE, +, F,
- 4: YELLOW-GRAY, -, F, OPAQUE
- 5: PALE CREAM, -, F
- 6: OFF-WHITE, -, I
- 7: WHITE, -, F ISOLATED BLUE PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES
- 8: OFF-WHITE, +, I?
- 9: WHITE, -, F.

SUMMARY:

Layer 1 disturbed suggesting possible stripping

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA



SAMPLE #: WFB 22 DATE REMOVED: 12/13/91
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
summer beam, E. face, beaded edge

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERiation:

- 1-7: OFF-WHITE, -, F, OPAQUE COARSE
- 8-10: GRAY, +, F, D OPAQUE COARSE
- 11-17: OFF-WHITE, -/+ , SOME FRAGMENTED LAYERS, D/D+, OPAQUE
- 18: PALE CREAM, -, P?
- 19: YELLOW-CREAM, +, F
- 20: PALE GRAY, +, F BLUE PIGMENT PARTICLES
- 21: OFF-WHITE, --, P IR
- 22: WHITE, ++, F SOME ORANGE-RED PIGMENT AGGLOMERATES

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-17 possibly distemper / whitewash. Cf. WFB 37.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA

SAMPLE #: WFB:37

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

N.wall, plaster to W. of window 217

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

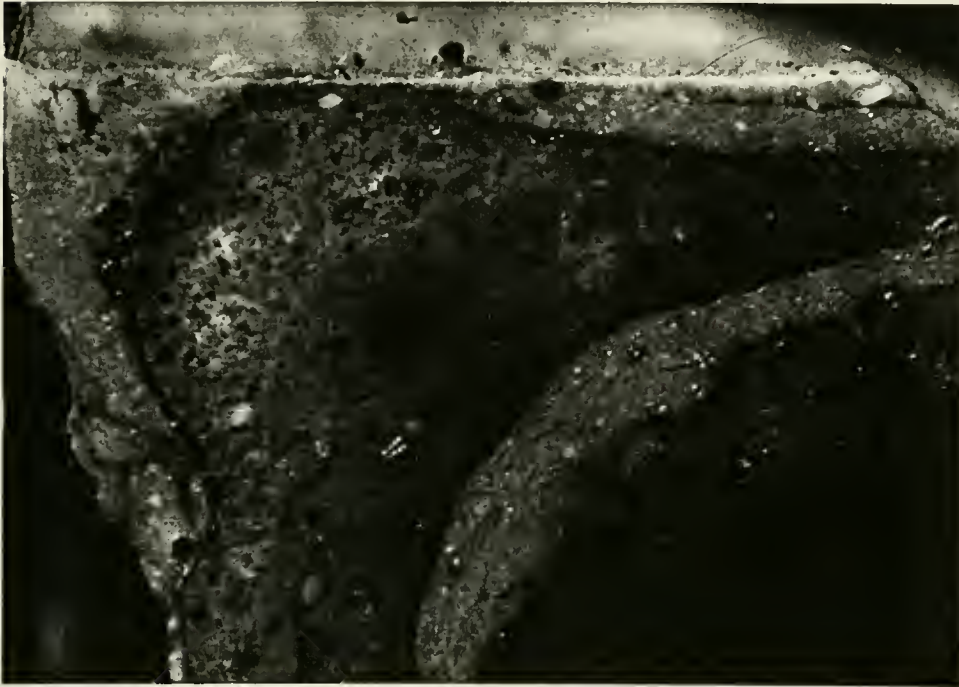
SUBSTRATE: plaster

SERIATION:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1: OFF-WHITE, -, F, OPAQUE | 11: PALE YELLOW WHITE, ++, F, BLUE AND ORANGE PIGMENT FLECKS |
| 2: OFF-WHITE, +, F, OPAQUE | 12: OFF-WHITE, --, F, D- |
| 3: OFF-WHITE, -, F, OPAQUE | 13: OFF-WHITE, +++, F, D- |
| 4: GRAY-WHITE, --, F, OPAQUE WITH BLUE PIGMENT FLECKS | 14: GRAY-WHITE, +, F, F- |
| 5: GRAY-WHITE, -, F, OPAQUE WITH BLUE PIGMENT FLECKS | 15: YELLOW-CREAM, +, I |
| 6: GRAY-WHITE, +, F, OPAQUE WITH BLUE PIGMENT FLECKS | 16: PALE GRAY-BLUE, +, F |
| 7: PALE YELLOW-WHITE, ++, F, OPAQUE | 17: OFF-WHITE, +++, F?, OPAQUE |
| 8: PALE YELLOW WHITE, ++, F, OPAQUE | 18: WHITE, -, F |
| 9: PALE YELLOW WHITE, ++, F, OPAQUE | 19: PALE GRAY-BLUE, +, F |
| 10: OFF-WHITE, -, F, FR. | |

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-14 suggest distemper / whitewash. Welsh suggests blue verditer for pigmentation in layers 4-6.



SAMPLE #: WFB 26

DATE REMOVED: 1/22/92

ELEMENT AND LOCATION:

Door to 202, lower r/h/ panel, accumulation in joint between molding and panel face

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x

DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1: PALE CREAM, -, P | 11: YELLOW-ORANGE, +, GR |
| 2: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, GR | 12: BROWN-BLACK, -, F, V |
| 3: MID-ORANGE YELLOW, -F GLAZE? | 13: DRAB MID-BROWN, +, GR |
| 4: YELLOW-ORANGE, -, GR | 14: MID-BROWN, -, F? |
| 5: MID-ORANGE YELLOW, -, I | 15: DARK BROWN, -, F, GLASSY |
| 6: BROWN-BLACK, -, F, GLASSY | |
| 7: ORANGE-YELLOW, +, COARSE, UNEVEN COLORATION, GR | |
| 8: YELLOW-ORANGE, +, GR | |
| 9: ORANGE-YELLOW, -, I | |
| 10: BROWN-BLACK, -, F, GLASSY | |

SUMMARY:

Repeated graining campaigns. Layers 6, 10, 12, 15 fluoresce slightly suggesting resinous layers.

SAMPLE RECORD SHEET: WYCK, 6026 GERMANTOWN AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA



SAMPLE #: WFB 33 **DATE REMOVED:** 1/22/92
ELEMENT AND LOCATION:
bed canopy

PHOTOMICROGRAPH MAGNIFICATION: 100x
DATE PHOTOGRAPHED: 4/22/92

SUBSTRATE: wood

SERIATION:

- 1: PALE CREAM, ++, P
- 2: TAN, -----, ? W. FREQUENT RED-ORANGE AGGLOMERATES
- 3: GOLD, FLAKY-LEAF?
- 4: BROWN-BLACK, ----, FR SLIGHTLY GLASSY
- 5: OFF-WHITE, +, P, V
- 6: BROWN-BLACK, -, FR, V SLIGHTLY GLASSY
- 7: OFF-WHITE, +, P
- 8: WHITE, +, F

SUMMARY:

Layers 1-3 correspond to gilding. Layer 2 possibly clay based bole.

I: IV-A. COLLEN BROOK FARM SAMPLE SCHEDULE:

The following schedules list the origin of samples taken from each site, and which samples were mounted for analysis. The following annotations were used in tabulation:

- §: Sample complete but some detachment between layers
- *: incomplete sample, missing substrate or upper layers
- ∞: top layer of wallpaper absent (Collen Brook only).

FRONT PARLOR: ROOM 101:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
CB:101-1:	west wall	plaster 3" above chair rail.	mounted
CB: 101-2:	west wall	plaster 1" below chair rail 3"	mounted
CB:101-3:	south wall	plaster above chair rail.	mounted
CB:101-4:	south wall	plaster below chair rail.	mounted
CB: 101-5:	north wall	plaster below chair-rail	unmounted
CB:101-6:	north wall	plaster above chair rail	mounted
CB:101-8:	west wall	chair rail vertical face-cap	mounted
CB:101-9:	west wall	chair rail molding fascia	mounted
CB:101-10:	west wall	chair rail molding bead	mounted
CB:101-11:	east wall	chair rail vertical face-cap	mounted
CB:101-12:	east wall	chair rail molding cyma*	mounted
CB:101-13:	south wall	baseboard beaded cap§	mounted
CB:101-14:	south wall	baseboard fascia under window 02	mounted
CB:101-15:	north wall	baseboard beaded cap	mounted
CB:101-17:	north wall	baseboard fascia	mounted
CB:101-18:	south wall	window 02 sill (horizontal plane)	mounted
CB:101-19:.	south wall	window 02 alcove left coverboard - stile*	mounted
CB:101-20:	south wall	window 02 architrave corner bead	mounted
CB:101-21:	south wall	window 02 muntin	mounted
CB:101-22:	east wall	window 01 sill* (horizontal face)	mounted
CB:101-23:	east wall	window 01 architrave ovolo molding	mounted
CB:101-24:	east wall	window 01 architrave ovolo from eared enframing	mounted
CB:101-25:	east wall	window 01 alcove central ceiling coverboard panel	mounted
CB:101-26:	fireplace	dimple molding - mantle freize	mounted
CB:101-27:	fireplace	mantle frieze urn detail	mounted
CB:101-28:	fireplace	mantle frieze r. gouged reeding	unmounted
CB:101-29:	fireplace	mantle frieze gouged reeding	mounted
CB:101-30:	fireplace	overmantle panel paint accumulation on peg in framing	unmounted
CB:101-31:	fireplace	overmantle r. panel accumulated paint in panel/stile joint	mounted

