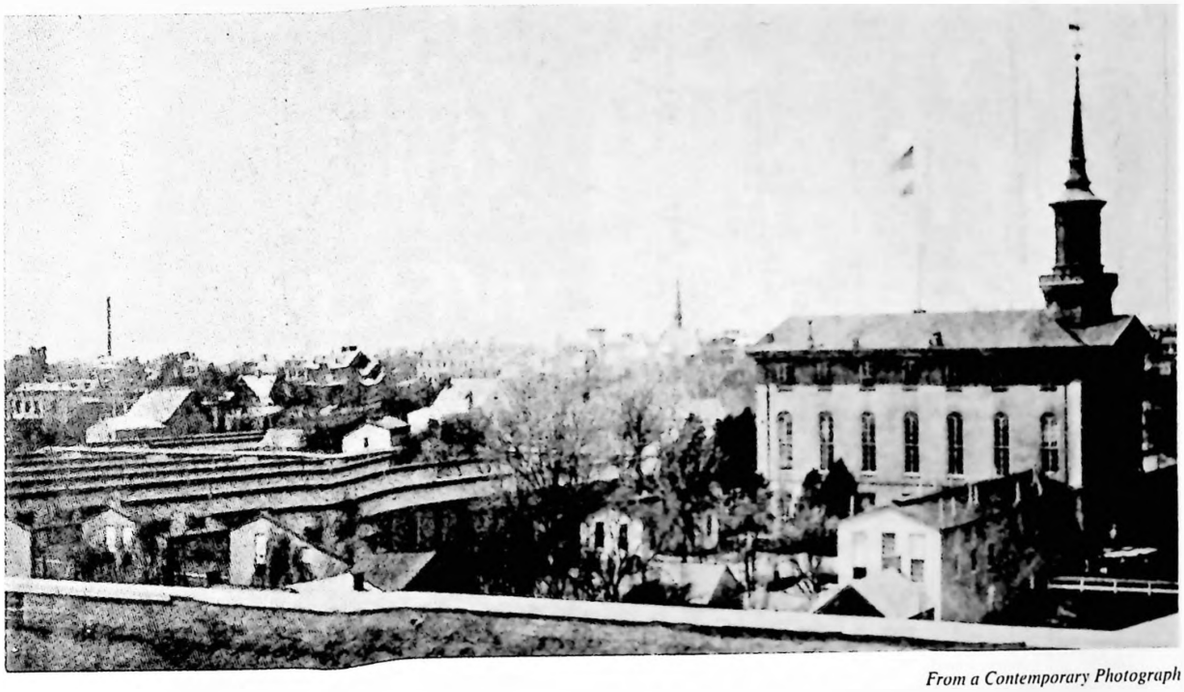
GERMANTOWNE CRIER





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See Page 81

VOLUME 30, NUMBER 4 **FIFTY CENTS** **FALL, 1978**

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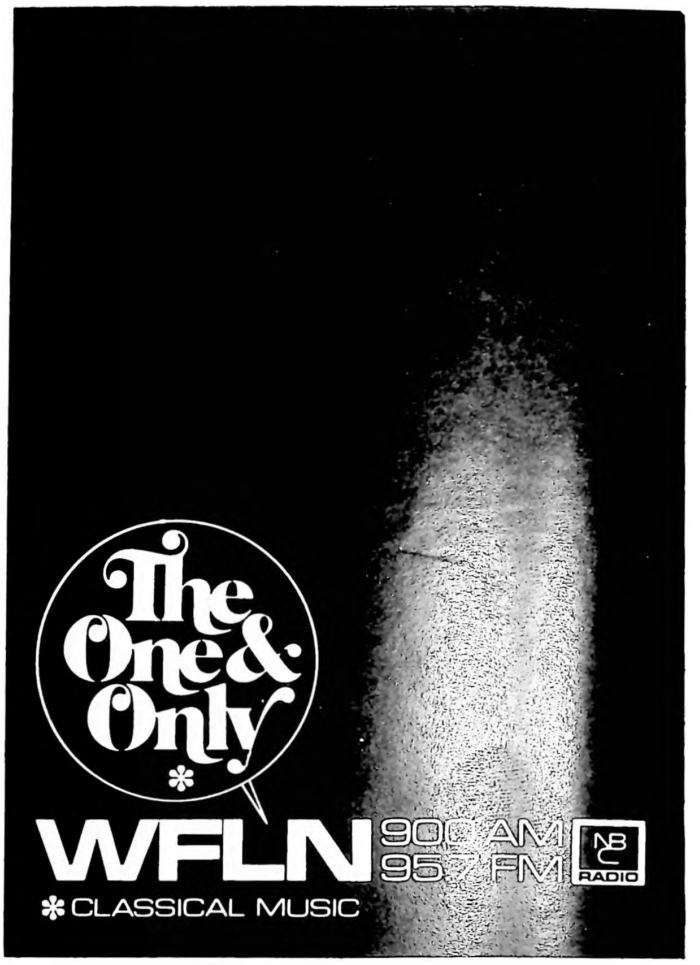


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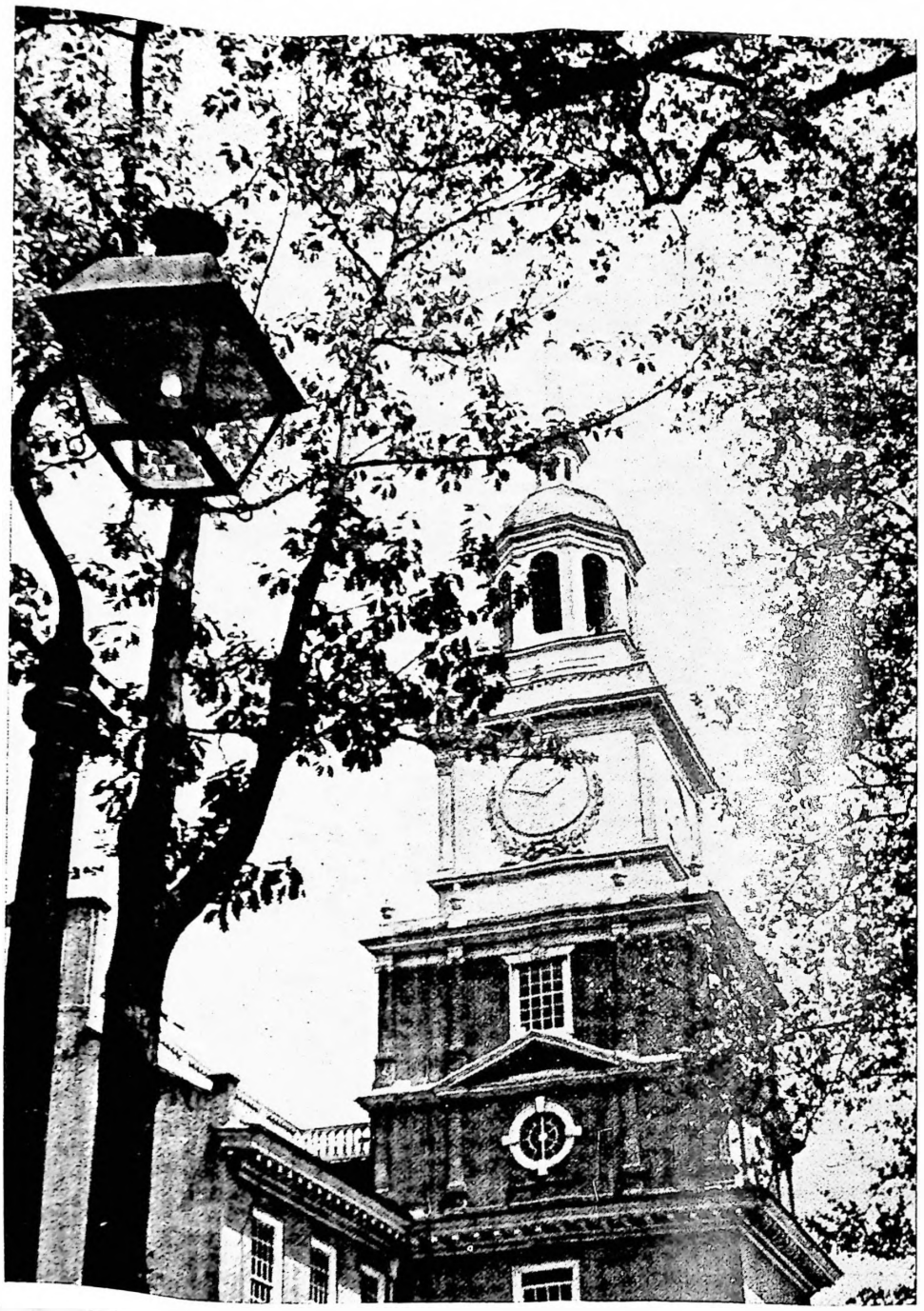
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The Summer of '63 and the Aftermath of Gettysburg

By LISABETH M. HOLLOWAY, M.S. in L.S.
and STEVEN J. PEITZMAN, M.D.

