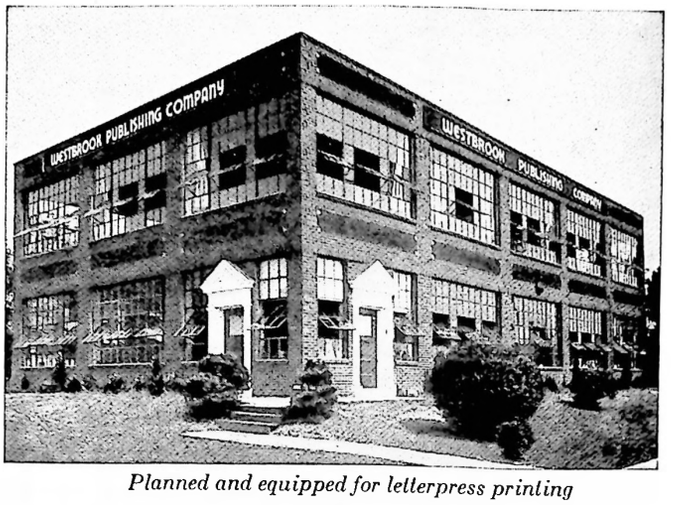
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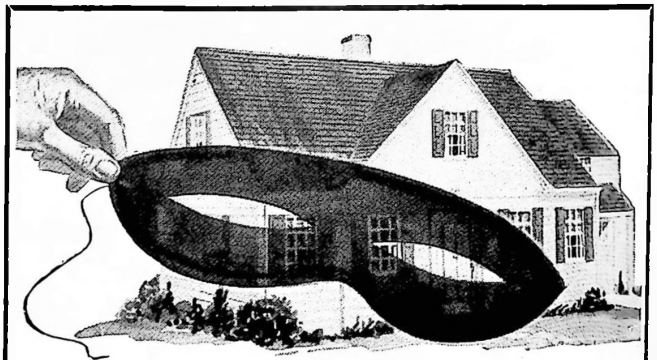
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GERMANTOWNE CRIER



Vol. 4 SEPTEMBER, 1952 No. 3

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One of the last requests of Mrs. Caroline O. Timanus, chairman of the Garden Committee, was that the picture of the Museum, on page 3, showing the planting that had been done to beautify the Museum should be substituted for the picture that has formerly been used in the Crier.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Museum Treasures 6
By George A. Haviland

The Battle of Germantown 7
By Douglas Macfarlan, M.D.

"The Army then Proceeded to that Unfortunate Place Called German-Town" 10
By Frances Anne Wister

Mount Airy—where the Battle of Germantown began at Dawn 14
By Edward W. Hocker

Battle of Germantown Shapes Nation's Destiny . . . 16
By Leighton P. Stradley

Program 18

Recollections of Germantown 22
By Dr. Stanley Rhoads Yarnall

The Shadow of a Great Soul 24
By James Francis Cooke

About Our Authors 33

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Published Quarterly—Germantown Historical Society—Subscription $1.00 per year

5214 Germantown Avenue

Philadelphia 44, Pa.

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Museum Treasures

By GEORGE A. HAVILAND

In the 175 years since the Battle of Germantown was fought, much in the way of fact and legend has grown up around that comparatively brief meeting of the Continental Army, the British and their Hessian mercenaries.

A good many of the facts have come to be accumulated in the museum of the Germantown Historical Society. For example, in one of the museum cases there rest copies of all three editions of the Sower Bible, which was the first printed in any European language in America.

Legend has it that, during their occupation of Germantown, British troops used part of the unbound third edition in order to bed their horses. As one local historian points out, the abundance of hay would seem to have made any such action wholly unnecessary. Nevertheless, the legend remains.

One of the museum's most carefully tended possessions treating of the Battle of Germantown is a letter written by Thomas Rodney to General Caesar Rodney, his brother and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, shortly after the conflict. The letter, which leaves much to be desired grammatically, indicates an apparent feeling at the time that the Continental reverse here could be attributed at least in part to General John Sullivan, one of the American leaders.

Rodney wrote: "Had not Genl. Sullivans Division which began the attack in the center pushed on with two (sic) much rapidity How (sic) would have got a total overthrow . . . The action was very bloody and the British Officers who are Taken prisoner say we never fought so well before . . . You may depend upon it that How and his Army is in a deplorable situation and that it is out of their power now to git (sic) out of it."

As a visitor continues his circuit of the museum he finds here and there other memorabilia of the battle and of the community as it looked at the time. Among the latter are drawings of most of the prominent buildings of the period, including the Dunkard Meeting House, Chew House and Grumblethorpe.

Too, there are daguerreotypes of Carlton, the stately old home which stood until 1948 and which, on separate occasions, housed Washington and General Knyphausen, commander of the Hessian troops during the British occupation. Another drawing, executed expressly for Graham's Magazine with more attention to color than accuracy, purports to show top-hatted Continental troops firing from orderly ranks into the upper windows of the Chew House.

In a case in the gun room is the black drum carried in battle by Christopher Ludwig, later designated as Baker-General to the Continental Army.

Shelves in the same room bear both instruments of war—guns, knives, swords, powder flasks—and more peaceful farm implements: a grain shovel, butter churns and an awkward, wooden, three-pronged pitchfork. There is a flintlock pistol found near the scene of one of the several skirmishes which, when taken together, made up the Battle of Germantown.

As the visitor's gaze leaves the pistol it travels to an odd-shaped object in one of the glass cases. Shaped like a shoe open at the toe, the object has a strip of iron extending upward by which it evidently could be hung from a hook or nail. A card identifies the shoe-shaped article as a Betty Lamp. Perhaps it—or certainly one like it—was hastily lighted that October morning as shots pierced the early morning mist, announcing that British pickets and the vanguard of Washington's forces had clashed.

Or, perhaps, a farmer living on the border of what is now Mt. Airy groped for a lard oil lamp like that displayed in the Historical Society museum. One can almost picture that farmer slipping his finger through the loop by which the lamp was carried, and lighting the wick which protrudes from the top of a trough-shaped tank.

More concrete evidence of the battle itself is found in a room at the rear of the museum where there is stored a section of wood fence, pock-marked with bullet holes, which stood then on property occupied by the Johnson House at Germantown Avenue and Washington Lane A number of the bullets, blunted and rusty, have been retrieved.

A bit of evidence again edges into the picture as the visitor moves into the garden at the rear of the museum. Near the porch door is a native stone approximately three feet square, the cap stone of the horse block; once standing south of the Billmeyer House at Germantown Avenue and Upsal Street, which Washington mounted to direct the attack on the Chew house through his spy glass, which is now in the Germantown Academy.