CB:101-31a:	fireplace	ditto - substrate	mounted
CB:101-32	fireplace	tabernacle overmantle panel accumulated paint from between boards	mounted
CB:101-33:	fireplace	central tabernacle panel board*	mounted
CB:101-34:	fireplace	ditto	unmounted
CB:101-35:	fireplace	mantle ledge§	mounted
CB:101-36:	fireplace	overmantle framing to r.panel§	mounted
CB:101-37:	fireplace	base to mantle surround l. pilaster	mounted
CB:101-40:	fireplace	filet to tabernacle frame§	mounted
CB:101-41:	fireplace	denticulated cornice molding	mounted
CB:101-43:	fireplace	cornice crown molding*	mounted
CB:101-44:	north wall	door to rear parlor architrave - outer filet*	mounted
CB:101-45:	north wall	door to rear parlor l.jamb	unmounted
CB:101-46:	north wall	door to rear parlor architrave corner bead	mounted
CB:101-47:	north wall	door to rear parlor bottom r.field panel	mounted
CB:101-48:	corner cabinet	lower doors framing l.jamb	mounted
CB:101-49:	corner cabinet	pull-out shelf rounded edge	mounted
CB:101-50:	corner cabinet	architrave - outer filet	mounted
CB:101-51:	corner cabinet	closure edge of stile of upper l.door	mounted
CB:101-52:	corner cabinet	denticulated cornice molding	mounted
CB:101-53:	corner cabinet	cornice lower cyma molding	unmounted
CB:101-54:	corner cabinet	2nd butterfly shelf	mounted
CB:101-55:	corner cabinet	upper cabinet plank 'floor'	mounted
CB:101-55a:	corner cabinet	lower cupboard shelf edge	mounted

REAR PARLOR:ROOM 102:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
CB:102-1:	west wall	plaster below light switch above chair rail	mounted
CB:102-2:	west wall	door to Hall architrave outer filet	mounted
CB:102-3:	west wall	door to Hall architrave ovolo molding	mounted
CB:102-4:	west wall	door to Hall r.middle field panel	mounted
CB:102-5:	south wall	plaster above chair rail	mounted
CB:102-6:	south wall	wall plaster below chair rail	unmounted
CB:102-7:	south wall	chair rail molding bead	mounted
CB:102-8:	south wall	chair rail cap	mounted
CB:102-9:	south wall	baseboard fascia	mounted
CB:102-10:	east wall	plaster below chair rail§	mounted
CB:102-10a:	east wall	plaster below chair rail	mounted
CB:102-11:	east wall	door to front parlor accumulated paint in mitre joint of frame	mounted
CB:102-12:	fireplace	mantle surbase filet§	mounted
CB:102-13:	fireplace	mantle ledge	mounted
CB:102-14:	fireplace	overmantle frame stile§	mounted
CB:102-15:	fireplace	overmantle cornice frieze	mounted
CB:102-16:	east wall	window 05 sill (vertical face)	mounted
CB:102-17:	east wall	window 05 architrave ovolo molding	mounted
CB:102-18:	east wall	window 05 architrave corner bead	mounted
CB:102-19:	north wall	window 05 muntin	mounted
CB:102-20:	south wall	door to front Parlor bottom r. recessed panel	mounted
CB:102-21:	north wall	door to modern water closet middle l.recessed panel	mounted
CB:102-22:	painted floorboard		mounted

FIRST FLOOR ENTRY AND STAIR HALL: ROOM 103:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
CB:103-1:	east wall	plaster above chair rail n.of door to 101∞	mounted
CB:103-2:	east wall	plaster below chair rail n. of door to 101	mounted
CB:103-3:	south wall	plaster above shair rail w. of south exterior door	mounted
CB:103-4:	south wall	plaster below chair rail	mounted
CB:103-5:	west wall	chair rail cap n. of door to w.wing	mounted
CB:103-6:	east wall	chair rail cap n. of door to 101	mounted
CB:103-7:	east wall	chair rail fascia s. of door to 101	mounted
CB:103-8:	west wall	chair rail fascia	mounted
CB:103-9:	east wall	baseboard cap molding s. of door to 101	mounted
CB:103-10:	west wall	baseboard fascia s.of foot of staircase	mounted
CB:103-11:	west wall	baseboard cap molding s. of foot of staircase	mounted
CB:103-12:	staircase panelling	stile	mounted
CB:103-13:	staircase panelling	upper triangular field panel	mounted
CB:103-14:	staircase	applied decoration on profile of 11th. riser	mounted
CB:103-15:	staircase	7th. baluster stem	mounted
CB:103-16:	staircase	bannister hand rail dark section	mounted
CB:103-16a:	staircase	bannister hand rail painted underside	mounted
CB:103-17:	west wall	door to w.wing architrave ovolo molding	mounted
CB:103-18:	west wall	door to w.wing r.jamb base	mounted
CB:103-19:	west wall	door to w.wing alcove panelling-middle r.panel	mounted
CB:103-20a:	west wall	door to w.wing r.middle field panel	mounted
CB:103-20b:	west wall	door to wing intermediate rail	mounted
CB:103-21a:	south wall	exterior door l. jamb of frame	mounted
CB:103-21b:	south wall	exterior door entry coverboards	mounted
CB:103-21c:	south wall	exterior door plank board	mounted
CB:103-22a:	east wall	door to 101 architrave ovolo molding at eared enframing	mounted
CB:103-22b:	east wall	door to 101 middle r. field panel	mounted
CB:103-22c:	east wall	door to 101 l.jamb of frame	mounted
CB:103-23a:	east wall	door to 102 architrave ovolo molding	mounted

CB:103-23b:	east wall	door to 102 l. jamb corner bead	mounted
CB:103-23c:	east wall	door to 102. lintel architrave filet	mounted
CB:103-24a:	north wall	exterior door plank board	mounted
CB:103-24b:	north wall	exterior door architrave fascia	mounted
CB:103-24c:	staircase	pendent end of newel post at dog-leg of stair	mounted
CB:103-24d:	staircase	newel post at dog-leg - decoration on riser profile	mounted
CB:103-25:	staircase	wall-mounted bannister pilaster at 1st stair riser	mounted
CB:103-26:	staircase	wall bannister handrail above 3rd.riser	mounted
CB103-27:	staircase	baseboard fascia above 10th stair riser	mounted
CB:103-28:	staircase	nose of 11th. stair tread	mounted
CB:103-29:	staircase	dog-leg newel post shaft	mounted
CB:103-30	staircase	wall plaster in panel below window 06	mounted
CB:103-31:	staircase	3rd wall pilaster at stair dog-leg	mounted
CB:103-32:	staircase	window 06 architrave ovolo molding	mounted
CB:103-33:	staircase	window 06 sill (horizontal surface)	mounted
CB:103-34:	staircase	window 06 l. jamb face	mounted
CB:103-35:	staircase	4th riser above dog-leg	mounted
CB:103-36:	staircase	4th baluster above dog-leg - shaft mounted	
CB:103-37:	staircase	plaster from north wall e. of window 06	mounted
CB:103-38:	staircase	bannister handrail at scrolled end	mounted

FRONT (SOUTH-EAST) BEDCHAMBER: ROOM 201:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
CB:201-1:	w.wall	plaster above chair rail s. of door to Hall	mounted
CB:201-2:	w.wall	plaster below chair rail s. of door to Hall	mounted
CB:201-3:	w.wall	chair rail fascia s. of door to Hall	mounted
CB:201-4:	w.wall	baseboard fascia s.of door to Hall	mounted
CB:210-5:	w.wall	baseboard cap lower bead s. of door to Hall	mounted
CB:201-6:	w.wall	door to Hall-stile to l.of lower l/h panel below lock casing	mounted
CB:201-7:	w.wall	door to Hall r.jamb of frame - outer architrave filet	mounted
CB:201-8:	w.wall	door to Hall l. jamb - inner architrave fascia	mounted
CB:201-9:	e.wall	plaster above chair rail n. of window 07	mounted
CB:201-10:	e.wall	plaster below chair rail n .of window 07	mounted
CB:201-11:	e.wall	chair rail cap n.of window 07	mounted
CB:201-12:	e.wall	chair rail fascia s. of fireplace	mounted
CB:201-13:	e.wall	baseboard fascia below l. jamb of window 07	mounted
CB:201-14:	s.wall	window 08 architrave outer filet above sill level	mounted
CB:201-15:	s.wall	window 08 sill	mounted
CB:201-16:	s.wall	window 08 beaded edge of r.jamb of frame	mounted
CB: 201-17:	s.wall	window 08 muntin	mounted
CB:201-18:	s.wall	window 08 alcove l. coverboard	mounted
CB:201-19:	fireplace	frieze to mantle surround pilaster	mounted
CB:201-20:	fireplace	punched frieze panel of mantlepice	mounted
CB:201-21:	fireplace	mantle ledge horizontal surface	mounted
CB:201-22:	fireplace	plaster in center panel of overmantle framing	mounted
CB:201-23:	fireplace	denticulated cornice molding	mounted
CB:201-24:	fireplace	l.stile to overmantle frame-ovolo molding	mounted
CB:201-25:	fireplace	r.stile to overmantle frame-outer filet	mounted
CB:201-26:	fireplace	base of r.mantle surround pilaster	mounted
CB:201-27:	fireplace	mantle surround-inner corner bead	mounted