Mrs. Holloway, whose contributions are well known to *Crier* readers, is former curator of historical collections at the Library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. Dr. Peitzman, a Germantown resident for ten years, is an internist and is assistant professor of medicine at the Medical College of Pennsylvania.

In late June of 1863, for the second time in a century, Philadelphia and its borough of Germantown began seriously to contemplate the likelihood of enemy invasion. Robert E. Lee had brought his fearsome Army of Northern Virginia, 70,000 tough, ragged veterans, as near as Chambersburg, with the clear intent of dividing Union territory and isolating the powerful cities of the Atlantic plain. From previous experience, no sensible person predicted that any Union general could defeat him, at least not before he captured Philadelpha or Baltimore or Washington.

So Philadelphians turned with alarm and foreboding to their own defense. The Germantown Bank sent its gold to New York. Mayor Alexander Henry (a Germantowner by birth) called on the city's businessmen to close their shops — though business was good that summer — and join the 90-day militia being raised for home service. Many hundreds did so. Earthen forts were erected to the north and west of the city, the largest at School Lane and the Ridge Road.[1]

As it happened, Philadelphia *did* suffer invasion, and in large numbers. But the invaders came mostly in tattered, bloodstained Union blue, by hospital train and steamer. Those few in Confederate gray were even more helpless and distressed. To their credit, the besieged inhabitants received all comers graciously, whatever their colors, and exerted themselves strenuously to heal and comfort them. In plain terms, the 24 military hospitals of Philadelphia, with their 14,500 beds, received throughout the war an estimated 157,000 sick and wounded soldiers and sailors of both sides, making this city, after Washington, the largest hospital center of the war.[2]

Philadelphia, like Washington, was easily accessible by water from the battlefields of Virginia. This was an important consideration. Transport of wounded was slow, painful, and dangerous at best, and the hospital steamer was by far the conveyance of choice, since some care could be provided en route. Ambulance-wagons were developed for railroad service during the war, but they seldom carried food and water, and even more rarely, a surgeon. Whether the patient was delivered by train or steamer to hospital at the end of his journey, he had to begin it by ambulance-cart, a barbarous, springless vehicle, open to sun and rain, and very little improved since Revolutionary days. (Some of these ambulances were made in Germantown.) Wounded men often begged to be left to die on the field, rather than suffer the agony of such conveyance.

One other consideration put Philadelphia in the forefront as a hospital center. Here were the two largest medical schools in the country, the University of Pennsylvania and Jefferson Medical College, which had between them trained a high proportion of the surgeons of both armies. (Sometimes former classmates encountered each other on the medical staffs of opposing armies, and sometimes, though not always, humanitarian cooperation resulted across the lines.) So Philadelphia had skilled medical personnel in depth.

Of course, no matter how skilled by contemporary standards, the 19th-century surgeon could do little against much of the suffering he had to face. For us today, after a century of progress in prevention and control of communicable disease and infection, it is hard to comprehend the sickness usual in a 19th-century army. Childhood diseases like measles and mumps took the lives of thousands of back-country boys. "Camp diseases" — dysentery, diarrhea and other intestinal afflictions arising from ignorant and careless sanitation — killed nearly 45,000 men (258 times more than in World War I) out of a total Union death-list of 359,528 over the four years of war. Almost 35,000 died of typhoid, and over 10,000 of malaria. L. C. Duncan, one of the chief authorities on the history of American military medicine, estimated death rates in the Union Army at 98 per 1,000 per year (33 from battle, 65 from disease). Confederate death-rates, which cannot be computed as accurately because of loss of records and so on, are thought to have been somewhat higher. F. H. Taylor gives Pennsylvania Civil War troops a rather good rating in respect to hygiene and sanitation: of each 100 deaths, 56 resulted from battle and 44 from disease. (*Only* 44.) Like three other loyal states, Pennsylvania insisted on taking care of its own medical casualties.

The slow-moving, soft bullets of the time nearly always left infection behind them. (A swift bullet may cauterize its own wound.) Wounds of the extremities were treated by amputation as promptly as possible, to avoid gangrene. Sterilization and bacterial control were still in the future. Surgery of the head or trunk was seldom attempted: the patient was given opiates till he died. Sometimes ether and chloroform were available to the battlefield surgeons; otherwise, as a Union medical cadet (or student) reported, "three of

us sat on the patient while the surgeon removed the bullet."

The American people as a whole were strongly aroused by the plight of the medical casualties of this extremely visible war. The telegraph carried swift news of the bloody defeats in the early months, when wounded were left on the battlefield for days. Less than a decade earlier, Florence Nightingale had directly challenged a hidebound British medical hierarchy, and it soon became clear that the American Army Medical Department was no less conservative and resistant to change. Under the leadership of eminent clergymen such as Henry K. Bellows, distinguished humanitarians like Samuel Gridley Howe, and women of position and influence like Louisa Lee Schuyler and Katharine Prescott Wormeley, women's local aid societies all over the country were hastily formed into the Sanitary Commission, a quasi-official body legalized by Presidential order on June 13, 1861. (In Germantown, Mayor Henry's mother had set an example by organizing, three days after the fall of Fort Sumter, a sewing-circle for soldiers and their families.)

The Commission forced its choice for Surgeon-General, the vigorous and capable William A. Hammond, on the Army in April, 1862. With Jonathan Letterman, a Jefferson graduate, as Inspector-General, Hammond created an ambulance corps, set up a system of field hospitals, and controlled sources and distribution of medical supplies, formerly mostly wasted or wanting. Hammond came into conflict with Secretary of War Stanton. In August, 1864, he was dismissed by court-martial, on grounds found inadequate and frivolous in 1878, when he was exonerated and restored to rank. After Hammond's departure, the Sanitary Commission came into almost open conflict with the Army; nevertheless, it continued to transport wounded in its own steamers under the care of its own doctors and nurses, distribute its own medical stores, and provide volunteer nurses at the battlefield, whether cold-shouldered or not by the military establishment.

In June of 1864, a great fund-raising effort was held at Logan Square, Philadelphia, called the Sanitary Commission Fair. (For this occasion, Mrs. E. Harkinson, proprietress of a confectionery at Germantown Avenue and Rittenhouse Street, baked a 50-pound fruit cake, and sent it to President Lincoln at the Fair. He expressed pleasure, says Hocker, and had it sent to Washington, but no one knows who ate it.) Both the Fair and the Commission itself had far-reaching effects on the subsequent development of charitable and social-service organization throughout the country, especially among women, who began to understand the power of numbers. Germantown had its own smaller fairs that spring, too. And in October, 1864, a "fine concert" was held at Langstroth's Hall, Germantown and Chelten, to benefit the two Germantown branches of the Sanitary Commission.

Fragmentary records exist among the Civil War materials in the Library of the Germantown Historical Society, depicting special activities, such as the Fund for White Refugees, which in 1864 collected donations-in-kind for displaced persons in the southern states, and the Colored Soldiers' Orphan Home, a post-war effort. But of all Germantown's charitable activities — and Germantown men and boys were serving in many regiments, especially the 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers, "the Bucktails" — without doubt, the most important was Cuyler Hospital. In fact, Cuyler, although a regular Army hospital, operating under orders from the Surgeon-General, was from start to finish practically a Germantown enterprise.