One of the few relics of the battle bearing a definite British touch is the reproduction of an engraving of Lieutenant General Thomas Musgrave, the man who, possibly more than any other, shaped the final outcome. It was Musgrave, Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury Fort, who led the forces which successfully defended the Chew House.

Either by design or by coincidence a relief map of the Battle of Germantown hangs within arm's length of Musgrave's picture.

GERMANTOWNE CRIER

Volume 4 SEPTEMBER, 1952 Number 3

The Battle of Germantown

By Douglas Macfarlan, M. D.

BY THE FALL of 1777 the American colonies had been at war with the mother country Great Britain for almost two and a half years. And, though the determination to succeed in war was just as strong as ever, still, that revolutionary spirit which had burst so suddenly and so spontaneously into flame all up and down the Atlantic seaboard following the news of the battle of Lexington, was fast disappearing. Patriotism in both merchant and soldier was still strong, but this did not provide covering for the feet in winter or food when one was hungry. Many militia were finding the compulsion to return to their families increasingly hard to overcome, and many households were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the way the campaign was going and with the regulations issued by the Continental Congress. In short there had been too many hardships and too few victories.

Signs of despair, which were to be found wherever one turned in the fall of 1777, were especially in evidence in and around Philadelphia. Everyone realized that the capture of this city would be a proud feather in the cap of General Howe, the British commander. For Philadelphia at this time was not only the largest and most important city in the colony, but the recognized capital of the revolutionary movement. It was with some cause therefore, that many Philadelphians were concerned when news reached the city that Howe's great fleet had sailed out of New York harbor and headed south along the Jersey coast. It was with even greater concern that they greeted the news that this same fleet had sailed into Chesapeake Bay and had started to land 17,000 British and Hessian troops at a place called Elks Head. But then they remembered how foolish and panicky they had been eight months earlier when the British were threatening the city from the direction of Princeton. At that time considerable confusion and anxiety had been caused by a proclamation ordering "all wives and children to be ready at a moments notice." But the Americans had beaten the British at both Trenton and Princeton, and now surely they would do the same thing again. But as July passed into August and August into September things began to look worse and worse. On September 11th General Washington was defeated at Chadd's Ford on the Brandywine when Cornwallis surprised the Americans by a flanking attack on their right. Washington withdrew first to Chester and then to his former camping ground at Queen Lane in Germantown. On September 20th news reached Philadelphia that during the night 150 American soldiers had been slaughtered by General Grey at Paoli. On the 24th of September the British army crossed the Schuylkill at Fatlands Ford (Valley Forge) after cleverly tricking Washington into thinking their plan was to attack the American arsenal at Reading. Now the people of Philadelphia realized that Washington would be unable to rescue them, and on September 26th the British entered the city unopposed.

The journals of many soldiers and citizens who lived and fought during the Revolution tell of similar periods when America's hopes of becoming a free nation looked just as bleak if not bleaker. Some historians since then have chosen these crises and have tried to describe the war as though it was a graph, a neat historical plan with each result following a cause and every cause determined by the results that preceded it. Such writers feel no compunction against saying, "here the war went through its most trying moments and here the war began to go in our favor." But in order to do this they are always forced to build their arguments on a limited selection of facts and in many cases they have to twist even these to make their point. Manuals on waging war of every age teach that a battle is never won until one side either surrenders or withdraws from the field. The reckless charge that saved the day when all appeared lost is a literary cliché but it can be found repeated in history almost as often as in fiction. In war, factors that can

See map on page 19

be measured, like comparisons of numbers and quality of equipment, count for little when they are matched with factors that cannot be measured such as, courage, mobility and daring. This lesson was proved over and over again during the War for Independence but especially was it shown in the Battle of Germantown.

On the morning of October the fourth, 1777, the main force of the British army was drawn up in a line which ran roughly northeast and southwest from the Schuylkill River through the center of Germantown to Lukens Mill on the Mill Creek. General Howe had not moved his entire army into Philadelphia when he occupied the city on the twenty-sixth of September, but only a small portion (3000 men) under General Cornwallis. As an experienced commander would be expected to do he had taken every precaution to protect his position in case of attack even though he thought one very unlikely at that time. Two miles beyond the center of his line, at Mt. Pleasant, he had stationed an advance guard (Second Bn. Light Infantry) and situated beyond this force, on a rise of ground at Mt. Airy, were his pickets. In case of an attack from the direction of the Lime Kiln road, another battalion was placed a mile in front of his extreme right wing at what would be now the corner of Lime Kiln road and Washington Lane. Other small forces were scattered at his right rear in case of a breakthrough in the line or a flanking attack. Everything about the placing of his troops was in conformity with the best military texts of the day. Yet in spite of all these precautions there remained one important weakness to his defensive plan that he was unable to remove. This was not because his careful military eye had missed seeing it because this weak link in an otherwise solid chain of defense was everywhere present in his camp. It was the fact that no one in his army expected Washington would be able to launch an attack for the next month or more.

The firing that awoke them on the morning of October fourth was indeed a surprise. Washington had done what all thought impossible. In the night he had marched. Fourteen miles over broken roads he and his army had marched, and without a pause, he had ordered his troops to begin the attack.

Briefly, Washington's plan was as follows. General Sullivan was to lead an attack against the British left wing which was formed along School House Lane between the Schuylkill and Germantown, while General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania Militia was to move down the Ridge Road, far to the right, and try to get around the British left and attack their rear. Generals Greene and Stephen and McDougall were to attack the British right wing which extended about a mile in a northeasterly direction from the center of Germantown. McDougall's assignment on the American left, roughly corresponded with Armstrong's assignment on the right. But in order to insure the success of the flanking attack on the British right, where there was considerably more chance of its being successful,



The Billmeyer House, from here Washington viewed the Battle at the Chew House

General Smallwood was ordered to lead a force on a wide circuit so as to come at the British right rear by way of the Old York Road. As a flanking attack against the British left was nearly impossible, they being drawn up so as to form a continuous line right up to the banks of the Schuylkill river, Washington's plan called for the main force of his attack to be directed against the British east of what was then called the Skippack Road but now known as Germantown Avenue. The success of the plan depended on this force driving the British from their positions and turning them so that their backs would be against the Schuylkill. That Washington's plan fell short of these expectations is no reflection on the brilliancy of its conception.