REAR BEDCHAMBER: ROOM 202:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
CB:202-1:	w.wall	plaster above chair rail n.of door to Hall	mounted
CB:202-2:	w.wall	plaster below chair rail n.of door to Hall	mounted
CB:202-3:	w.wall	chair rail n. of door to Hall - fascia bead	mounted
CB:202-4:	w.wall	chair rail fascia	mounted
CB:202-5:	w.wall	chair rail cap bead	mounted
CB:202-6:	w.wall	door to Hall r. jamb architrave outer filet	mounted
CB:202-7:	w.wall	door to Hall r.jamb to frame	mounted
CB:202-8:	w.wall	door to Hall l.stile at joint with top rail	mounted
CB:202-9:	w.wall	door to Hall lower l.panel	mounted
CB:202-10:	w.wall	baseboard fascia n.of door to Hall	mounted
CB:202-11:	w.wall	baseboard cap bead	mounted
CB:202-12:	e.wall	plaster below chair rail s.of window 12	mounted
CB:202-13:	e.wall	plaster above chair rail s.of window 12	mounted
CB:202-14:	fireplace	plaster above mantle piece	mounted
CB:202-15:	fireplace	l.ear of mantle surround	mounted
CB:202-16:	fireplace	mantle ledge	mounted
CB:202-17:	fireplace	mantle surbase cyma molding	mounted
CB:202-18:	fireplace	l.jamb of surround -ovolo molding	mounted
CB:202-19:	e.wall	chair rail cap molding	mounted
CB:202-20:	e.wall	chair rail fascia	mounted
CB:202-21:	e.wall	baseboard fascia	mounted
CB:202-22:	e.wall	window 12 sill horizontal surface	mounted
CB:202-23:	e.wall	window 12 l.jamb architrave outer filet	mounted
CB:202-24:	e.wall	window 12 l.jamb of frame	mounted
CB:202-25:	e.wall	window 12 l.jamb architrave inner bead	mounted
CB:202-26:	e.wall. window 12 muntin	mounted	

SECOND FLOOR HALL: ROOM 203:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
CB:203-1:	e.wall	plaster between doors to 201 and 202 below chair rail	mounted
CB:203-2:	e.wall	plaster and paper between doors to 201 and 202 above chair rail	mounted
CB:203-3:	e.wall	baseboard fascia between doors to 201 and 202	mounted
CB:203-4:	e.wall	chair rail fascia between doors to 201 and 202	mounted
CB: 203-5:	w.wall	plaster above chair rail between doors to w.wing and attic	mounted
CB:203-6:	staircase	plastered wall siding attic stairs	mounted
CB:203-7:	door	attic door r. jamb of frame above baseboard	mounted
CB: 203-8:	door	door to attic r. center panel molding	mounted
CB:203-9:	w.wall	door to w.wing l. jamb of frame above baseboard	mounted.
CB:203-10:	w.wall	door to w.wing lower r.fielded panel	mounted
CB:203-11:	w.wall	door to w.wing upper r.stile and top rail joint	mounted
CB:203-12:	e.wall	door to 201 upper r.stile and top rail joint	mounted
CB:203-14:	e.wall	door to 201 l.jamb of frame w. architrave ovolo molding	mounted
CB:203-15:	e.wall	door to 201 lower r. fielded panel	mounted

BATHROOM: ROOM 204:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
CB:204-1:	e.wall	plaster above dado s. of door to 203	mounted
CB:204-2:	e.wall	plaster below dado n.of washbasin	mounted
CB:204-3:	e.wall	baseboard cap bead	mounted
CB:204-4:	s.wall	window 10 sill	mounted
CB: 204-5:	s.wall	window 10 r.jamb architrave outer filet	mounted
CB:204-6:	s.wall	window 10 l. jamb	mounted
CB: 204-7:	s.wall	window 10 muntin	mounted
CB:204-8:	n.wall	door to 203 muntin stile below center pair panels	mounted
CB:204-9:	n.wall	door to 203 lower r.panel	mounted
CB:204-10:	n.wall	door to 203 r.jamb architrave outer filet above baseboard	mounted
CB:204-11:	n.wall	door to 203 l.jamb architrave bead	mounted

VI-11B. WYCK SAMPLE SCHEDULES:

WYCK PARLOR: ROOM 101:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
WPar 1	n. wall	wall plaster beneath window 123§	mounted
WPar 2	n.wall	wall plaster under sill to window 124*	mounted
WPar 3	s.wall	wall plaster beneath window 101§	mounted
WPar 4	s.wall	baseboard beneath window 101§	unmounted
WPar 5	e.wall	wall plaster n. of fireplace*	mounted
WPar 6	e.wall	baseboard cap	mounted
WPar 7	s.wall	window 102 sill*	mounted
WPar 8	w.wall	doors to 102 left door 2nd panel	mounted
Arch.sample		plaster excavated from exterior of house	mounted

WYCK ENTRY HALL: ROOM 102:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
WHall 1	e.wall	wall plaster (substrate only) above chair rail	mounted
WHall 2	w.wall	wall plaster s.of doors to Room 103	mounted
WHall 3	e.wall	baseboard fascia s. of doors to Room 101	mounted
WHall 4	e.wall	doors to Room 101 lowest field panel of r.door	mounted
WHall 5	e.wall	doors to Room 101 bottom rail of r.door	mounted
WHall 6	s.wall	wall plaster accumulated in abutment of wall with door frame§	mounted
WHall 7	staircase	profile of 2nd tread*	mounted
WHall 8	staircase	2nd baluster*	mounted
WHall 9	staircase	w.wall plaster above 2nd bannister rail attachment	mounted
WHall 10	staircase	9th riser§	mounted

WYCK HALL / CONSERVATORY: ROOM 103:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
WCon 1	s.wall	wall plaster e. of sliding doors	mounted
WCon 2	w.wall	baseboard cap	mounted
WCon 3	e.wall	baseboard fascia	mounted
WCon 4	e. wall	wall plaster s. of doors to 102*	mounted
WCon 5	e.wall	wall plaster s. of doors to 102*	unmounted
WCon 7	s.wall	wall plaster behind Reuben Haines III portrait	mounted
WCon 8	s.wall	wall plaster	mounted
WCon 9	w.wall	wall plaster s. of doors to 104	mounted
WCon 10	w.wall	baseboard fascia	unmounted
WCon 11	s.wall	baseboard fascia§	mounted
WCon 12	e.wall	wall plaster n. of doors to 102	mounted
WCon 13	e.wall	baseboard fascia	unmounted
WCon 14	n.wall	wall plaster at NW corner§	mounted
WCon 15	n.wall	wall plaster at NW corner	mounted
WCon 16	n.wall	door architrave trim outer filet	mounted
WCon 17	n.wall	baseboard fascia§	mounted
WCon 19	n.wall	baseboard cap	mounted
WCon 20	e.wall	doors to 102 bottom rail to l. door	unmounted
WCon 21	e.wall	doors to 102 closure edge level with lock on r. door	unmounted'
WCon 22	e.wall	doors to 102 r. architrave trim	mounted
WCon 23	s.wall	sliding doors r. architrave trim	mounted
WCon 24	s.wall	sliding doors closure edge to l. door	mounted
WCon 25	w.wall	doors to 104 l. architrave trim outer filet	mounted
WCon 27	w.wall	doors to 104 stile to l. door	unmounted
WCon 28	n.wall	sliding doors r. door stile above handle	mounted
WCon 29	n.wall	sliding doors l. architrave trim outer filet	mounted