In 1862, the City of Philadelphia offered the Germantown Town Hall to the United States Government for hospital purposes. According to James Darrach, the first Surgeon-in-Charge, he then went to Washington,

> . . . under the influence of a number of patriotic ladies, and obtained from the Surgeon-General an order to the Medical Director of this district, and in July of the same year the hospital was organized, with Dr. James Darrach as Surgeon-in-Charge, and Drs. J. M. Leedom, W. R. Dunton, T. F. Betton, R. N. Downs, C. R. Prall, W. Darrach, Jr., Horace Y. Evans, John Ashhurst, Jr., and P. D. Keyser, as Assistant Surgeons. [Nearly all of these men lived in Germantown.] The capacity of the original building being too limited, additions were made which enabled the hospital to accommodate 630 beds. About this time it received the name of Cuyler Hospital in honor of John M. Cuyler, M.D., Medical Director, U.S.A. The ladies of Germantown continued to take an active interest in the hospital, and through their efforts was established a contribution room from which delicacies were daily supplied to the sick and wounded soldiers. About a year after the organization of the hospital, Dr. Darrach resigned, and was followed by Dr. Josiah Curtis, U.S. Volunteers [1816-1883; A.B. Yale 1840; M.D. Jefferson 1843; a native of Connecticut, eventually became chief medical officer of the U.S. Indian Service] and subsequently by Dr. H. S. Schell, U.S.A. [Henry Sayler Schell, 1835-1890, graduated from Central High School in Philadelphia in 1853; took his medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1857; stayed in the Army till 1869; practiced surgery in Philadelphia, and died in California]. The hospital continued to receive patients until the end of the war, and served a good purpose in receiving convalescent patients from the field hospitals, thus making room for those who needed prompt attention near the battlefield. The hospital was closed at the end of the war, and the remaining patients were transferred to the Mower Hospital, Chestnut Hill.[3]

Of the physicians mentioned above, James Darrach, William Rush Dunton, and Robert N. Downs practiced in Germantown well into the 20th century, and will be discussed at some length in a sequel to this paper. John Moore Leedom, 1837-1885, attended Haverford College and graduated in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania in 1859. (In 1926 the Leedom family presented his copies of Cuyler Hospital orders, printed regulations, etc., to the Germantown Historical Society, where they form the nucleus of information on the hospital.) Thomas Forrest Betton, 1809-1875, son of Dr. Samuel Betton, Jr., 1785-1850 (owner of the White Cottage on Manheim Street near Greene), was prepared at Mount Airy College and was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine in 1832. He practiced surgery in Germantown, and was Professor of Surgery at the short-lived Frank-

Illin Medical College in Philadelphia from 1846 to 1848. WWilliam Darrach, Jr., a brother of James, held both tthe baccalaureate and medical degrees of the Universsity. His chief wartime service was at McClellan, a 400-bed military hospital near Wayne Junction. He died in Germantown January 28, 1881, in his fortytthird year.

John Ashhurst, Jr., 1839-1900, son of a prominent merchant-banker of Philadelphia, also held two Uniwersity degrees and became, in 1877, its Professor of Clinical Surgery. Claudius R. Prall, M.D. Jefferson, 1856, married a sister of the wife of Ebenezer Maxwell, and practiced in Philadelphia, dying December 12, 1885. Horace Young Evans, 1834-1908, born in Chester County, graduated from Princeton in 1855, and from the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania in 1858. Peter Dirck Keyser, 1835-1908, descended from an early settler of Germantown, graduated at Delaware College, then devoted several years tto chemical study abroad, taking his medical degree at tthe University of Jena in 1864, after a year as Captain iin the 91st Pennsylvania Volunteers. He specialized in ophthalmology, publishing a number of professional papers, and becoming dean of Medico-Chirurgical College in Philadelphia. All in all, the surgeons of Cuyler were, or were to become, distinguished members of their profession.

The chaplain appointed to Cuyler by President Lincoln, Dr. Charles Karsner, had unusual qualifications ffor the post. According to his obituary in the *Germantown Independent* in July of 1883, after five years in Ellis' drug business in Philadelphia, he took a theological course at Dickinson. For some years he held Methodist pastorates in Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland; then, developing an interest in medicine, he ttook two full courses at Jefferson, graduating M.D. in 1859. Soon after, however, he began to take up homeopathy, the leading 19th-century medical heresy, and automatically disqualified himself from service in the Army Medical Department by so doing. (His non-Homeopathic brethren on the medical staff of Cuyler even protested his appointment as chaplain.) Four of his sons served in the Civil War, three of them later ggraduating in medicine at Jefferson, and two ultimately ffollowing their father into homeopathy. Daniel practticed for some time at Greene and Tulpehocken Streets. The fourth son, George W., was found by his ffather among the wounded at Antietam, brought home, and operated on by the great Samuel D. Gross, Professor of Surgery at Jefferson (and emphatically non-Homeopathic). After the war, George W. Karsner lived iin Germantown, spending 43 years in the employ of tthe gas company. The Reverend Doctor Charles Karsmer himself retired from his pastorate of the Haines Street Methodist Church in 1863, because of bronchial ttrouble. His parishioners begged him to stay on as a Homeopathic physician, and he developed a large local ppractice. He died in Ocean Grove, N.J., June 6, 1883. At his death, it was noted that he had been often called on during the war, to perform marriages between Cuyller's convalescents and Germantown girls.

Besides being responsible for religious services and "'moral education" of the men, the chaplain of the day aat Cuyler was expected to keep a register of next-of-kkin for all patients seriously ill, and to communicate to them news of the patient's condition. One lady volunteer gave instruction in the three R's; when this grew too heavy a charge on her time, the chaplains were instructed to take over her duties.

Lady volunteers were even more important to the patients' welfare than they are today. Nursing was not yet a respected profession— hardly even a respectable one — and most paid nurses were of the sort immortalized by Dickens in the person of Mrs. Sairey Gamp, though lacking her gift of expression. The female complement of the Cuyler staff as a whole got a good many official scoldings for intoxication, noise, and misbehavior after hours. So the ladies of Germantown, bringing bandages for comfort, and delicacies to enliven the endless diet of soup and cornstarch, writing letters home, providing clean shirts and cool pillows, provided some of these dispirited men their only friendly, home-like contact. One anonymous Philadelphia lady — most of these ladies seemed to prefer anonymity — published her recollections of an unnamed hospital. Several times she had to turn away the curious from the Rebel wards; one soldier learned too late that while he recovered in one hospital, his brother lay dying nearby in another; a demented patient, struck in the head by a spent ball on the battlefield, wandered about the wards. Morale was low and discipline poor: the hospital's guardhouse was often occupied. Desertion was common: of about 46,500 patients brought to Philadelphia in the last six months of 1864, some 11,000 ran away.

But in spite of everything, there were lighter moments. At Cuyler a band provided entertainment for both inmates and neighbors — no loitering on the grass, mind!— and at Mower a "one-legged squad" of 51 amputees capered through drills on the parade-ground, provoking their fellow-patients to great hilarity. Thanksgiving dinner at Mower in 1864 was set at a table half-a-mile long, running through the great corridor which connected the pavilions. Thirty-five hundred soldiers consumed "two tons of turkeys, 30,000 oysters, 25 bushels of potatoes, 3 barrels of beans, 4 barrels of crackers, 5 barrels of cranberries, a half-ton of bread, 500 gallons of coffee, 1,200 quarts of milk, 225 pounds of butter, and 800 quarts of ice cream."

But festival and rejoicing were hardly the order of the day on July 4, 1863. The decisive nature of the Confederate defeat was appreciated only by degrees. Another battle was anticipated daily, and rumors of large-scale engagements continued to occupy the newspapers. Concern for the wounded grew steadily. The final estimate of wounded and dying left at Gettysburg after the armies departed southwards has been estimated at 21,000. A number of civilian physicians, some with squads of volunteer nurses, set off for the battlefield.

In Philadelphia's military hospitals, no less than 5,000 beds were empty, and Governor Curtin telegraphed Surgeon-General Hammond repeating Pennsylvania's wish to care for her own wounded. Cuyler had only 78 patients in residence, though space for more was being prepared. (Charles Neiman, a master carpenter who had emigrated to America from his native Westphalia in 1846 at the age of 15, superintended some 50 hands in the construction of nine wooden

pavilions behind the old Town Hall.) Mower in Chestnut Hill, on 27 acres near the present Reading Station, had only 2,588 out of a capacity of 3,100. The huge Satterlee Hospital in West Philadelphia, with a capacity at the time of 2,860, had only 1,595. (Eventually Satterlee and Mower were to become the largest and third largest, respectively, of all Civil War hospitals in the country.) These institutions were soon filled to oveflowing, and at some, tents were erected on the lawns.

The Inquirer first reported the arrival of hospital trains on Tuesday July 7th. The Citizens' Volunteer Hospital, with 400 beds, at Broad and Prime, near the railroad depot, served as the reception center, providing first aid— often the only care the patient had received since his injury — a hot meal, and clean clothing. Neighboring churches were used to accommodate the overflow after the great battles. Volunteers met all the trains, to guard the helpless wounded against "thieves and harpies."