The sky was just beginning to grow light when the attack began. A heavy mist blanketed the countryside. At Mount Airy a patrol under Captain McLane fell upon General Howe's advance picket, but before the position could be taken the British were able to get off two shots from their six-pounders. The alarm had been given. General Wayne hastened to attack the British advance post already forming in the road in front of their tents. There ensued a short skirmish and in a moment the Americans drove on, General Wayne's soldiers finishing with the bayonet what had been only half done with powder and ball. By now the main American attack had covered half the distance between the spot where the first British resistance had been encountered and the main British line. It was here that occurred one of those curious moments of indecision that even the best of battle plans are unable to anticipate. The British colonel of the Fortieth Regiment, seeing the attackers advancing towards his position, hastily ordered the six companies under his command to take refuge in a large house belonging to Benjamin Chew, a judge and loyalist supporter. The attacking army, heartened by the rate of progress they had made thus far, swept forward and past the Chew house before Colonel Musgrave, barricaded inside,

gave the order to open fire. A good portion of the attack continued on, but those forces bringing up the support paused, and a conference was held among the officers. Most of them voted in favor of continuing on with the rest of their comrades, but the caution of their commander, General Knox, overruled them. A volunteer was called for to take an offer of surrender to the garrison. Lieutenant Smith, from Virginia volunteered to perform the service, but before he could reach the house he was shot and mortally wounded. For thirty minutes the attack was continued without success, when suddenly the attackers reversed themselves and decided to place a small force to keep guard on the house, while the remaining troops were ordered to proceed to the main work at hand. The action of the battle beyond this point is confused and many contemporary accounts are contradictory. What is fairly certain is that General Stephen was thrown off his judgement by the action around the Chew house. His orders, if properly carried out, would have placed him, at the time this skirmish was taking place, nearly two miles to the east, where he was to attack the British right wing. Instead he and his troops appeared from the north above the Chew house and took part in that engagement for a short time. On other elements of the American army the Chew incident had different effects. Some thought that a portion of the British right wing had somehow gotten around their lines to the east and were attacking in the rear. Still others, just beginning to get into positions that they should have taken much earlier, were confused by not being able to make contact with troops that were supposed to be to one side or the other of them.

Fortunately there were many in the American army who managed to overcome the obstacles they met with somewhat greater success. Generals Sullivan and Greene stubbornly continued the attack and were only prevented from dislodging the British right wing by the fact that they got no support from Stephens, who was reportedly drunk; or from McDougall, who became bogged down in the difficult ground around the Sawmill Creek; or from Smallwood, who never got into position until the battle was over. One regiment, the Ninth Virginian, led by Colonel Mathews acquitted themselves with distinction. Not only did they capture the British position at Luken's Mill but they also fought their way to the Market square in the very center of Germantown where they became cut off and were forced to surrender. As to the ferocity of the fighting that took place on the American right, the following by a soldier in General Armstrong's command gives us some clues. "When we reached the top of the hill the first sight we saw was a detachment of British Infantry and Light Horse, who were in a field of Indian Corn. We were going to fire when they retreated, but they soon rallied and fired on us. We returned their fire and fired eight or nine rounds. Their grape shot did little damage, but it plowed up the dirt which was thrown in our faces. Only one of our men was wounded. He was shot in the heel. Fearing they would cut off our communication with the main army, we hastened to make our escape, and went up to what is called 'the Swamp'."

What occurred to turn the battle is not at all clear. General Sullivan maintained that his men ran out of cartridges. General Wayne declared his soldiers were thrown into retreat by the sudden appearance of a large American force on their left which they mistook in the fog for the enemy. One account has it that an unknown light horseman set it in motion by shouting that the enemy were getting around them. Whatever it was, the panic spread quickly and the American army began to retreat all along the line. It was not, however, a rout. General Greene managed to keep his force in some order so that he was able to fight a delaying action until all his troops were out of danger. Likewise General Wayne, showing his customary astuteness, dragged his few cannon into position on a height of ground at the Whitemarsh Church and held off the British until his troops were also withdrawn. The battle was over. The army that had come so close to victory was now in retreat towards the Perkiomen Creek. The whole affair had not lasted much over three hours.

Though the battle was a considerable one for this period, the casualties were surprisingly small. On the American side,—180 were killed, 627 were wounded, 102 were reported missing, and 400 were taken prisoner. On the British side,—70 were killed, 450 were wounded, and 14 were reported missing.

In spite of the failure of a decisive American victory, there is much in which we can still take pride. A citizen army had attacked a well-trained, well equipped and a well commanded regular army. The American plans were ably conceived and for the most part well carried out. The remarkable thing is that an army that had marched fourteen miles through the early morning hours to spring a surprise attack, could have done as well as it did. The retreat, which is always the index of an army's morale, was orderly and efficient. Most praiseworthy was the courage of that citizen army to attack after the recent gruelling experiences at the battle of the Brandywine (Sept. 11th.) and the forced marches in the Chester Valley. Such courage never failed the Continentals, their spirit was unbreakable even with continued discouragements and hardships. It was this courage and the patriotism that prompted it, which assured the ultimate victory.



Stenton

"The Army then Proceeded to that Unfortunate Place Called German-Town"

By FRANCES ANNE WISTER

PART I

"MY DEAREST BETTY

"will be in raptures when she receives this letter that will assure her that I am in perfect health and the Town of Louisburg taken."

So wrote a gallant British officer to his wife, "From ye Camp before Louisburg July 27, 1758."

America and England were farther away at that time than it now takes to fly around the world.

The British officer, James Agnew had at different times been away from his native land, and his wife. His had been a military career from his youth, so probably his "dearest Betty" had become accustomed to long separations. Later she was to become accustomed to a permanent separation. Her husband's death was described to her by his Orderly in a rambling letter dated March 8, 1778, five months after the Battle of German Town. Present residents would rise in wrath were any writer or speaker to refer to it as "that unfortunate place," but the name, to the Orderly and to "dearest Betty," was most appropriate.

To judge from two of his letters this officer was a most engaging man, and a devoted husband. As they give an insight into his character, and explain why both friend and foe liked him, they are quoted here.

Continuing the above letter we read:

"Everything was preparing for the assault, as the breach would have been in a few hours practicable, when the Garrison yesterday desired to surrender; but General Amherst would grant them no other terms than that of being prisoners of war, and allowed them but half an hour to resolve whether they would submit upon these terms, or stand the assault and be put to the Sword.

"They chose to accept of his offer of being prisoners of war, and this morning the Grenadiers of the whole army are to take possession of the Town.