WYCK LIBRARY / DINING ROOM: ROOM 104:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
WLib 1	e.wall	wall plaster NW corner above radiator	unmounted
WLib 2	n.wall	wainscot beneath window 120	mounted
WLib 3	n.wall	wainscot panel between windows 120 & 119	mounted
WLib 4	n.wall	dado rail bead§	mounted
WLib 5	n.wall	wainscot lower rail	unmounted
WLib 6	w.wall	wall plaster from panel between door to 105 & cupboards	mounted
WLib 7	s.wall	wainscot stile between windows 105 & 106	mounted
WLib 8	s.wall	window 106 r.coverboards§	mounted
WLib 9	s.wall	wall plaster to e.of window 105*	unmounted
WLib 10	s.wall	window 106 sill face	mounted
WLib 11	e.wall	doors to 103 lowest panel of r.door	mounted
WLib 12	e.wall	doors to 103 r.architrave trim outer filet	mounted

WYCK DINING ROOM: ROOM 105:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
WDin 1	n.wall	wall plaster at NE corner	mounted
WDin 2	n.wall	window 118 sill	mounted
WDin 3	n.wall	window 117 plaster just below sill edge	mounted
WDin 4	n.wall	window 117 sill edge	mounted
WDin 5	w.wall	cupboard 162 plaster from exterior wall	mounted
WDin 6	e.wall	cupboard 161 paint from walls of bottom unit	mounted
WDin 7	e.wall	cupboard 161 r.upper unit wall§	mounted
WDin 8	e.wall	cupboard 161 r.unit 1st.shelf§	mounted
WDin 9	e.wall	cupboard 161 r.unit 3rd.shelf	mounted
WDin 10	s.wall	window 108 accumulated paint between coverboards & plaster	unmounted
WDin 11	s.wall	window 108 sill edge	mounted
WDin 12	s.wall	wall plaster beneath window 108	mounted
WDin 13	s.wall	window 108 sill (horizontal plane)	mounted

WYCK FRONT BEDCHAMBER; ROOM 201:

SAMPLE NUMBER	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	PREPARATION
WFB 1	s.wall	window 202 alcove plaster	unmounted
WFB 2	e.wall	wall plaster from crack at SE corner	unmounted
WFB 4	s.wall	window 202 lower sash stile	mounted
WFB 5	s.wall	window 202 sill	unmounted
WFB 6	e.wall	ceiling coving main molding	mounted
WFB 7	e.wall	ceiling coving lower bead	mounted
WFB 8	s.wall	wall plaster above window 201	mounted
WFB 9	s.wall	wall plaster e.of window 201*	mounted
WFB 10	s.wall	alcove ceiling of window 201	mounted
WFB 11	s.wall	window 201 alcove plaster	mounted
WFB 12	s.wall	window 201 lower sash stiles	mounted
WFB 13	s.wall	window 201 sill	mounted
WFB 14	s.wall	baseboard fascia beneath window 202	mounted
WFB 15	s.wall	baseboard cap beneath window 202	mounted
WFB 16	s.wall	baseboard beneath window 202	unmounted
WFB 17	e.wall	wall plaster above fireplace	mounted
WFB 18	e.wall	wall plaster n.of fireplace	mounted
WFB 19	e.wall	ceiling coving upper molding n.of fireplace	mounted
WFB 20	summer beam	e.end underside	mounted
WFB 21	summer beam	e.end corner bead	mounted
WFB 22	summer beam	s.side bead	mounted
WFB 23	e.wall	paint accumulation between wall & coving	mounted
WFB 24	e.wall	baseboard fascia n.of fireplace	mounted
WFB 25	e.wall	baseboard cap	mounted
WFB 26	w.wall	door to stair hall bottom r.panel	mounted
WFB 27	w.wall	door to stair hall architrave at baseboard level	mounted
WFB 28	w.wall	door to stair hall architrave trim at lintel level	mounted
WFB 29	w.wall	door to stair hall frame lintel	mounted
WFB 30	w.wall	ceiling coving above door - main molding	mounted
WFB 31	w.wall	ceiling coving bead	mounted
WFB 32	w.wall	wall plaster s.of bed	mounted
WFB 33	bed canopy	tester frame fascia	mounted
WFB 34	n.wall	window 217 sill	mounted
WFB 35	n.wall	window 217 lower sash stile	mounted
WFB 36	n.wall	ceiling coving main molding	mounted
WFB 37	n.wall	wall plaster to e.of window 217	mounted

WFB 38	stair hall	door to 201 bottom rail	mounted
WFB 39	n.wall	partition to create bathroom	mounted
WFB 40	s.wall	alcove plaster to window 202	mounted
WFB 41	n.wall	wall plaster to e.of window 217	mounted
WFB 42	e.wall	ceiling coving lower bead	unmounted
WFB 43	n.wall	(bathroom) wall plaster	mounted

APPENDIX II: COLLEN BROOK FARM INTERIOR MOLDINGS

II:1. COLLEN BROOK FARM - GLOSSARY OF MOLDINGS:

1: Chair-rail:

- A: cyma and filet on cap, cavetto and bead on fascia
- B: bolection cap, with upper bead/ and filet and lower edge bead on fascia
- C: cap with applied bead, cyma with double edge bead on fascia

2: Baseboard:

- A1: double bead with top filet on cap, approx. 6in. plain fascia
- A2: ditto, approx. 7in. plain fascia
- B: double bead with cavetto? on cap, plain fascia
- C: ovolo with filets on cap, plain fascia
- D: ovolo with filets and applied 1/2 round face bead, plain fascia [not illustrated]
- E: cyma with stepped top filets on cap, plain fascia [not illustrated]

3: Window architrave trim:

- A1: double-banded, ovolo with filets, plain band, cyma with filets, plain band with corner bead to sash stop. Eared enframingent.
- A2: ditto, non-eared enframingent.
- A3: ditto, shallower ovolo and narrower bands.
- B: ovolo with filets, bead on inner corner of jamb.
- C: single banded, cavetto with inner cyma and filets, plain band with corner bead to sash stop [not illustrated but identical in profile and dimensions to door enframingent B].

4: Door architrave trim:

- A1: double-banded, ovolo with filets, plain band, cyma with filets, plain band with corner bead to door stop. Eared enframingent.
- A2: ditto, non-eared enframingent.
- B: single banded, cavetto with inner cyma and filets, plain band with corner bead to door stop

5: Door panelling:

- A1: raised panel with small ovolo and filets; ovolo with filets. Molding integral to stiles and rails.

A2: plain recessed rectangular panels (reverse face of above panelling)

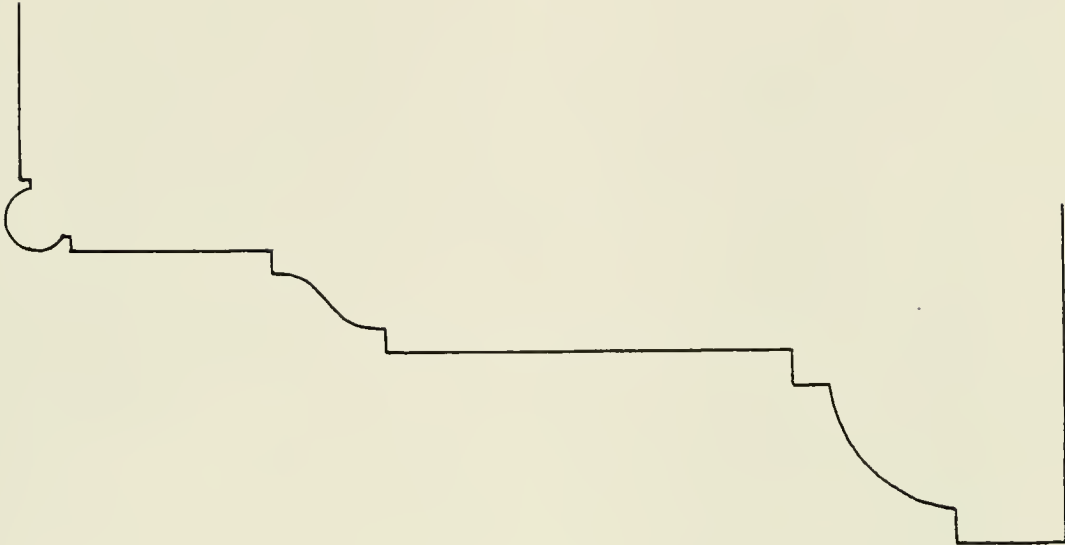
N.B. in the following schedule each face of a door leaf is considered as an element, according to its location; thus the door between rooms 101 and 102 is an A1 on its 101 side, and an A2 on its 102 side.

The following molding profile illustrations are not-to-scale refinements of molding profile sketches taken on-site with a standard molding profile comb. They are presented to suggest, rather than to represent accurately, the variations in molding detail in the eastern section of Collen Brook, and to suggest comparisons with the detailing of similar elements in the western wing of the house.