As rapidly as possible, patients were transferred by horse-drawn ambulances belonging to the volunteer fire companies; on Saturday the 11th, one of the horses of the West Philadelphia Hose dropped dead from heat exhaustion. This was the day, according to our anonymous lady-writer, when the great waves of wounded reached the hospitals: milk-punch and iced lemonade were served on arrival, baths given, wounds "wetted," cologne dispensed. Newspapers here and elsewhere published casualty lists, and soon the city was inundated with friends and relatives arriving from other states, so the Y.M.C.A. and the Sanitary Commission set up hospital directories to accommodate these anxious visitors.

For over two weeks, the trains continued to arrive. Most of the rebel wounded were sent to hospitals in Chester, Pa., and Baltimore. At the time, one observer remarked on the dejection of the Confederate wounded: three of them died, she said, to one Union soldier. For days the battlefield was in "a sickening condition"; burial was hasty and inadequate, especially among the rebels. Some seven years later, Ladies' Memorial Associations in southern cities began to arrange to "bring home" their dead, and a Philadelphia anatomist, Rufus B. Weaver, M.D., at Hahnemann Medical College, whose father, a Gettysburg farmer, had assisted with some of the burials and kept some records, undertook over several summers the grisly task of identifying, so far as possible, the exhumed bodies.*

By degrees, the hospital trains from Gettysburg ceased to arrive. In their place, from farther south, in increasing numbers, came trains and steamers. For Germantown, as for all other Union communities, the Battle of Gettysburg brought a certain relief, a gradual comprehension that attack above the Mason-Dixon line was no longer likely, that daily pursuits might be resumed with some sense of security. But to Germantown and Chestnut Hill, and the other communities of military hospitals, came also a lasting and painful responsibility, and a heavy sense of the price of their security, in the long, grievous task of caring for the victims of battle.

*In spite of Weaver's efforts, however, at one of the Confederacy's most famous cemeteries, the Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia, no list of dead ever accompanied the seven shipments of numbered coffins. The writer, searching for the grave of 1st Lt. John Burton Holloway, Co. F, 26th North Carolina, CSA, killed on July 1st at McPherson's Woods, was shown the original record book of the cemetery, noting on the flyleaf the arrival of the bodies, without identification.

1. General information and statistics on Philadelphia Civil War hospitals are taken from F. H. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Philadelphia, 1913), and from *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 1-16, 1863. Edward W. Hocker's *Germantown, 1683-1933* (Germantown, 1933) gives sidelights on Germantown participation in the war effort. *Notes of Hospital Life from November, 1861 to August, 1863* (anonymous, Philadelphia, 1864) preserves the recollections of the lady-volunteer cited.

2. Medical statistics and background are taken from F. R. Packard, *History of Medicine in the United States*, (New York, 1931; 2 v.), v. 1, chapter 9 (pp. 619-656), "The Medical Department of the Army from the Close of the Revolution to the Close of the Spanish-American War." Also from Duncan's "The Medical Department of the United States Army in the Civil War," (Washington, 19--; consisting of reprints from *The Military Surgeon*). Biographical data on physicians comes from the author's collection of obituary-references for American physicians before 1906, chiefly from medical journals.

3. S. F. Hotchkin, *Ancient and Modern Germantown, Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill*, (Philadelphia, 1889); Appendix no. 7, p. 538.

U.S. Capital established at Washington, 1800

West Point Military Academy established, 1802

Friction matches invented, 1836

Pasteur and germ theory of disease, 1858

Standard time adopted, 1883

First "fat test" of milk, 1888

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The Mid-1970's in Germantown

By MARK F. LLOYD

One of the functions of the historian of the Germantown Historical Society is to write an annual chronicle or summary of noteworthy events in Germantown. This practice has lapsed, however, since the promotion of my immediate predecessor to the position of librarian of the Society. There have been no reports of "Happenings in Germantown" for four years now. But having been trained as a professional historian and not as a journalist, I find myself far more comfortable with an overview of half a decade rather than twelve months as I make choices as to what is historically newsworthy and what is not. Thus what follows is an attempt to pick out historical themes in Germantown as they were represented in the day to day events of the mid-1970s in our community.

Even a cursory reading of the local newspaper, *The Germantown Courier,* over the last few years reveals that Germantown in the 1970's is a community beset by the worst problems of the modern city. Abandoned houses, bank and insurance company "redlining," large numbers of poor and unemployed residents, a high crime rate, sub-par public schools, an unstable business district, the gradual emaciation suffered by any community when it is deprived the nourishment of regular capital investment — these problems all afflict Germantown and have assumed large proportions in the 1970's. For perhaps the first time in its three hundred year history Germantown is faced with fundamental breakdown in its private sector. Some view the private sector as indifferent or even hostile to the social ills of the community and therefore a contributor to those ills. Others argue that the private sector has only finite capabilities which are quite overwhelmed by the large proportions of the problems outlined above. But in any case the struggle of the community to cope with its ills has resulted in a subtle, but very basic transformation in the way Germantowners view themselves and their unique community. No longer is our community that of Cornelius Weygandt where

> ". . . less than seven miles from the center of Philadelphia, there are rabbits and gray squirrels about in numbers, deer, mice and ground hackies. There are opossums in the woodpile, and a friend (reports) . . . a raccoon crossing the road as the headlights of his car picked up the creature making his way home . . ." (from *On The Edge Of Evening,* (1946), p. 203)

No longer do Germantowners think of their community as somehow detached and favorably distinct from the city as a whole. In greater Germantown the bright torch of distinction has been passed on to Chestnut Hill alone, a neighborhood which though very much a part of the city knows very few of its woes; a neighborhood which faced with the threat of disruption or deterioration — such as the sale of the ninety acre Morgan tract to outside developers in the mid-1950's — has been able to resolve such problems with internal community organizations. In Germantown the transition from an independent-minded community to a subsection of the larger city may best be seen in the way the people and organizations of the community respond to the pressures of a deteriorating social fabric. That response in the mid-1970's — whether in regard to poor traffic flow or abandoned houses, to business revitalization or sub-par public schools, to checking the increasing crime rate or funding the Bicentennial celebration— has been in the great majority of cases to call upon the city, state or federal government for relief or assistance. Change in and development of Germantown has become so closely tied to the fortune of the city itself that Germantown has lost a great deal of its time-honored individuality. This theme emerges as perhaps the most prominent in the events of the mid-1970's in Germantown.

On the whole, however, Germantown continues to offer its residents an unusually instructive combination of the blessings and evils of the modern urban setting. In the realm of education in the past five years Germantown has lost Ravenhill Academy on School House Lane and the Ancilla Domini Academy on Church Lane. It has lost too the Germantown Lutheran Academy at the old Germantown Academy site, Greene and School House Lane, but that site has been taken over by Germantown's own Stevens School. The Philadelphia public schools have not expanded in the mid-1970's as they did in the late 1960's, but the Shedd/Dilworth building program of the late 1960's/early 1970's provided Germantown with fine new educational facilities in the form of the John B. Kelly Elementary School at Pulaski and Hansberry, the appropriately-named Francis Pastorius Elementary School at Chelten and Sprague, the Clarence E. Pickett Middle School at Wayne and Chelten, the Ada H. Lewis Middle School at Ardleigh and Haines, and the Martin Luther King High School at Stenton and Haines. These buildings and the large land holdings which in every case but one surround them guarantee adequate educational facilities for a large percentage of Germantown's youth for several decades into the future. Among the private schools of the Germantown area the William Penn Charter School and the Phila-

delphia College of Textiles and Science stand out as perhaps the best known. But the Germantown Friends School remains one of the strongest pillars of the community, active in and committed to community affairs and still renowned as one of the finest secondary schools in the city.

In the broader context of education in Germantown two other institutions deserve note. One is the Allens Lane Art Center at McCallum and Allens Lane. This school/community center has continued throughout the 1970's to offer a wide range of creative arts programs. From stage productions to sculpture to arts and crafts the Center enrolls all age groups in its classes. The second institution is news right now. It is the Northwest Regional Library of the Free Library system of Philadelphia. Just opened to the public this past July the library will house approximately 100,000 items from records and slide shows to scholarly journals and microfilm. Its central location at Greene and Chelten and its high profile in community affairs (provided by the Friends of the Library group) together promise an excellent educational resource for Germantown for many years to come.