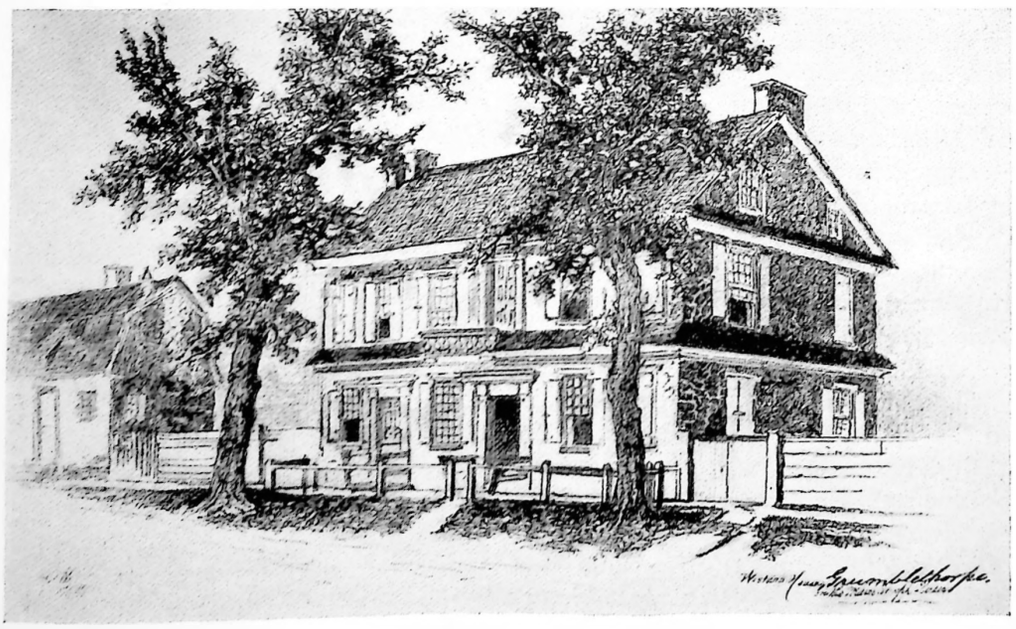
"I imagine they are now doing it, but I preferred retiring to my Tent to write immediately to my dear Betty, that my letter might be ready to go with the first dispatch.

"Our Regiment has been very fortunate in having its full share of the glory of this conflict, and at the same time of sustaining very little loss; for we have had only one captain wounded, and 20 private men killed and wounded. For my part, I have never had better health, although I have been 30 hours together upon duty in the trenches every three days during the siege, with clouds for my canopy.*******

"My last letter would inform my love that I sailed from Cork, the 21st of April, with a fair wind—The 10th of June we discovered the coast of Nova Scotis; and the next day we spoke with a small Brigantine, which was bound from Boston, in New England, with an Express to Admiral Boscowan. I immediately left the ship that brot me out of Ireland, and got on board the Brigantine with all the party that I had with me; and on the 15th I arrived in the Bay of Caberux, [Gabarus] where the army had landed the 8th, and joined my Reg't before anything had been done towards the reduction of the place.

"One pleasing circumstance that I met with upon my arrival, was that my brother, Sandy, was upon the ship that I first spoke with upon coming into the Bay.

"I have given him ten pounds, and made him draw



John Wister's, "big" house occupied by General James Agnew when the British entered Germantown.

(from an etching by Joseph Pennell)

a 'Bill' upon the old, testy major*, as he wanted many things. My dear will find the Bill enclosed, which she must give to Margery Arundell, who must give it to some of her Newcastle merchants that trade to Edinburg.

"The enemy had six ships of the line in Harbour when we arrived; four of which have been burnt; one sunk, and one has fallen into our hands; that if the people of England think we did nothing now, I shall give them up.

"Sandy has just returned from the Town, which he says is as large as Auckland.†

"Give my respects to your mother, my friends at Durham, and Auckland.

"I have not time to write any more but that I am, and will remain to the last moment of my life, my dearest Betty's most affectionate Husband,

JAS. AGNEW."

Almost twenty years later the same officer wrote:

"Camp at Newtown, [Pennsylvania]
"Sep'br 2d, 1776.

"The joy and satisfaction my Dear Love will feel on reading this letter, can only be equalled by mine in relating to her the events of the 27th of August.

"On the evening of the 26th, the army was put in motion in different columns, from the camps it occupied, in order to endeavor to surprise the Rebels by a general attack at daybreak, wherever they should be found; and to take post near their Redoubts, and Line, on the Heights of Brookland (Brooklyn), which cover, and command, on that side, the City of New York.

"Every part of this disposition was executed with exactness, and our unnatural Enemies drove back, or cut off wherever they showed themselves to interrupt the march. Their redoubts were everywhere invested, and which they abandoned in the night, and at daybreak of the 30th, after our having broken ground before one of their centre Redoubts 36 hours.

"Be assured my Love your Husband is in perfect health, and Spirits, and bore an active part in the business during the three days it lasted; for my Brigade, consisting of the 23d, 44th, 57th, and 64th Reg'ts. marched with the column on the left, commanded by Major-Gen'l Grant, fell in first with the Enemy, consequently they suffered more, as you will see by the account of the killed, and wounded, published by authority.

"I likewise had the good fortune to command the Picquets of the army the night they abandoned the Redoubts.

"These things I mention to show how kindly I have been protected.

"I exhort you to preserve your health if you continue to love me. I hope to be able to do the same—as this war will not now last many months—with a view to dedicate the rest of my life to you. Continue to preserve your usual courage, and firmness.

"Continue to write me letters, and speak much of yourself; it is impossible to mark the pleasure it gives where love, and esteem is carried to the height that subsist between you and me.

"I hope you are happy with the company of your son and daughter. Give my love to them, and kiss all the children.

"The image of Eliza and Mary are often before me.

"The noble Capt. Sandy is, I am informed, made Captain of a Sloop of War on the coast of Africa.

"Major Andrew Bruce [is?] expected to be Lieut.-Colonel in succession to poor Col. Grant, killed the 27th, as Bruce is the oldest major serving in this army.

"I must end this letter. Time will not now let me do more.

"Give my kind compliments to my friends; to Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Todd, Mr. Challoner, and Emma in particular; and most affectionately am your faithful

JA. AGNEW."

Alas! our General was not destined to be so "kindly protected" forever. However, he passed through other engagements, including the Battle of Brandywine on September 11, 1777, unharmed, except for slight wounds, before reaching German Town, presumably about September 25th. Here he was quartered in "John Wister's Big House" on the "Great Road" opposite Indian Queen Lane.*

The following account of the Battle from the British point of view is interesting, and perhaps little-known.

General Sir William Howe's troops had been scattered far and wide as necessity required, so his main body was less than 9000 men.