II:II COLLEN BROOK FARM ARCHITECTURAL MOLDING PROFILES - SCHEDULE

ROOM	101	102	103	201	202	203	204	south west parlor [c.1798-1805]
ELEMENT								
CHAIR RAIL	A	A	A	A	B	A	N/A	C
BASEBOARD	A1	A2	A1	B	C	A1	D	E
WINDOW TRIM	A1	A2	A3	A1	B	N/A	A2	C
DOOR TRIM	A1	A2	A1 - exc. for rear exit: A2	A1	A2	A1 - exc. attic door: A2	A1	B
DOOR PANELLING	A1	A2	A1 exc. front & rear exterior doors & kitchen door	A2	A2	A1	A2	A2

II:III. COLLEN BROOK FARM MOLDING PROFILES



I



II

Fig. 1: Door Enframements:
I: Type A 1/A2, circa 1794
II: Type B, circa 1798-1805.

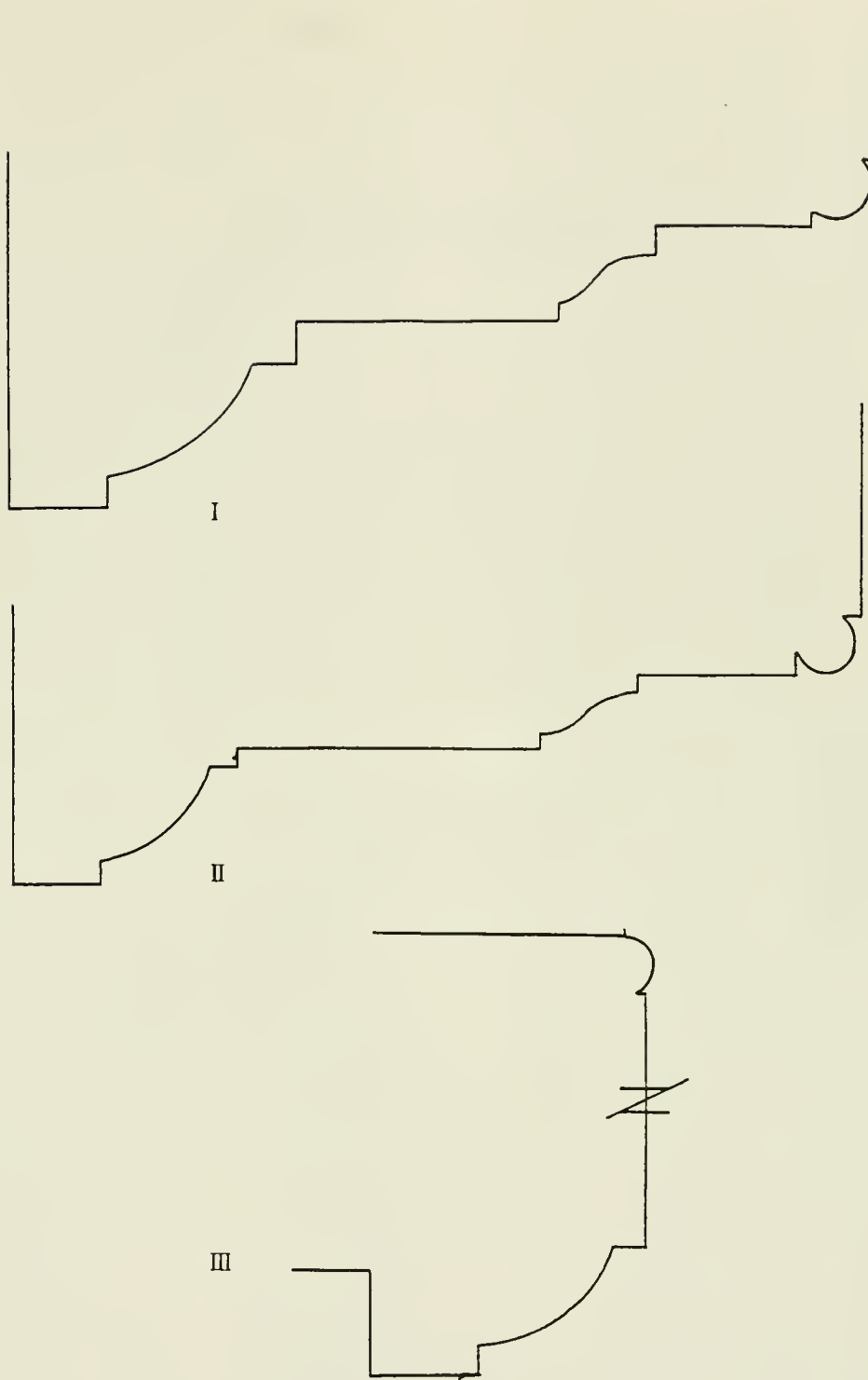


Fig.2: Window Enframements:
I: Type A1, circa 1794
II: type A2, circa 1794
III: Type B, circa 1794.

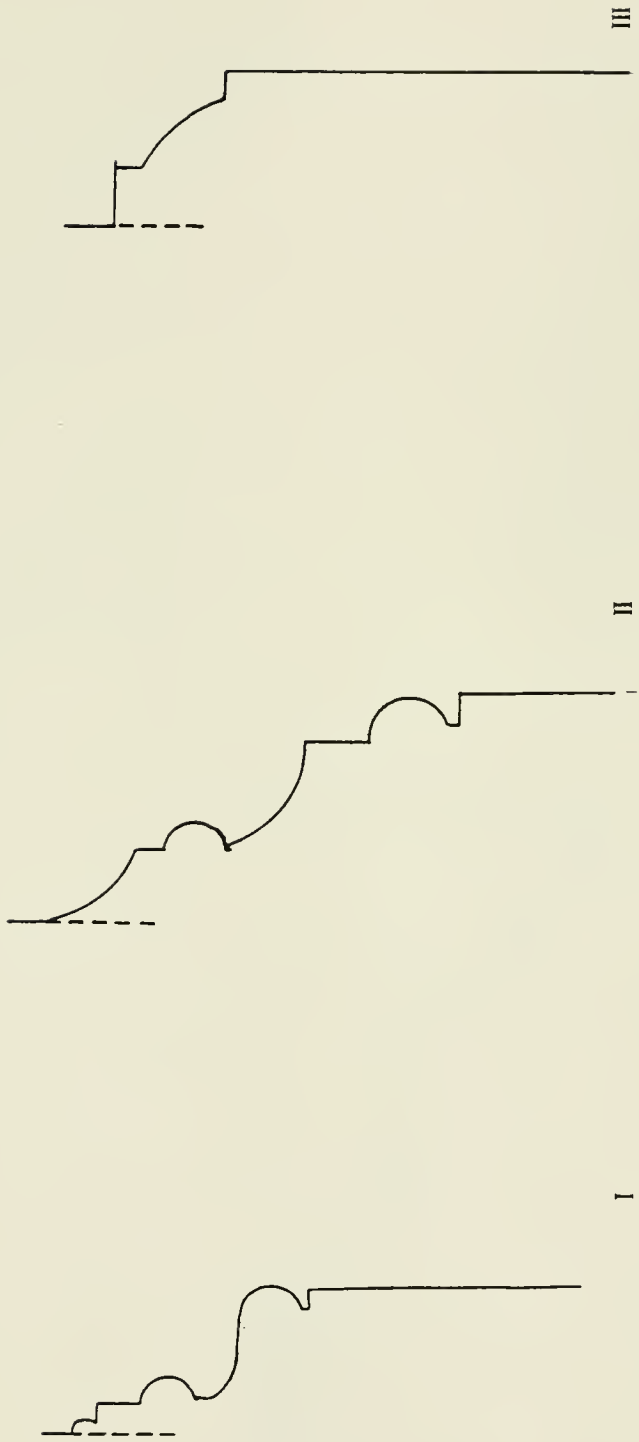


Fig.3: Baseboard Caps:

I: Type A1, circa 1794

II: Type B, circa 1794

III: Type C, circa 1794.