One of the major trouble areas in Germantown in the mid-1970's has been the maintenance of Germantown's many apartment buildings by their owners. During the last four years tenants in more than a dozen Germantown apartment houses have withheld rent, demanded city government intervention or brought charges in court against their apartment house owners. In most cases the tenants' protests have been upheld by the city's Department of Licenses and Inspections or by the local courts. From the historian's perspective this conflict finds a ready explanation. The "Roaring Twenties" (as we like to recall that decade) witnessed unprecedented prosperity and economic growth in American society in general. Much of that prosperity and growth was based on soaring real estate prices and risky, speculative building. In Germantown where the automobile was enabling the upper middle class to move out and the standard middle class to move in, real estate speculation was unusually widespread. Because Germantown was generally viewed as one of the city's most attractive areas, investment in an apartment house was considered an especially profitable venture. The result was a remarkable surge of apartment house building in Germantown (research in City of Philadelphia land and building permit records show that the vast majority of Germantown's apartment houses were built in the period 1918 through 1930). This information coupled with the general rule that buildings erected for institutional or apartment-style residential use generally require renovation after fifty or sixty years — witness the announcement of Germantown Hospital this summer to embark on a $22 million renovation of its 1924 building and that of the Germantown YMCA to apply for a $2 million renovation of its 1928 building — allows us to see the apartment house controversy in a different light. Apartment house owners in Germantown must make a commitment to reinvest large amounts of capital in their buildings in the next decade or this type of conflict will continue and worsen.

The mid-1970's in Germantown has seen a noteworthy rise of black leadership in many of Germantown's institutions and community affairs. With the exception of its State Senator all of Germantown's local elected representatives — its City Councilman, State Representative and U.S. House of Representatives member — are black men. Perhaps the most prominent example of this experience was the naming of William T. Coleman, Jr. to the Cabinet by President Ford in 1975. Coleman was born and raised in Germantown where his father was the chief administrative officer of the Wissahickon Boys Club. The Germantown YMCA and the Germantown Businessmen's Association have seen their first black presidents. The neighborhood improvement associations, most notably the East Mount Airy Neighbors (EMAN) and the Southwest Germantown Association, have selected black presidents and managing officers. Many of the city's black professional middle and upper middle class live in Germantown and Mt. Airy. Though most of Germantown's black residents have arrived only since 1950, Germantown's black heritage runs deep and deserves the attention of competent historians.

Another major theme in Germantown in the 1970's has been the conflict between residents and the advent of so-called "institutions." Germantown, with its large number of nineteenth century mansions, has for some years been seen as an ideal location by many small social welfare organizations. These organizations, usually state or federally funded, generally treat society's traditional "marginal" members: alcoholics, the emotionally disturbed, the drug-addicted, the ex-convict, the physically handicapped. Most Germantown residents, while applauding the aims of such organizations, have fought against the location of these organizations in their own immediate neighborhoods. Thus efforts to establish clinics or "halfway houses" have been successfully resisted throughout Germantown during the 1970's. Interestingly nursing homes have escaped the general resistance to "institutions." Apparently Germantown residents do not perceive these institutions to be disruptive of the community fabric. In the last year two large nursing homes have been erected in Germantown and are now or shortly to be opened. These are the Greystone on the Greene, Inc. at Greene and Johnson Streets and the Cedars Nursing Home at 123 West School House Lane. One other development along this line is the increasing evidence that many Germantown houses are being converted to boarding homes which cater to the transient and poor. In the last year a spectacular fire in one home and the well publicized police raids in two others have emphasized the need for Germantowners to address this problem.

Two other aspects of life in Germantown in the 1970's seem best considered together. The first is the large number of poor and unemployed people who now call Germantown home. In January 1977 the *Germantown Courier* reported that nearly seventeen percent of Germantown families were receiving welfare payments and another seven percent were receiving unemployment benefits. Thus a total of one in every four Germantown families is unable to support itself and dependent on public assistance. At the very worst time of the Great Depression in the 1930's one in every four Americans was out of work. There is no escaping the conclusion that Germantown is experiencing a

very serious crisis. And bound up in this discouraging picture are the patterns of self-destruction which also trouble the community. Litter-strewn streets, vandalism, and the so-called "gang warfare" are each different aspects of this self-destructiveness, but the most serious for Germantown in the last few years has been arson. The burning and total destruction of the Germantown Boys Club on West Penn Street is the most unhappy example. But there have been several major cases of documented arson during this four year period. The Church of the Epiphany Episcopal at Lincoln Drive and Carpenter Lane was destroyed by fire in March, 1975. The Tague Lumber Company at Belfield and High Streets was destroyed by fire in December, 1975. The Philadelphia Sawdust Company at Lena and Church Lane was gutted in December, 1974. Arson consumed a building at 6025 Germantown Avenue and the historic site at 6000 Germantown Avenue, both in December, 1976. There are several other examples. The destruction of these properties, in each case by nearby residents, focuses our attention on one of the underlying tensions in Germantown in the 1970's. And I think this self-destructiveness is directly related to the idleness, the sense of personal defeat, the cynicism which accompanies the unproductive life of so many Germantowners.

In the historical field in Germantown the 1970's has been a mixture of ups and downs. Perhaps the biggest success story has been the Maxwell Mansion at Greene and Tulpehocken Streets. After ten years under the aegis of the Germantown Historical Society the Maxwell Mansion organization developed enough strength of its own to become independent. To date over $250,000 has been spent on restoration and the work is well towards completion. Two of Germantown's most famous colonial mansions, Cliveden and Wyck, have undergone successful transition from private to the National Trust for Historic Preservation at Cliveden and under Charles H. Haines and Mr. and Mrs. Roman Stutzman and the Germantown Historical Society at Wyck, both houses are now historic "drawing cards" for Germantown in a way never before possible. On the other hand the effort to celebrate the Bicentennial in Germantown was essentially a failure. This was primarily due to Germantown's dependence on the city's Bicentennial Commission for funding. The Commission's efforts, lackluster and misguided, proved to be only one of an entire series of Bicentennial celebration failures around the country. And the celebration in Germantown went down with that of Philadelphia as a whole. As a result, the many proposed projects and permanent improvements to historic Germantown buildings were all left unaccomplished.

There is much of unique value in Germantown, but there is much work to be done. In particular the thinking which argues that the "system" is to blame for society's ills and that public-funded development and redevelopment programs offer a panacea must be reconsidered. A renewed investment of trust in individual responsibility and effectiveness will yield major benefits for the Germantown community. Certainly this has been well demonstrated by the East Mount Airy Neighbors organization which has become perhaps the city's best known and most effective community group in just twelve years of existence. There are a great many people of ability and stature in Germantown. And a great many young professional people are now moving in alongside those who are already here. There can be little doubt that Germantown will soon manifest a renewed cohesiveness in its struggle with modern urban blight. This is the prospect for Germantown's future and it is none too soon to begin the good work.

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An Unusual Survivor of the Battle

By Sue Johansen

Most historians agree the Battle of Germantow was one of the most significant confrontations between British and American troops during the Revolutionary War. Doubts of Washington's ability to launch an offensive military attack vanished, the British were forced to reassess the strength and conviction of American soldiers who had suffered defeat at the Brandywine only three weeks earlier. The Battle of Germantown, coupled with Borgoyne's surrender at Saratoga thirteen days later, was unquestionably a major factor in France's decision to actively support the Americans in their quest for independence from Britain.

Much invaluable evidence remains today of this historic event. The Germantown Historical Society's Museum Collection includes a portion of the Johnson House Garden Fence which was pierced by bullets exchanged during the battle. Located at the corner of Washington Lane and Germantown Avenue, this house suffered extensive damage as the fighting raged nearby. The fence is interesting not only because of its association with the battle; construction methods included the use of hand wrought nails which are clearly visible in several sections.

The Johnson House Fence may be seen at the Connyngham-Hacker House located at 5214 Germantown Avenue.

The Button Family: A Unique Window on Germantown History

By MARK F. LLOYD

Though many historically significant families have graced Germantown's past, few exemplify its history as well as the Button family. Since 1831 four generations of Buttons have made greater Germantown their home. The men of three of those generations figured prominently in Germantown's business affairs. Both the men and the women of two of those generations were instrumental in founding and devoted in supporting one of Germantown's most prominent churches. These facts alone entitle the Buttons to a very special "old Germantown" status. But the effort of the present writer is not to discuss the Button family, *per se;* rather it is to interweave the history of the family with the history of the greater community and to discuss how the decisions of successive generations of the family as to business affairs, place of residence, and lifestyle reflected larger patterns of development in Germantown during the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus it is hoped that a review of the history of the Button family will reveal in a remarkably accurate and historically instructive way many of the basic themes of Germantown history since 1830.