"Of these the greater part were encamped at Germantown, then a long, straggling village of widely detached houses extending for some two miles along the road from Philadelphia northward to Skippack Creek, where Washington was encamped. At about the middle of the village was a four-cross-way * * * and it was astride of this main road, in rear of the four-cross-way, that the British troops were encamped, with detached posts in front and flanks. * * *

"At three o'clock in the morning the American advance was duly reported by the outposts, and the British troops stood to arms. About sunrise, however, there came on a dense fog, which involved the whole engagement in perplexity and confusion. At four o'clock Sullivan's division opened the attack on the main road, and was met by a vigorous resistance from a battalion of Light Infantry and from the Fortieth Foot, which were in advance. Fighting at every step the two battalions withdrew slowly to a house belonging to a Mr. Chew, a little to northward of the village, when Colonel Musgrave occupied the building with six companies of the Fortieth, while the Light Infantry fell back on the main body. Musgrave at once

*His father
†His home at Bishop Auckland near Durham, England.

*Now known as Grumblethorpe, 5267 Germantown Avenue.

opened so sharp a fire that Sullivan's whole line was for some minutes stopped; and Howe, looking for the most serious attack to fall on his left flank, reinforced his troops in that quarter so as to hold the militia at bay. * * *

"The action lasted for two hours and a-half, and was sharply fought throughout. The loss of Howe's army was five hundred and thirty-seven killed and wounded, and fourteen prisoners; that of the Americans was six hundred and seventy-three killed and wounded, and four hundred prisoners. The result was a great mortification to Washington, who declared that the Americans retreated in the moment of victory; but the truth is that the plan of attack was too intricate for inexperienced officers and imperfectly disciplined troops, while the fog was an accident wholly to the advantage of the better disciplined army. In effect the resolute defence of a single well-built house was sufficient to upset the whole of Washington's combinations; while even though Sullivan's advance was thus delayed by Musgrave's handful of men, Greene's right brigade arrived so late in the field that Sullivan's division was already deployed in front of it. Moreover, the feint attack of the militia was so feeble that Grey was able to use the battalions of the left wing as if they had been the reserve rather than part of the fighting line. Lastly, Washington's plans were not furthered by the fact that many of his officers and men had been stimulating their valour at the expense of their understanding and were exceedingly drunk."

Major André in his Diary records that; "On September 25th, two columns advanced to German Town and encamped on the heights near that place." The Rebels wearing white paper in their caps occupied Germantown near the market place. "The power of strong liquors had been employed," André continued. "Several not only of their Soldiers but Officers were intoxicated when they fell into our hands. Amongst the killed were Brigadier General Agnew, and Lieut.-Colonel Bird of the 15th Regiment."

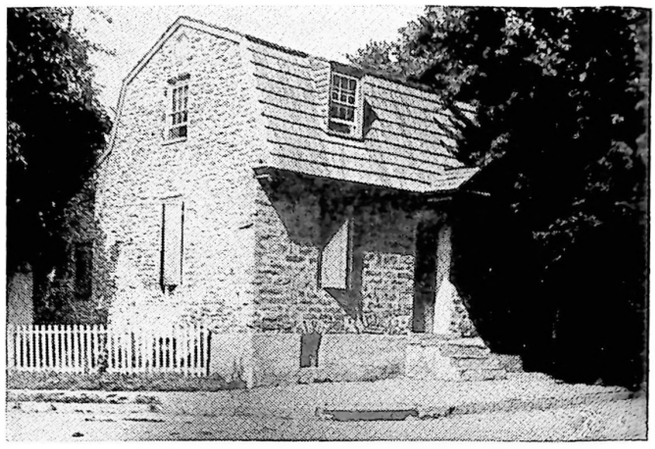
The chief offender seems to have been General Adam Stephen, whose reputation before Germantown was poor.*

THE DEATH OF GENERAL AGNEW

Another eyewitness, whose accuracy has been questioned was the General's Orderly, who wrote to the General's widow as follows:

"Dear Madam

"Tho' an entire stranger to your Ladyship yet as I had the honor to wait on your beloved Husband for a considerable time. * * * I joined the 44th in '72 then



Old Johnson House facing the battleground at the Chew House

in Kilkenny, from which time I fancy'd Col' Agnew took notice of me and when the Regiment embark'd at Cork he took to be his servant with whom I had the honor to live very comfortably and happy until the day of his death being his principal servant * * * in all places wherever his person was exposed I was there by his side and an eye witness to all his sufferings in Boston, Halifax, Staten Island, long Island, N. Y. Island, on the Expedition to Danbury in the Jersey's, Maryland, Pennsylvania, etc: in three pitch'd Battles (viz) 27 Aug't '76, the 11th Sep: and 4th October '77 besides a number of skirmishes. On the Expedition to Danbury the Gen'l was knocked down by a Ball which left its mark for above a month. At the Battle of Brandywine the Gen'l had the misfortune to be wounded by a cannon Ball but continued to lead his Brigade. * * * The army then proceeded to that unfortunate place called German-Town, the 4th of October being the particular and fatal day of which your Ladyship has cause to remember and I have much reason to regret." * * *

The General's Brigade, the 4th, was following the 3rd under General Grey and whether it was advancing up or down the "Great Road" to participate in the Battle then taking place "at a Mr. Chew's," seems difficult to determine.

The Orderly continues: "A party of the Enemy about a 100 rushed out from behind a House about 500 yards in front the Gen'l then in the middle of the street and even in front of the Picquet and all alone only me. He wheel'd round and putting spurs to his Horse and calling to me receiv'd a whole volley from the Enemy the fatal Ball enter'd the small of his Back near the back seam of his coat Right side and came out a little below his left Breast. Another Ball went through and through his right Hand I at the same time receiv'd a slight wound in the side but just got off time enough to prevent his falling, who with the assistance of two men took him down carried him into a house laid him on a Bed sent for the Doctor who when he came he could only turn his eyes and look'd stedfastly on me with seeming affection. The Doctor and Major Leslie just came in time enough to see him

*From History of the British Army—Hon. J. W. Fortescue, 1902—Vol. III, p. 218-221.

*Washington had said of him during an election contest that "his principles, if they deserved the name, were of the alien sort." Stephen was court martialed for intoxication at Germantown, and dismissed from the army.

depart this life which he did without the least struggle or agony but with great composure and calmness and seeming satisfaction which was about 10 or 15 minutes after he receiv'd the Ball and I believe between 10 and 11 oclock. I then had his Body brought to his former quarters* (took his Gold Watch his Purse in which was four guineas and half a Joanes which I delivered to Major Leslie as soon as he came Home). I then had him genteely laid out and descently dress'd with some of his clean and best things, had a coffin made the best the place could produce. His corps was descently interr'd the next day in a Church yard attended by a minister and the officers of the 44 Reg't. He during his life in his good humors often told me that he would do better for me than being in the army, but having no certificate from under his hand I was order'd to join the Regt which I am sure I never should have done." * * *

"and believe me to be with sincerity and due respect Madam your most obedient and Humble Servant

Alex: Andrew"†

It will be seen that this account varies from the Germantown version, which states that the General was first carried into a house nearby and then carried back to "John Wister's Big House" where he bled to death. His blood is on the floor there. Also it was commonly held that a sharpshooter Hans Boyer, from behind a wall, felled him. It is now conceded that there were several men behind that wall.