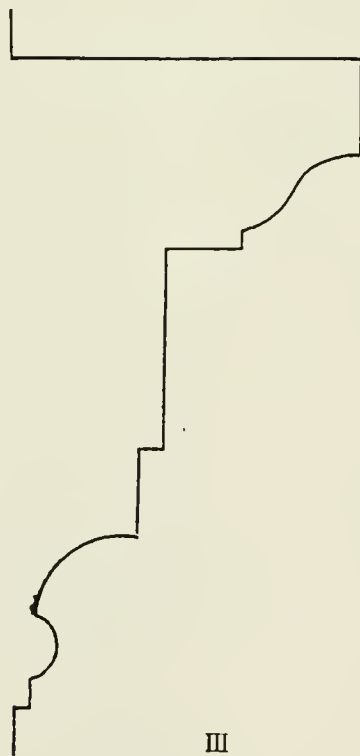
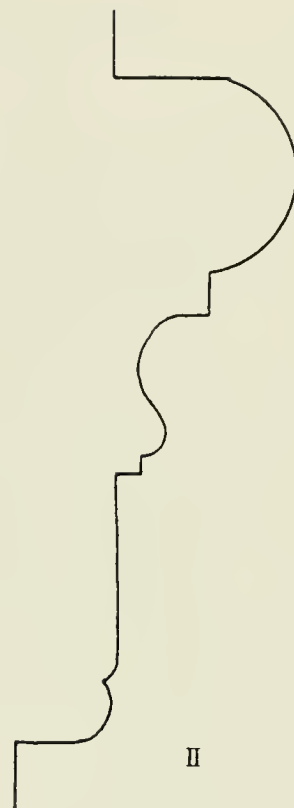
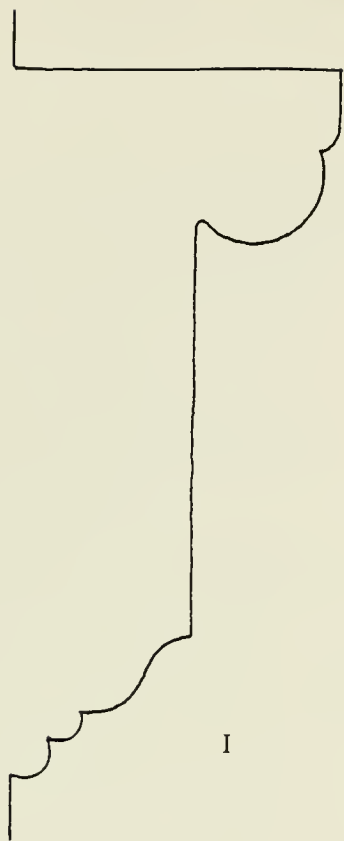
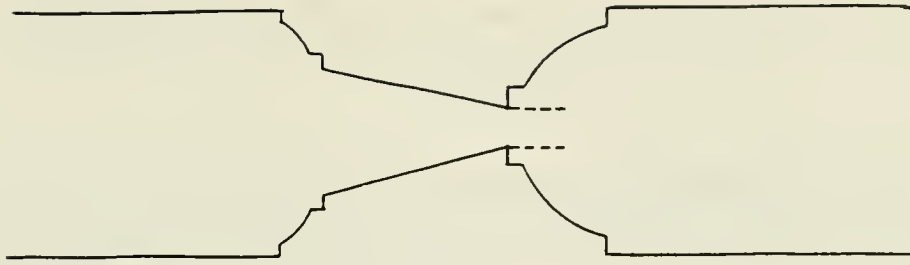


Fig.4: Chair-Rails:

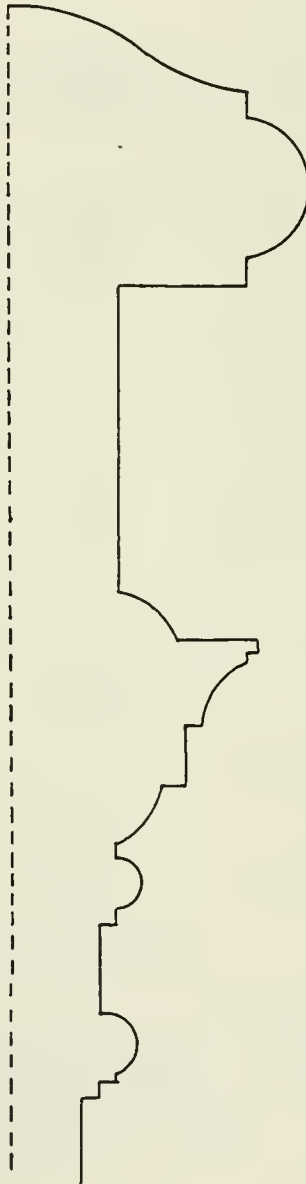
I: Type A, circa 1794

II: Type B, circa 1794

III: Type C, circa 1798-1805..



I



II

Fig.5: Miscellaneous moldings:

I: Double panel face door [panel profile as for single panel face door].

II: Staircase, wall mounted pilaster and handrail

APPENDIX III: WYCK HOUSE - DOCUMENTATION OF INTERIOR DECORATIVE

TREATMENTS:

The following excerpts illustrate the frequency and nature of decorative practices at Wyck, as noted in the archival records relating to Wyck. The material is arranged chronologically, and source location in the Wyck Papers noted.

I: CASPAR WISTER HAINES:

4/11/1785: to Christopher Jr. and Chas. Marshall

Ground Span. Brown	11/2lb	7 1/2	£3. 10.
yellow oker	"	1	£0. 4.0
white lead	"	1	£0..4.0
linseed oil, boil'd,	2 galls.	7/6	£0.15.0
linseed oil, raw	4 galls	6/6	£1. 0. 0
Powder'd litharge	2lbs	1	£0. 2. 0
lampblack	1/4 lb		£1. 6. 0
1 painting brush	1 larger		£0. 2. 6

4/12/1785:

linseed oil	5 galls.	6/6	£1.12. 0
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4/13/1785:

linseed oil, boil'd	2 galls.	7/6	£0.15. 0
ground yellow oker	lbs	3	£0. 3. 0
white lead	lbs	12	£0.12.0

4/14/1785:

white lead	8lbs		£0. 8. 0
Span. Browns	4lbs		£0. 2. 6

4/22/1785:

boil'd oil	1/2 gall.		£0. 3. 9
ground white lead	6lbs		£0. 6. 0
lampblack grd. litharage			£0. 1. 3

4/26/1785:

to grd. blue paint	1 lb		£0. 4. 0
to black paint	1 1/4lb		£0.3. 1 1/2
to " "	1 lb		£0. 2. 6

"for this bill 8th Mo. 23. 75 see Receipt Bk CWH"

[WP: IV:145: 201]

8/1/1785: pd. to George Ritter Csh. by amt. of his acct. for sundry painting, viz:

567 yds 3ft., plain, 3 coats at 1/6 per yd.	£42.11. 0
87 yds Mahogany colours at 2/6 " "	£10.17. 6
6 yds. Mahogany colours done in Entry at 2/6	£0. 15. 0

1790: Account with Chris. and Chas. Marshall:

7/12: Gro: Chocolate col. Paint	lb 1/2	£0. 16. 0
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7/13:	red paint	3 1/2lbs	£0. 2. 11
	linseed oil	1 qt.	£0. 1. 2
	lampblack	1barrel	£0. 0. 6
	powder'd litharge	10 oz.	£0. 4. 11
7/28:	gro. Span. brown	2lbs	£0. 1. 4
	Boil'd oil	1 qt.	£0. 1. 6
8/18:	Spirit of Camphor & sand		£0. 0.10
8/27:	Paintbrush no.4		£0. 2. 8
9/10:	aqua hungar	4 oz.	£0. 2. 0
9/16:	flake white		£0. 0. 5
	Span. Brown	1lb	£0. 0. 5

[WP: IV:145:202]

1791: John Godshalk and Laycom, painting account.

This is reproduced and discussed in full in the Wyck Historic Structures Report, 1986; pp.161-5. [WP: IV:145:202]

1792: Account with Chris. and Chas. Marshall:

4/6:	Powd'r'd black lead	4 oz	£0. 0. 9
9/5:	Spanish Brown	1lb.	£0. 0. 5

[WP: IV: 145: 202]

1794:

9/8:	red lead and lampblack		£0. 1. 9
9/30:	gum alsafoid [sic]	2 oz	£0. 2. 6

[WP: IV: 145: 202]

6/15/1795:	Isinglass	4 oz.	£0. 5. 0
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[WP: IV: 145: 202]

"Rec'd 9 Mo. 25 1795 of C.W. Haines £6.15. 0 on acct for painting his brewhouse and malthouse which I engage to do with in three weeks two Coats, the paint to be good and well-painted for the sum of £25, [signed] John Frank."

[WP: IV: 145: 202]

1796:

Memorandum paid Saml. Wetherill and Sons for sundry paints	£20.16. 0
also pd. for 52 galls Oil	£10.15. 0
45 " "	£21. 7. 6

" I also owed SW £6.19.6 the above to be charged to or deducted out of Frank bill for painting Barn House."

[WP: X: OSI:1]

9/25: "Of Casper Wistar Haines \$10 which with \$40 had some time past & Amt. of Oyl and Colors paid by him and a quantity delivered us in full for painting this house, barn, etc. and includes his half of the measuring charge.

paint	Lawrence Frank
paint	\$20. 16
oil	\$6.19.16
oil	\$22.15
oil	\$21.76

8/17/1799: to Lawrence Frank for painting house £15. 7. 0
[WP:IV:198:934.]

II: HANNAH MARSHALL HAINES [n.b. many business transactions were made by Reuben Haines III for HMH]

12/8/1803: \$18.00 for painting, rec'd by Lawrence Frank. [no location given].