The progenitor of the Button family in Germantown was John Button (1800-1882).[1] Born in Leicester, England, he was the son of Joseph Button, a lace manufacturer.[2] The Nottingham/Leicester area of England was at that time the leading center of hosiery manufacture in the Western world.[3] The American market for "hoods, scarfs, and. . .woollen knit hosiery" was largely supplied by English imports.[4] To ambitious English knit-good manufacturers and would be manufacturers, young America offered a promising livelihood. And indeed many Englishmen did leave their native country to establish knit-goods businesses in America. John Button was one of those.

By the age of thirty John Button had decided that he had gained enough experience and could tap enough capital to go into business for himself. Then, according to the family record, "actuated by the spirit of enterprise that had led so many young and thoroughly skilled manufacturers to seek new and wider fields, he determined to emigrate, and in the early part of April 1830, he set sail for the United States. . ."[5] With him came his sister and brother-in-law, Sarah and Conyers Smith, his wife, Ann, and two small children, Mary and Joseph. Intending to go into business as a manufacturer of hosiery, he brought with him from England two knitting-machines. These machines proved to be crucial to his success: knitting-machines were not manufactured in the United States until the 1850's.[6]

Arriving in the harbor at New York City, the Button family immediately pushed on to Philadelphia. This was only good business sense: Philadelphia was the nation's largest textile city, a position it had held since before the Revolution.[7] Setting up business in rented quarters[8] on South Third Street below Bainbridge, John Button manufactured children's socks for about a year. The business apparently prospered, though the sources differ as to the reasons for its success. Philadelphia and Germantown had been known for fine hosiery from the earliest colonial days.[9] But the hosiery had always been made by hand. Some sources attribute John Button's success to his knitting-machines; they claim that he was "the only manufacturer of hosiery by machinery (and therefore) enjoyed a monopoly for some years."[10] For several reasons this explanation seems extremely unlikely to the present writer.[11] John Button may have been one of only a small minority who manufactured hosiery with knitting-machines, but he could hardly have had a monopoly. Other sources attribute his early success to the superior quality of his product. This may be closer to the truth. The best answer, however, lies in a combination of factors. It is true that the vast majority of hosiery manufacture was by hand.[12] And as the machine-made product required less labor than its handmade counterpart, John Button was able to fix a low price on his goods. Furthermore there is ample evidence that the machine-made goods were preferred by some merchants as better products.[13] But most important, the American market was a lucrative one for the American hosiery manufacturer. So much hosiery was imported from England at higher prices that the American manufacturers could sell everything they could produce. John Button's success was primarily due to the market forces and economic circumstances of his time.

On the other hand it is important to keep in mind that John Button started out in a very small way. He and his brother-in-law operated the machines themselves; he repaired the machines himself and was forced to improvise new parts when the machines became inoperative.[14] He rented quarters in the city's poorest section; indeed, the Third and Bainbridge area would be the site of the infamous Native American riots in the 1840's[15] and by 1860 would be the city's first slum.[16] Neither John Button nor Conyers Smith is listed in any of the Philadelphia city directories dur-

ing the years 1830-3 and there is no indication that they employed any workmen. With their knitting-machines these two men were participating in the first surge of the industrial revolution in America. But before they could take full advantage of the opportunities offered by that transformation, they would have to amass the necessary capital for initiating large scale production. In 1830 Button and Smith operated a small business.

In the spring of 1831 John Button combined with another Englishman, Thomas Jones of Nicetown (who had also come from Leicestershire in 1830) and moved to Germantown. The two men rented quarters on the north side of Germantown Avenue just below East Logan Street in the extreme lower end of Germantown.[17] Here John Button first used the name Germantown Hosiery Mills. Here began the family's long association with Germantown.

Germantown in 1831 was still preindustrial.[18] The 1830 census had tallied just over 6,000 inhabitants of the village and surrounding township. The vast majority of these were artisans (i.e., skilled workers), farmers, and common laborers. East Washington Lane, East Haines Street, West Rittenhouse Street, School House Lane, Church Lane, East Penn Street, Queen Lane, Manheim Street, Wister Street, and Logan Street were Germantown's only streets besides the Main Street. Almost all the permanent buildings — dwelling houses, shops, churches, meeting halls — were built directly on Germantown Avenue. But change was in the air. The town's first English newspaper, Philip R. Freas' *The Germantown Telegraph,* was a few months old and prospering. There was talk of railroads and serious plans to build one from Philadelphia to Norristown by way of Germantown. The Temperance Movement, one of America's most controversial for the next one hundred years (and one of her most forgotten today), was getting under way in Germantown with the organization of a local chapter. Despite the currents of change most people continued to earn their living much as they had in the eighteenth century. Businesses in Germantown were generally one-man enterprises in which the family lived in the second and third floors of a house while the first floor was occupied by the family shop. "Cottage-industry," as this arrangement has been called, was not really industrial in the modern sense of the word. Whether artisan, shopkeeper, or merchant, the individual entrepreneur was the mode of conducting business in Germantown in 1831.[19]

Germantown of course was well known from the earliest colonial times for its manufacture of hosiery.[20] John Fanning Watson, the famous annalist, noted in the 1840's that Germantown's "earliest settlers. . .were distinguished, even till modern times, for their fabric of Germantown stockings. This fact induced the Bank of Germantown to adopt a seal (in 1814), with such a loom upon it."[21] And again, "among the characteristics of the place was its unrivalled manufacture of superior stockings. . ."[22] Another widely quoted observation was that of one Reverend Mr. Burnaby who in 1759 found that 60,000 pairs of stockings were sold annually by Germantown manufacturers.[23] Two of the most recent of Germantown's many historians have pointed out that the colonial hosiery manufacture and trade in Germantown were not as large or as dominant in the town as earlier historians have led their readers to believe.[24] This is healthy skepticism, but neither author argues that Germantown's early reputation was unearned. The manufacture of cloth and hosiery were indeed major trades in colonial Germantown.

Watson also points out that Germantown's early hosiery was "all done by hand weaving, as originally brought into use by the first settlers;"[25] and that "the cheapness of imported stockings is now ruining their business (1842)."[26] Here is the heart of the matter. By 1840 the knitting-machines in England had made the manufacture of hosiery so inexpensive that it could be exported to America and still sell for a lower price than the domestic goods. Thus the arrival of John Button's Germantown Hosiery Mills in Germantown in 1831 was, in a small way, part of the coming of the Industrial Revolution to Germantown. With the manufacture of knit-goods by machine in its infancy in America the knitting-machines of John Button represented the new and very modern industrialism in the hosiery field.

But modern industry in the sense of many workers laboring under the same roof, all under the direction of a single proprietor was first established in Germantown by men of much larger means than John Button or Thomas Jones. Two factories in this sense were established on the outskirts of Germantown in the late 1820's and early 1830's. One of these two was the Glen Echo Mills of the McCallum brothers. Located at what is now the northeast corner of Lincoln Drive and Carpenter Lane (just across the latter from the Episcopal Church of the Epiphany), the three story stone building had been used for various business enterprises since its erection in 1812 or 1813.[27] In 1830, however, William McCallum rented it and began the manufacture of carpeting. In 1831 he and his brother, Andrew, bought the building and some twenty acres around it and greatly expanded the business. Originally powered by a water-mill (driven by the Paper Mill Run/Monoshone Creek over which the present Lincoln Drive is constructed), the mill was converted in 1835 to steam power with a large engine and boiler built on the premises. In the same year the plant was greatly expanded and over one hundred men were employed.[28] With large investments of capital the McCallum brothers had created a very modern industrial factory. By the time of the Civil War the Glen-Echo Carpet Mills had a national reputation.[29]

On the opposite end of Germantown was the other early factory. It was the Wakefield Mills of the Fisher family located on East Logan Street near the present Fisher's station of the East Germantown commuter rail line. William Logan Fisher and Thomas Rodman Fisher, father and son, were members of one of Philadelphia's elite families. It was they who brought perhaps two dozen workmen under one roof at the Wakefield Mills and conducted (for that time) large-scale manufacture of woolen cloth.[30] Establishing their factory system about 1825, the Fishers were soon advertising in the Nottingham/Leicester region of England for skilled workers to man the machines.[31] In 1834 the son, Thomas R. Fisher, bought out Thomas Jones' small concern and the manufacture of hosiery became a new division of the Wakefield Manufactur-

ing Company.[32] Meanwhile in 1832 William Logan Fisher had established the Duncannon Iron Works in Perry County, Pennsylvania, some fifteen miles northwest of Harrisburg.[33] Thus by the mid-1830's the Fishers had not only established several factory-system manufacturing companies, but also diversified their industrial concerns. Thus in several ways the Wakefield Manufacturing Company represents the dawning of the modern industrial age in Germantown.