To us now it is of little importance as to which troops were where, especially as the troops themselves hardly knew their own whereabouts.

The General's belongings were divided among several servants, much to the disapproval of the Orderly who felt that length of service entitled him to much more than the others. He was given one extra gift for "good and faithful services"—the General's silver buckles. Everything else was sold, even the great coats made especially for the Orderly, and the cook the year before, "with other things too tedious to mention." The Orderly adds a postscript, "A most painful task I have had to go through but determined to do it, the Box comes in the Waggon tomorrow, a melancholy sight, I wish it over."

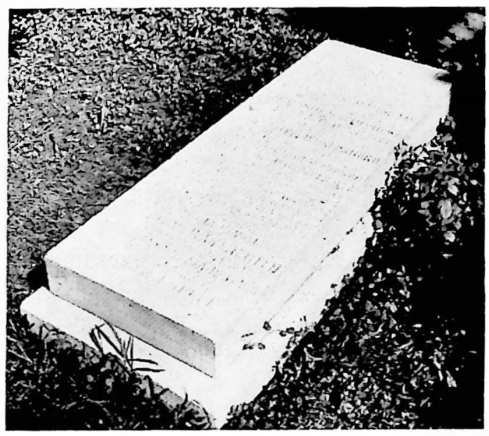
GENERAL AGNEW'S TOMB

The foregoing sentence has been interpreted to mean, incorrectly, that the General's remains were being shipped to England.

The "Churchyard" mentioned by the Orderly was known as the "lower-end" grave yard, and as the Lower Burying Ground, at the corner of the "Great Road" and Fisher's Lane, now East Logan Street. John Fanning Watson is supposed to have placed a tombstone on his grave.

Lieut.-Colonel Bird was also interred there. At the request of Sir William Howe both bodies were removed to the deBenneville Cemetery at Green Lane and Old York Road, Branchtown, where they would be safe from the inhabitants, who threatened violence to graves of British victors of the Battle.

In 1903 the extension of North Broad Street encroached on the eastern end of the Cemetery, so the graves were moved to another part of the ground. The Superintendent of the graveyard has recently told of being present at the re-interment. There were only a few remains in the graves, a few pieces of uniforms, and a quantity of long hair, which had evidently grown after death. The re-interment took place with suitable ceremonies on October 4, 1903, one hundred twenty-six years after the Battle of Germantown. There under a sandstone slab, erected through the interest of the British Consul, Hon. Wilfred Powell, lie the remains of the two gallant officers.



The inscription reads:

"IHS
HERE LIE THE REMAINS
OF
GENERAL JAMES TANNER AGNEW
A BRITISH OFFICER
WHO WAS KILLED AT GERMANTOWN
ON 4TH OF OCTOBER 1777
AND OF
LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN BIRD
A BRITISH OFFICER
WHO DIED IN GERMANTOWN ON OR
ABOUT THE 4TH OF OCTOBER 1777
THE BODIES OF THE ABOVE OFFICERS
WERE REMOVED FROM THE LOWER BURIAL
GROUND, GERMANTOWN BY THE ORDER
OF GENERAL HOWE AND PLACED IN THIS
CEMETERY WITH THE CONSENT OF
DR GEORGE DE BENNEVILLE
IN MAY 1778
REQUIESCANT IN PACE
THIS STONE WAS ERECTED
TO THEIR MEMORY BY
HIS BRITTANIC MAJESTY'S
GOVERNMENT
OCTOBER 4TH 1903"

PART II

GENERAL AGNEW'S FORBEARS

General Agnew was of distinguished ancestry, being descended from the Hereditary Sheriffs of County Galloway, and through intermarriage, from many important families.

The family seat was at "Lochnaw Castell," as the

(*Continued on page 30*)

*John Wister's House.

†This and the two Agnew letters from "A Memoir of Charles J. Wister," by C. J. Wister, Jr.

MOUNT AIRY . . . where the Battle of Germantown began at Dawn

By Edward W. Hocker

ALONG the 13 miles constituting the length of Germantown Avenue within the city there was once a succession of well-defined settlements. But in the past half century these have been so merged that only the residents whose memories cover many years can tell what used to be the boundaries of Rising Sun, Nicetown, Germantown, Beggarstown, Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill.

In but one place has some semblance of a natural dividing line remained up to the present time, that being between Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill. Here there was a considerable extent of open land on the east side of Germantown Avenue, while on the west side the grounds of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and the Cresheim Valley entrance to Fairmount Park helped to make a break in the continuity of buildings lining the highway.

Now, however, the fields that touched Germantown Avenue on the east side at this point, between Gowen Avenue and Cresheim Creek, are about to be covered with scores of dwellings. An old stone house, a farm house of colonial times, which was a landmark of this region, has been removed, and streets are being laid out through the tract and excavations have been begun for building operations.

This is one of several large tracts of land in that locality which the heirs of the late James Gowen have sold to builders in recent months. These tracts constitute remainders of the great farm which James Gowen established here 80 or more years ago. Gowen, a pioneer in the endeavor to conduct agriculture upon a scientific basis, bought hundreds of acres in the Mount Airy region in the thirties and forties of the last century, his holdings extending from Germantown Road, as it was then known, eastward to what is now Stenton Avenue but was then called Township Line.

From the time of the founding of the German Township, it was the ambition of the principal landowners to have their possessions extend "back to the Township line," on either side of the main road through the township. The original land grants were long narrow strips, giving a frontage on the main highway and having a depth of a mile or more.

Up to the time of the recent sales the heirs of James Gowen remained in possession of a series of plots of unimproved lands extending the entire distance from Germantown Avenue to the former Township line, though in the past half century the greater part of the original farm had been converted into residential sites.

Retiring from business in Philadelphia with a fortune before he was fifty years old, James Gowen undertook a carefully studied experiment to place farming in Pennsylvania upon a higher level.

Some endeavors in that direction had been made at an earlier date. Judge Richard Peters, of Belmont, was noted for his efforts for the improvement of agricultural methods. The Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture had been active a long time.

But James Gowen ventured upon daring innovations that attracted attention far and wide. He was the first to import a herd of blooded cattle from abroad. His cattle sales were events in agricultural annals. He founded one of the earliest schools for the teaching of farming. He went up and down the land lecturing on agricultural methods and urging the organization of agricultural societies and the holding of fairs for the exhibition of live stock and farm products.