6/24/1807: \$146.80 for painting, etc. at Germantown, by William Haydock
[WP: IV:198:935]

III: REUBEN HAINES III:

1803: Account for carpentry, plaistering and painting at Gemantown place, between 5th and 12th month. (£18.00)
[WP: IV:124:5]

1806: 10/24: to Thos. German for papering parlor [Bank St.?] \$9.25

1807: 6/24: to painting house at Germantown [see above] \$146.80
8/21: plaistering \$9.13
2/11: to Benj.Collins, painting \$10.44
[WP:IV:124:5]

1809: 9/1: to John Street for 1 keg White lead, 1 gall. oil \$5.53
[WP:IV:146:208]

1813: 4/14: Jas.Worth renting Wyck for \$400 p.a. providing parlor, hall and dining room painted.
[WP:IV:124:10].
6/30: B. Collins, painting at Germantown Place, \$24.00
[WP: IV:124:5]

1814: 5/17: For Germantown Place, paints and oil \$10.25
[WP:IV:124:5]

1818: HMH to JBH, 4/10/1818:
"...Yesterday Lydia went to clean paint and windows, ready for the Painter."
[WP:II:12:73].

JBH to RH III, 4/13/1818:
"What part of the house is to be painted...I am very glad to hear of its being cleaned so soom after the family left it will prevent anything disagreeable taking possession of the rooms or the furniture."
[WP:II:20:264].

1821: HMH to RH III, 10/23/1821:
" Tomorrow Nancy Wendoff is to whitewash your chamber. The flies are too bad to do anything yet to the dining room."
[WP:II:12:75].

1822: AH to JBH, u.d. (but probably Summer 1822, postmarked Germantown)

"We have not as yet done anything at cleaning house, Aunt [HMH] intended to have had the front chamber and this little parlor whitewashed this week but I know not if it will be done..."

[WP:II:25:372].

JBH to RH III, 11/6/1822:

"Mrs. Frailey/Froiley is coming to whitewash dining room, parlor, etc...."

[WP:II:20:269].

1823:

HMH to JBH, 10/30/1823:

"Yesterday we had R.Frailey to whitewash. She did the front stairs and entry, little parlor, dining room and thy chamber, all two coats and back stairs was done before night. The front parlor paint and windows were cleaned and carpet put down... Ann wishes Reuben to write word where she shall get the blue paper for the front parlor."

[WP:II:12:75].

1824:

JBH to AH, 8/7/1824:

"The front chamber is furnished and looks very well: Henry is now finishing the painting of the west-end of the house."

[WP:II:20:269].

JBH to Elizabeth Bowne, 1824:

"On 3rd day thy chamber is to be whitewashed ...at the same time the straw mat will be taken off the dining room, those walls and the walls of teh hall scrubbed and the woodwork of the former painted...the front parlor we shall not diturb until the mason ready to alter the fireplace several weeks hence."

[WP:II:20:269].

12/31: to Jonah and Geo. Shannon for 15 kegs white lead
to John Elliott 45 lbs powder blue
3 lbs black [no price given]

\$51.18

\$13.50

[WP:IV:125:12].

1826:

9/20: Coloring walls 2 rooms,

\$12.00

[Acct. book for 1826: WP:IV:127:24].

1827:

JBH to AH, 5/27/1827:

"Mother's chamber and thine are nicely painted".

[WP:II:20:273].

AH to JBH, 10/21/1827:

"Nancy has washed the walls and paint of the dining room to prepare it for painting, the walls look a degree better for their washing but I cannot in truth say they look well."

[WP:II:25:374]

1829:

5/17-5/23: painting parlor and Hall at Germantown 4 coates

\$30.00

[WP:IV:128:28].

6/29: to H.Graventine, Painter

\$1.25

[WP:IV:128:28].

1830:

JBH to AH, 9/19/1830:

"Thy chamber is to be whitewashed and cleaned this week but SK chuses to undertake all the rest until after I am gone."

[WP:II:20:275].

1832:

4/8-4/14: 2 half kegs white lead

\$3.50

litharge

12 1/2c

paint oil

\$1.40

5/17-5/19: paint brushes, turpentine, lime

77c.

[for milk house? WP:IV:128:30]

APPENDIX IV: DOCUMENTATION RELATING TO COLLEN BROOK FARM:

IV:I. Abraham Lewis III, will and inventory, Delaware County, PA, Register of Wills. Will Book C, #660. [Transcribed from original].

IV:II. Mordecai Lewis, plan for Collen Brook Farm, eastern section, *circa* 1794. [Copy taken from photocopy in possession of the Upper Darby Historical Society; the original is currently unavailable for reproduction due to the cataloguing of the Smith-Lewis Papers at the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia].

An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels rights and Credits of Abraham Lewis late of Upper Darby Township in the County of Delaware Deceased, and Appraised by us the Subscribers this third day of January 1826.

Wearing apparel		25.00	
11yds Dom[esti]c. Flannel & 1yd of cloth	12 yds@ .60		7.20
29 yds muslin	@ .13	3.77	
33 yds Dom[esti]c. Linen	@ .25	8.25	
Set of curtains		2.00	
Quilt, Comfortable &coverlit		13.00	
Bedstead, Bed & Bedding		20.00	
Small Bedstead, Bed &Bedding		12.00	
Beaureau		5.00	
Desk		10.00	
Basket and Brushes		.75	
Carpet		1.00	
Looking Glass		2.00	
Set of Sundries		2.00	
6 Linen Tablecloths	@1.50	9.00	
10 cotton tablecloths		10.00	
17 Linen Sheets		25.00	
Lot of Pillow Cases, Napkins, do.		10.00	
Bedsteads, Bed, Bedding and Curtains		25.00	
Lot of Coverlits and Quilts		6.00	
3 Coverlits & Quilts		10.00	
Carpet		6.00	
Looking Glass		3.50	
Washstand Bowl & Pitcher		2.50	
Case of Drawers		8.00	
Beaureau		6.00	
6 Chairs	@ .62.5	3.75	
Curtains &Sundries		2.00	
1 Umbrella		1.50	
Looking Glass		8.00	
1 pr Tables		7.00	
Mahogany Stand		4.00	
8Chairs	@ .50	4.00	
	Amount carried over		263.22
3 Waiters		2,50	
Andirons shovel &Tongs		10.00	
Candlesticks &Brush		.75	
Set of China & Queenware		14.00	
Gin Case, Bottles, Jars etc		2.00	
Carpetting		9.00	
Lot of Silver		40.00	
Lot of Books		10.00	
Large Armchair		5.00	
Lot of Pewter &Tinware		12.00	
Cupboard & Contents		4.00	
Stand Looking Glass &Chair		2.00	
Warming Pan		1.00	
Bedsteads, Bed &Bedding		18.00	

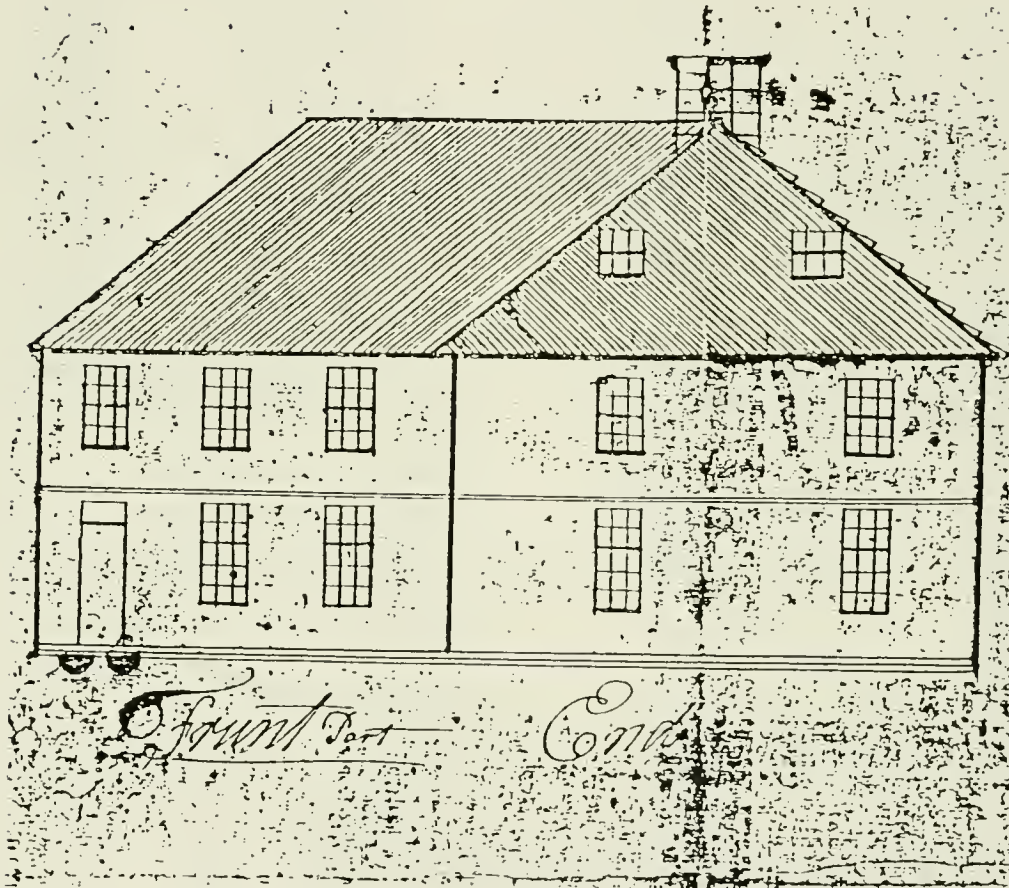
do do do		12.00	
Chest of Drawers		2.50	
Armchair		.25	
Bedstead, Beds & Bedding		8.00	
12 pr Sheets		12.00	
Timothy Bed		3.50	
Bedsteads, Bed & Bedding		10.00	
Chest of drawers		2.00	
Clock		40.00	
Two Tables & Oilcloths		10.00	
8 Chairs		4.00	
Looking Glass		6.00	
Andirons, Shovel & Tongs Brush etc		4.00	
Candlesticks & Waiters		2.00	
Carpet		3.00	
Lot of Queen & Glass Ware in Closet		8.00	
Oilcloth in Entry		.75	
Stove and Pipe		8.00	
Dough Trough & Table		3.00	
Contents of Dresser		4.00	
Lot on Mantlepiece		2.00	
Andirons, Shovels and Tongs		2.00	
Kettles Pots etc		9.00	
Bedsteads & beds		3.00	
4 pr. Blankets	@4.00	16.00	
Coverlit		1.50	
22 yds Table linen		5.00	
Lot of Coverlits & Blankets		9.00	
Lot of Wool		6.50	
Chest Bedstead etc		3.00	
Settee Cloathspress etc		3.00	334.00
	Amount Carried forward		597.00
Lot of Sundries		2.50	
Lot of Spinning Wheels		5.50	
Stair carpet		6.00	
Salt Pork		35.00	
Lard		10.00	
Domestic Wine		15.00	
Lot of Emty vessels, gallons etc		4.00	
40 Bush. potatoes	@ .62.5	25.00	
Lot of Tallow		7.00	
Salt Beef		12.00	
Pickling Tubs		4.00	
Soap		3.00	
Lot of Sundries		1.50	
[Safe?]		1.00	
kettles tubs etc		8.00	
15 store cattle	@17.00 per head	255.00	
1 pr Working Oxen		40.00	
3 milk cows	@12.00	36.00	
1 colt 3 years old		60.00	
1 old Bay Mare		25.00	