The 1830's before the Panic and Depression of 1837 were boom years for the American economy.[34] Soon after his move to Germantown John Button had added eight machines to his first two[35] and the business began to expand. By the time Thomas R. Fisher bought out Thomas Jones in 1834, John Button was ready to establish his own firm. In April, 1835 he and his brother-in-law, Conyers Smith, purchased a large stone mansion and one and one-fifth acres of land at the northeast corner of Germantown Avenue and Walnut Lane.[36] In that same year he erected his own mill building and employed twenty-five workmen in his new plant.[37] In 1838 the factory was converted to steam power and its output greatly increased.[38] Thus by the end of the decade John Button had joined the Fishers at Wakefield and the McCallums at Glen Echo in introducing the modern factory system to Germantown.

From the first factories of the Buttons, Fishers and McCallums soon evolved a remarkable center of hosiery and knit-goods manufacture. By the time of the Civil War "Germantown Woolen Goods" had an international reputation.[39] Many new mills were established in the 1840's and 1850's and their proprietors were almost to a one English immigrants from the Nottingham/Leicester region. In 1840 Aaron Jones, son of Thomas, established the Hinckley Knitting Mills on Wister Street.[40] In 1843 Charles Spencer of Leicester, England founded the Leicester Knitting Mills.[41] In 1844 William Allen of Nottingham, England founded the Sherwood Knitting Mills.[42] In 1855 William Henson of Mansfield, England founded the Stenton Knitting Mills.[43] By the time of the Civil War the east side of Germantown had emerged as the leading center of the manufacture of "woolen hosiery and fancy knit goods" in the United States.[44] The name "Germantown goods" was soon stamped upon these manufactures and was considered the mark of quality.[45] The modern factory system, introduced at the Wakefield Mills, and the manufacture of hosiery by machine, introduced by John Button and Thomas Jones, took hold in Germantown and rapidly transformed the preindustrial ways of doing business.

Interwoven with the modern factory system were two other factors which signaled the end of "quaint, old Germantown." The first was the influx of many new residents in Germantown. The importation of skilled laborers by the Fishers and the many new jobs created by the founding of the knitting mills brought major changes to Germantown's population. Between 1840 and 1850 population increased nearly fifty percent and between 1850 and 1860 sixty-five percent.[46] During the latter decade Germantown's west side was experiencing rapid suburban growth and that growth accounts for a large portion of 1850/1860 increase. But it was the factories of the knitting mills which first brought large numbers of new inhabitants to Germantown in the 1840's. As a result whatever traces which still remained of the early German influence in the town rapidly disappeared in the 1830's and 1840's.[47] The second factor mentioned above relates to the new method of business spawned by the factory system, especially the new working conditions. As it has done throughout the industrialized world, the factory system brought with it to Germantown the tension and occasional confrontation between labor and capital. In September, 1839 the workers at Fisher's Wakefield Manufacturing Company went on strike and Thomas R. Fisher resorted to a court injunction to force them back to work.[48] Fisher's superintendent, the above mentioned Aaron Jones, quit the firm and established his own. The difficult problems posed by conflicting interests of labor and capital in modern industry had arrived in Germantown by 1840.

In review then the 1830's witnessed the entry of Germantown into the modern industrial age. The mills and factories of John Button and the Fishers and the McCallums brought with them the introduction of labor-intensive industry, of steam-power, of sizable numbers of new residents in the community, of labor unions. Combined with the opening of the railroad from Philadelphia to Germantown and Price Streets through Germantown's east side and other changes, the modern factory system signaled the advent of a new era in Germantown history.

To Be Continued

FOOTNOTES:

1) Most of the biographical information on John Button has been taken from a memorial published by the family in 1896. *John Button of Germantown: In Memoriam* (Philadelphia: Printed by the family, 1896) is available in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Germantown Historical Society.

2) Scharf, J. Thomas, and Westcott, Thompson, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*. 3 Vols. (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), p. 2306.

3) Freedley, Edwin T., *Philadelphia and Its Manufacturers* (Philadelphia: Edward Young Publisher, 1859), p. 241.

4) Scharf and Westcott, *History*, ibid.

5) *John Button*, pp. 3-4.

6) Scharf and Westcott, *History*, ibid.

7) Warner, Sam Bass, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 69-70.

8) John Button did not purchase any real estate in Philadelphia county until 1835.

9) Haskell, Ira J., *Hosiery Thru The Years* (Lynn, Massachusetts: Carole Mailing Service, 1956), p. 42. At the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library.

10) Scharf and Westcott, *History*, ibid.

11) Freedley, ibid., tells us that the stocking frame knitting-machine was invented in England in the sixteenth century and *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume 16 (1892) notes that one was on display in Philadelphia in 1754 (page 375). Haskell, ibid., discusses several knitting-machines in use in the United States during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The machines seem to have been extremely rare, but John Button did not bring from England the only machines known to Philadelphia.

12) Scharf and Westcott, ibid.; Freedley, ibid., pp. 241-2; Haskell, ibid., pp. 41-2.

13) Scharf and Westcott, ibid.; Freedley, ibid.

14) *John Button*, p. 7.

15) Warner, *Private City*, pp. 140 ff.

16) Ibid., p. 59.

17) Hocker, Edward W., *Germantown: 1683-1933* (Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1933), pp. 157-8.

18) Wolf, Stephanie Grauman, *Urban Village* (Princeton, New Jersey: At the University Press, 1976), p. 117.

19) This is the same pattern as had existed in Philadelphia proper in the eighteenth century. See Warner, *Private City*, p. 6.

20) Wolf, *Urban Village*, pp. 104-5, 113.

21) Watson, John Fanning, *Annals of Philadelphia* 3 Vols., (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co., 1877), Vol 2, p. 36.

22) Ibid., p. 65.

23) Ward, Townsend, "The Germantown Road and its Associations," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 5 (1881), p. 368.

24) Tinkcom, Harry M., and Margaret B., *Historic Germantown* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1955), p. 21; Wolf, *Urban Village*, pp. 105-7.

25) Watson, *Annals*, Vol. 2, p. 65.

26) Ibid., p. 36.

27) Germantown Historical Society, *Scrapbook L-1, 24* (Industries), p. 79.

28) Idem.

29) Freedley, *Manufactures*, p. 240.

30) *Germantown Independent*, 9 January 1903 (in Germantown Historical Society, *Scrapbook*, pp. 65 and 67.

31) Ward, "Germantown Road," *PMHB*, ibid., p. 367.

32) Bagnall, "First Hosiery Mill in Germantown," *PMHB*, Vol. 6 (1882), p. 128.

33) Ward, "Germantown Road," *PMHB*, ibid., p. 368.

34) Warner, *Private City*, p. 74.

35) Scharf and Westcott, *History*, p. 2306.

36) Philadelphia Department of Records, Deed Book AM.61.50. Button later expanded this property through purchase of adjacent land to about three acres, the figure used in all the sources for the land he purchased in 1835.

37) Germantown Historical Society, *Scrapbook*, p. 44b.

38) *John Button*, pp. 7-8.

39) Scharf and Westcott, *History*, p. 2306; Freedley, *Manufactures*, p. 241.

40) Scharf and Westcott, *History*, p. 2307.

41) Germantown Historical Society, *Scrapbook*, p. 54a.

42) Ibid., p. 59; see also *Germantown Independent-Gazette*, 5 May 1899, p. 1, and 12 May 1899, p. 1.

43) Germantown Historical Society, *Scrapbook*, p. 39.

44) Scharf and Westcott, *History*, p. 2306; Freedley, *Manufactures*, pp. 240-2.

45) Scharf and Westcott, *History*, p. 2306.

46) In 1840 the population of the Germantown township was 7,216. In 1850 the population for the same area was 10,556. In 1860 it was 17,173. See *Population Schedules*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1840, 1850, 1860.

47) Hocker, *Germantown*, p. 158.

48) Wainwright, Nicholas B., ed., *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834-1871* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 83, entry for 11 September 1839.

Miss Jane Campbell's Woman Suffrage Reminiscences

In the *Independent-Gazette* for Thursday, September 9, 1920, "The Man on the Corner" devoted his column to the part played in the suffragist success by one of Germantown's most distinguished ladies. The following paragraphs are excerpted from this column (found not in Miss Campbell's own voluminous scrapbooks, but among the miscellaneous clippings preserved at the Germantown Historical Society Library).