Mr. Gowen had married a daughter of Joseph Miller, whose home was in the fine old stone house which still stands at Germantown and Gowen Avenues and is now the refectory of the Philadelphia Lutheran Theological Seminary. This house, built in 1702, Mr. Gowen bought in 1834. Results obtained at this Mount Airy school are said to have inspired the establishment of the institution that is now Pennsylvania State College. In 1855 the Center County Agricultural Society adopted resolutions urging the founding of "an agricultural high school" in that county.

He cultivated the large farm connected with the property, but he was specially concerned in breeding fine stock. His Durham cattle were famous. In the forties he began holding periodical sales of blooded cattle, and buyers came from all over the United States. The prices paid seem ridiculously low compared with the valuation placed on blooded cattle today. A record of a sale which Mr. Gowen held at Rising Sun in September, 1842, shows that thirteen Durham cows were sold for prices ranging from $40 to $155 each.

Mr. Gowen saw the need of systematic instruction in the principles of agriculture and decided to meet that want by founding a farm school.

He was not the first to realize that need in America. The middle of the preceding century Dr. William Smith in proposing a plan for an ideal college, included the teaching of agriculture in the curriculum. Dr. Smith later became the first provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, which developed into the University of Pennsylvania. Two communistic settlements of the early nineteenth century, those at New Harmony, Ind., and Oneida, N. Y., had farm schools of brief duration. A similar school was started on Thompson's Island, Boston, in 1833. And even Andover Theological Seminary opened a course of instruction in agriculture in 1833.

Perhaps the existence of a group of school build-

ings on property adjoining his Mount Airy home helped to draw Mr. Gowen's thoughts in the direction of farm school possibilities. At any rate in 1846 he bought the Mount Airy College property, to the south of his house, on Germantown avenue. This was the original Mount Airy, the country estate of Chief Justice William Allen prior to the American Revolution. From the earliest years of the nineteenth century the former Allen house was occupied for school purposes, a succession of educational enterprises being conducted by different principals, all of them being either natives of France or members of French families. The best known of these schools was the American Classical and Military Lyceum, whose period of activity was from 1826 until 1835.

John Wilkinson was principal of the Agricultural Institute at Duchess, N. Y., near Poughkeepsie, N. Y., at that time. Mr. Gowen persuaded him to remove his school to Mount Airy in 1848, and it was opened there in April of that year. The preliminary announcement stated that the "terms" were $250 a year, with "no extras." Provision was made for students who could not attend the day sessions, for there was to be a course of 12 lectures on inorganic chemistry, to be given on Monday and Thursday nights. A charge of $2 was made for the course, or 25 cents a lecture.

Students were enrolled from most of the Atlantic States, and there was also one from Brazil. In accordance with the customs of many schools at that period, semi-annual public examinations were held. But the school was discontinued in 1853.

Results obtained at this Mount Airy school are said to have inspired the founding of an "agricultural high school" in that county. This led General James Irvin to offer a site for such a school near Center Furnace. Then the Pennsylvania Legislature appropriated $25,000; the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society added $10,000, and citizens subscribed another $10,000. Thus it became possible to open the Agricultural High School in 1859. Reorganization in 1863, to take advantage of a Federal act offering support to agricultural schools, converted the high school into a college in which, up to the present century, instruction in farming was the leading part of the curriculum.

During the existance of the Mount Airy School and afterwards Mr. Gowen made good use of his pen and his voice in championing scientific agriculture. He was instrumental in organizing the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society and was its second president. He also encouraged the farmers of interior Pennsylvania to form county agricultural societies and to hold exhibitions.

However, Mr. Gowen's enthusiasm for scientific agriculture did not blind him to the likelihood that all manner of freakish notions would be offered in the name of science. That was the time when communism and mesmerism and magnetism and Millerism and many another strange teaching were abroad in the land, and Mr. Gowen sounded a warning against "speculative quacks" who professed to lecture upon scientific subjects. "We have seen of late," he said, "sad specimens of professors, besides those who lately figured in clairvoyance, prevision, retrovision, mesmerism, phreno-magnetism, psychology and other mysterious ologies and isms, which, like live coals blown to cinders, have been puffed to death by these philosophic bellows-blowers." Since scientific agriculture was becoming the vogue Mr. Gowen fearec "some of these wise men would turn their hands to teaching vegetable physiology and agricultural chemistry.

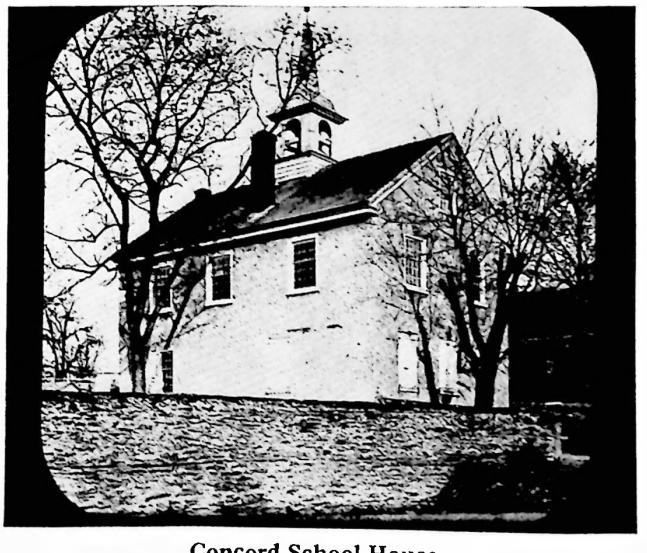
In the organization of the Farmers' Club, in 1850, Mr. Gowen also had a part. This group, whose membership has always been limited to twelve, is still maintained as a social club with whose members farming is a recreation. The original twelve, of whom Mr. Gowen was one, were all members of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, among them having been David Landreth, of Bucks county; Charles W. Harrison, of Lower Dublin; Dr. A. L. Elwyn, of Chester county; Algernon S. Roberts, of Philadelphia; John S. Haines and Philip R. Freas, of Germantown, and Owen Sheridan, of Chestnut Hill.

In the fifties Mr. Gowen removed the old Allen house and the annexed school buildings, and built a house which he and his family occupied and which he called Magnolia Villa. Mr. Gowen died in 1873, at the age of eighty-three years, and his widow died the following year.

They were the parents of Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Reading Railroad Company, noted for his protracted and unremitting war against the Molly Maguires which finally wiped out that powerful criminal fraternity.