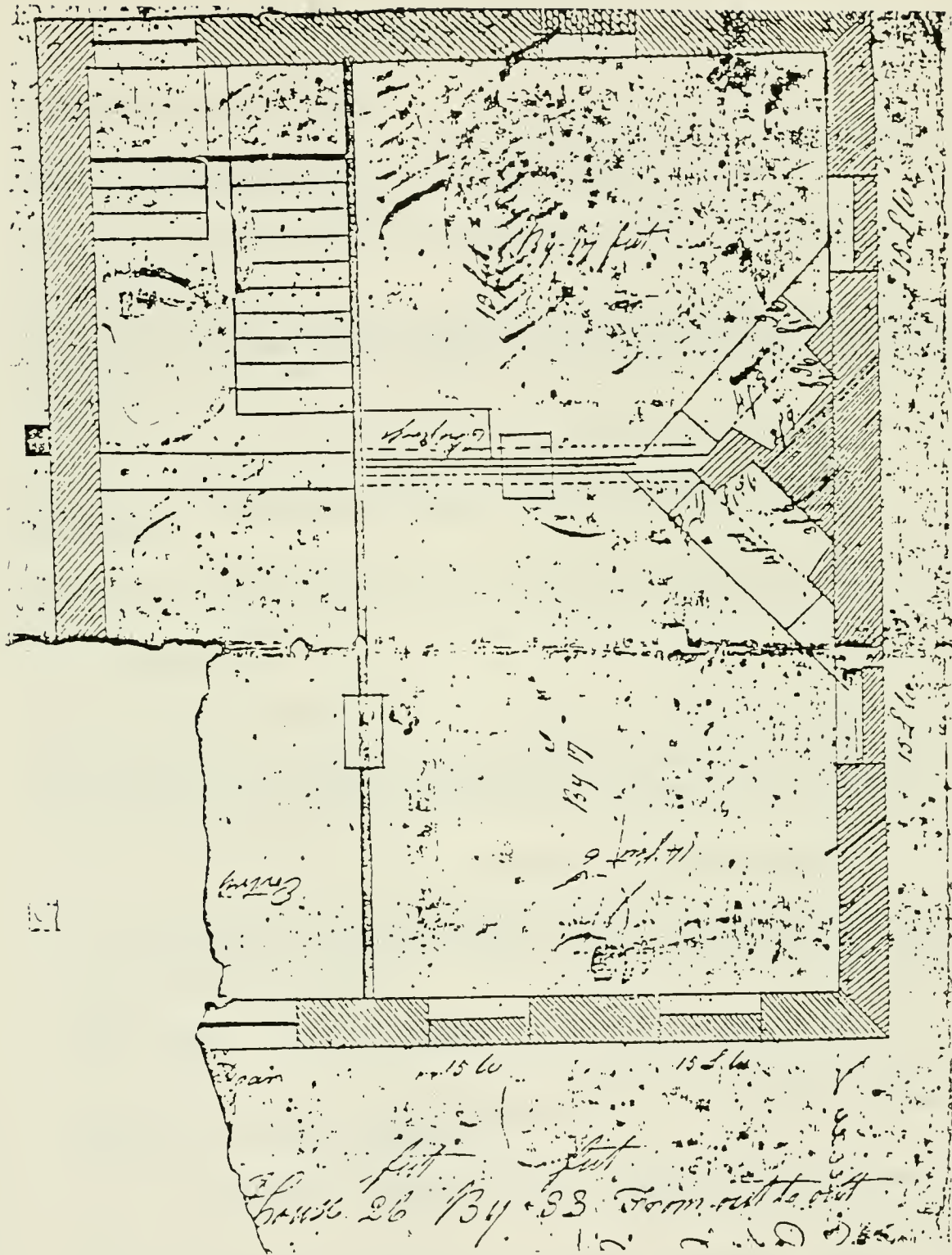
1 [illegible: on fold]		15.00	
1 Baldfaced horse		45.00	
1 old Black do		25.00	
1 Sow		6.00	
6 pigs		14.00	
25 tons Hay in West Mow	@ 11.00	275.00	
20 tons Hay in East Mow	@7.00	140.00	
150 Bush. Wheat in Sheaf	@ .85	127.50	
Lot of Rakes & Pitchforks		2.25	
170 Bush. Corn in Barn	@. 62.5	106.25	
25 Bush. oats in barn	@ .25	6.25	
20 BAgs		7.00	
200lbs Bacon	@ .06	12.00	
70lbs Beef		2.00	
Half bushel		.25	
Cutting Box, axe etc		4.00	
200 Bushels Corn in Waggonhouse	@ .62.5	125.00	
8 tons of Hay in Old Barn		10.00	
Lot of Cornfodder in Old Barn	@8.00	64.00	
Windmill & Sleigh		2.00	
Hay Ladder		5.00	1579.00
	Amt carried forward		2176.47
! waggon		24.00	
2 Carts		15.00	
Ox Yokes & Cart Shaft		3.00	
Boards & Shingles		10.00	
Light cart		13.00	
Old Heavy cart		3.00	
Lot of Brick		1.00	
Lot of Sundries		1.00	
Plough Cart Waggon Gears		14.00	
Dungfork & rick chains		1.50	
4 Harrows & 2 Ploughs		26.00	
2 grindstones		2.00	
Cider works		10.00	
Lot of Sundries in Workshop		22.00	
40 Bush.oats in Workshop loft		14.00	
Lot of Old Lumber		1.00	
Lot of Vinegar		8.00	
2 Guns		4.00	
Carriage and Harness		120.00	
Riding Chair		25.00	
Crosscut Saw		2.00	
Wheel barrow		1.00	
30 Bush. rye	@.60	18.00	
Chese & Churn		2.00	
Lot of Sundries in Spring house		2.00	
37.5 Bush. Wheat " "	@.95	35.62	
28 do Rye	@.65	18.20	
75 do Oats	@.35	26.25	
5 cows	@11.00	55.00	
4 tons Hay	@8.00	32.00	

1 Cutting Knife	.40	509.97
Amount of Bond & Notes		14,893.73
Bank stock		3970.00
Cash on hand		1280.00
		22,930.17

Samuel Garrett Appraisers
 Joseph Lloyd
 January 10 1826 Appraisers duly affirmed according to law
 Henry Myers Regr.

II: PLAN AND ELEVATION OF COLLEN BROOK FARM, CIRCA 1794





N.B. The original plan clearly shows the annotation "the old part" along what remains of the east wall. The square mark is taken to denote that this "old part" was framed in wood.

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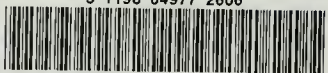
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