No one in all this city has a greater right to rejoice over the triumph of woman suffrage than Miss Jane Campbell, of School Lane. For more than a quarter of a century she has been a leader in the suffrage movement. During twenty years she was president of the Philadelphia County Woman Suffrage Society, and in that capacity she planned most of the educational campaigns which that Society conducted. She also made many addresses on suffrage outside the city, and did especially effective work in conducting debates.

Persuasive rather than aggressive and never resorting to abuse, Miss Campbell's engaging personality and her fine sense of humor won friends for her wherever she appeared, and gained more personal converts for the woman suffrage cause than any other advocate of this reform.

Early Days of the Movement. Miss Campbell says she did not inherit her belief in the justice of equal suffrage for men and women, but, belonging to an independent democratic family, she did inherit democratic principles, and she and her sister early came to the conclusion that as the people should govern in this country and as women are people, it was self-evident that women should have the same civic rights as men . . .

Not only the daughters of the family, but also the sons were early supporters of woman suffrage. A brother of Miss Campbell was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1873, and through his efforts the Convention set apart one evening for the advocates of woman suffrage to present their request that the Convention provide for equal suffrage in the new constitution. The speeches then made, Miss Campbell thinks, were the first public addresses she ever heard on the subject. Recalling that meeting of 1873, Miss Campbell said: "I remember one of the speakers was Mrs. Sarah Cresson Fraley Hallowell, then a most attractive young woman wearing a bonnet tied with sky-blue ribbon strings. I think another speaker was Lucretia Mott [who lived on York Road, and lies buried in Fair Hill Friends' Burying Ground]. Mrs. Halowell was the daughter of Frederick Fraley, and became editor of the household department of the Public Ledger. She was a prominent clubwoman and active in public affairs and a remarkably able woman. She lived on Manheim Street, Germantown, during the later years of her life, dying but a few years ago."

The First Society for Woman Suffrage. Later the sisters made the acquaintance of some of the Philadelphia women advocating woman suffrage, and through them they became members of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Society, which had been organized in 1869. "The Society," said Miss Campbell, "was a small organization, the members being mostly Philadelphians . . . . Miss Mary Grew, a famous New England abolitionist and the friend of James G. Whittier, the poet, was the president, and a wonderfully able one she was . . . . The majority of the members were

descendants of early abolitionists or advocates of woman suffrage, and a brand-new member, bringing no old-time traditions, was something of a novelty, and I was made very welcome."

The recording secretary of the Society was Mrs. Mary Flint Kenderdine of Germantown, daughter of an active abolitionist in early times. About a year after Miss Campbell became a member, Mrs. Kenderdine became ill, and Miss Campbell was appointed and later elected to fill her place. When she returned she was elected treasurer, and Miss Campbell retained the office of secretary for a number of years.

[The early Society being largely under the control of Philadelphians, it was reorganized on a statewide basis in 1892, and the Woman Suffrage Society of the County of Philadelphia— which went out of existence soon after this article was published, its object having been achieved — was formed instead, with Miss Campbell as president. She became vice-president of the State Association, and was often elected the Pennsylvania member of the Executive Committee of the National American Suffrage Association.]

Systematic propaganda was begun in Philadelphia by sending out thousands of leaflets, not indiscriminately, but to carefully selected lists of persons, lawyers, teachers, ministers and taxpayers. Miss Campbell also wrote leaflets and published them.

"We interviewed personally or by letter every labor union in the city, offering to send them suffrage literature or speakers . . . . We had debates with other organizations, the Y.M.C.A., the Chatham Literary Union, and with a great many church and literary organizations . . . . The workers of the Society interested themselves in all the questions that concerned the welfare of women and children. On one occasion they induced every women's club in Philadelphia to join in sending representatives to the finance committee of City Council asking that women and men public school teachers be given equal pay for equal work . . . ." A number of men joined the Society, lawyers, physicians, ministers, some of them noted. Usually men formed about one-fifth the membership . . . . "We were always strictly non-partisan. I was frequently besought by the various parties (other than the two great parties, Democratic and Republican, however) to throw my influence and that of the Society in favor of this or that party — Prohibition, People's, etc. My invariable reply (it became almost stereotyped) was that we expected justice from the men of all parties, and that when we got the vote, we would use it exactly as we thought best. . . ."

Suffrage Activities in Germantown. Questioned as to Germantown's part in the suffrage movement, Miss Campbell continued: "We had some very important meetings in Germantown. One was in the Y.M.C.A. building at which . . . Mrs. Rudolph Blankenburg was [one of the] speakers . . . very soon after Mr. Blankenburg had been elected mayor."

[Miss Campbell singled out for special praise certain Germantown workers in the cause: Mrs. Kenderdine, Mrs. Anna S. Tilney, Mrs. Florence Burleigh, whose husband, Edward, was the son of a noted abolitionist, Mrs. James Graham, Mrs. William A. Mason, and Mrs. Louise Randolph, whose mother, Mrs. Head, conducted a well-known girls school in Germantown for many years. Also Mrs. Frances Day and Mrs. Clarence E. Sharpless. Others on her list included:] "Miss Agnes L. Tierney, Mrs. de Moll, Mrs. Finley Acker, Mrs. David Amram, Mrs. Walter D. Conegys, Mrs. James M. Dodge, [author of the children's classic, *Hans Brinker and the Silver Skates*], Mrs. G.L. Estabrook, Miss Emma Hay, Miss V. Maitland, Miss M. Potts, Miss A. Schievely, Mrs. C.F. Wilbur, Misses Ella and Mary Barnhurst, Mrs. Paschall Coggins [then] in California; Mrs. and Miss English, Mrs. M. Geister, Mrs. D.R. Harper, Miss Anna Harper, Miss Barto, Miss Laura Kenderdine, Mrs. Lang, Mrs. G.L. Leiper, Mrs. Max Levy, Mrs. E.D. McCaulley, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Mellor, Miss M.E. Newhouse, Miss G. Moffett, Mrs. Stuart Patterson, Mrs. M.C. Poley, Dr. Ellen Potter, Miss Esther Morton Smith, the Misses Shaffer, Stevens, Rolling, Williams, Windler, Wise, Wright, and Mrs. H. Harlan."

Besides her suffragist activities, Miss Jane Campbell had been for many years the corresponding secretary of the American Catholic Historical Society, and active in the affairs of the City History Society. She was Historian of the Site and Relic Society (predecessor of the Germantown Historical Society), and the many scrapbooks she maintained— all indexed — are a rich source for the history of Germantown in the first quarter of this century. In 1923 the clubwomen of Pennsylvania, with others, honored her by presenting a scholarship in her name at State College. She died February 12, 1928, aged 83, at her home, 413 West School House Lane, where she had lived with her late brother, the bookseller and publisher Dr. William J. Campbell.

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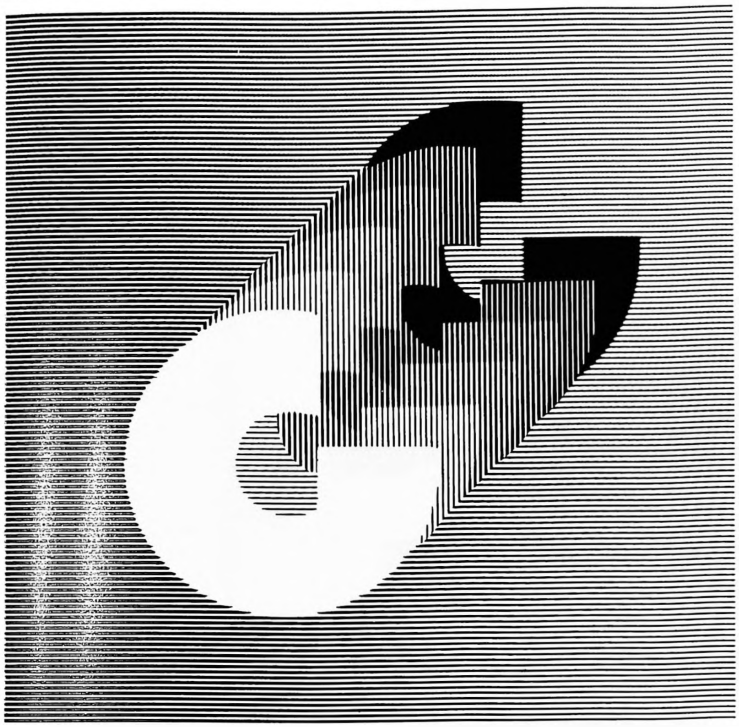
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