Magnolia Villa and six acres surrounding it were

(Continued on page 32)



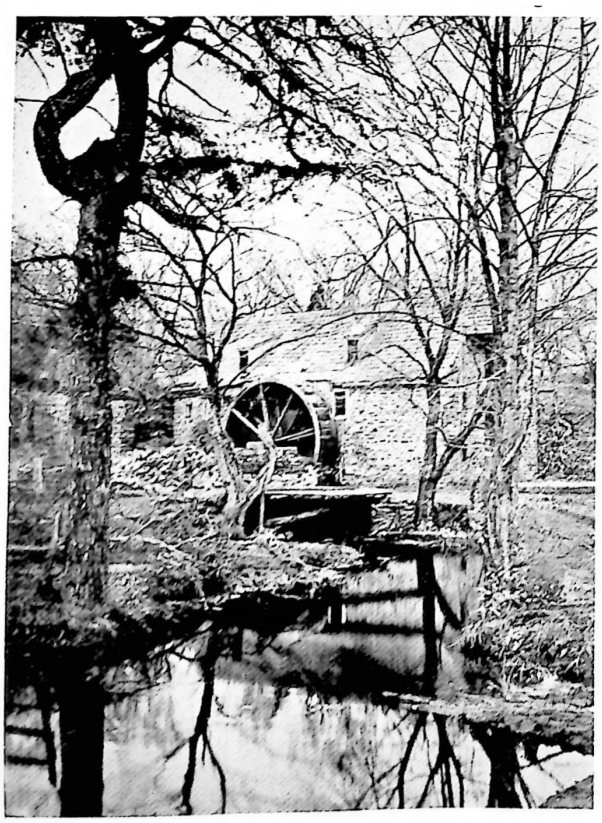
Concord School House
showing wall of Upper Burying Ground where both British and American soldiers were buried

Battle of Germantown Shapes Nation's Destiny

By Leighton P. Stradley

MARKING the turning point of the Revolutionary War, the Battle of Germantown proved the pivotal occasion which determined the destiny of the United States of America. Contemporary observers so appraised it and modern historians concede the fact. General Washington, in the strategy here demonstrated, engaged and demolished the British plan to subdue the "middle colonies" while forcing Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga a few days later.

Therefore the English were forced to abandon their conquest of the New England states also, leaving Washington and his Continental army intact, with equipment and commissary mobilized for the final campaign which concluded with the Redcoats' surrender at Yorktown. All that being true, the vital objective in the Continental cause at the moment was the psychological effect it would make upon the French Court at Versailles. In this bold maneuver here at Germantown, Washington was playing for high stakes; a victory more important even than the rout of Lord Howe's regulars and mercenaries. At that critical period Washington was angling for a French alliance.



Roberts Mill, plotted on Revolutionary maps as Lukens Mill

Munitions of every category, with gold to pay his troops was imperative to Freedom's cause just then. Positive demonstration in the field, of the Colonists' capacity to thwart George III's minions and wrest independence from the British Crown, would tip the scales at Paris in favor of the American Revolutionists. So, news of the action at Germantown, and that at Saratoga only a few days later, reached Paris simultaneously it seems. It proved a sensation of major significance. Whatever Washington's personal reactions, following the fog and confusion of this Battle, he had actually won an important victory.

Concerning its significance as influencing French assistance, John Adams wrote a friend and member of Congress (7–26–1778) then assembled in Philadelphia: "General Gates was the ablest negotiator you had in Europe; and, next to him, General Washington's attack on the enemy at Germantown. I do not know, indeed, whether this latter affair had not more influence upon the European mind than that of Saratoga. Although the attempt was unsuccessful, the military gentlemen in Europe consider it as the most decisive proof that America would finally succeed." At that time Adams was in Paris, having been appointed by Congress as the U. S. Commissioner to the Court of Versailles. Lynn Montross, author of *Rag, Tag and Bobtail*, quotes (p. 232) this Adams communication. And Carl Van Doren, in his *Benjamin Franklin*, acknowledges John Adams as the responsible historian among his contemporaries in the American delegation; which applies to those commissioned to aid Franklin, ultimately Minister Plenipotentiary, at the French Court.

Alfred Hoyt Bill approves this conclusion by his statement of the case in *Valley Forge* (preface, p. ix) which observes that: "The attack at Germantown, though it failed, did as much as Saratoga to convince the French King's ministers that, in recognizing the independence of the United States of America, they would not be going to war for a lost cause . . . it took the fog to beat them at Germantown."

And he elaborates this point (p. 74) with the assur-

ance: "That the Americans had attacked at all and, on being repulsed, had retired in good order deeply impressed observers in Europe, old Frederick the Great in particular. Politically, Germantown was an American victory hardly less potent than the surrender of Burgoyne in influencing France to come openly to the aid of the United States. Nothing, Count de Vergennes, French minister of foreign affairs, told the American Commissioners, had impressed him so much as General Washington's attacking Howe's army: that to bring an army raised within a year to that point promised everything." Again (p. 157) he reiterates the conviction that "Saratoga and Germantown had made their impression abroad."

Though our school histories, reflecting certain authority, record Germantown as a military defeat there have been quite as many whose exhaustive research presents that engagement in a very different light. These adhered to the idea that, aside from Washington's original plan to rout the British in this engagement, it exerted a vital influence upon European psychology; and assumed the significance of a great military achievement in the eyes of militarists abroad. Mr. Bill addressed the Historical Society of Pennsylvania March 24th of this year; his subject being "Valley Forge: The Making of an Army." He justified his impressions, as previously quoted, in that discourse. His book came off the press about that time.

Then we have this excerpt from John C. Miller's *Triumph of Freedom* (p. 206): "Germantown was the last time Howe fought Washington . . . and the British general gained few laurels at Germantown; . . . caught by surprise . . . off guard and forced to give ground . . ." With all considered, the "military gentlemen in Europe" concluded that this Germantown engagement established George Washington as a brilliant military tactician and leader; determined no less his military genius which started from scratch at Cambridge.

This Battle's pivotal importance, its influence in determining our destiny as a free Nation was not a mere accident, rather it eventuated as the logical conclusion in Washington's shrewdly conceived and effectively planned campaign strategy. His genius, his capacity for leadership is accentuated the more, of course, by his achievement of what—to others—would have proved the impossible. Despite all discouragement, such as a half-starved, half-clothed and unpaid meagre force of inexperienced militia—just the "rag, tag and bobtail" literally—he outwitted his thoroughly organized adversary and accomplished his objective.

His schooling in the military science had been gained only on the frontier, primarily in the French and Indian War (1755–56) as a colonel of militia under Virginia's Royal governor. In that campaign he was credited, it should be recalled, with saving the British



Wyck—used as a hospital and operating room after the Battle

General Braddock's army from a more complete annihilation than would have been the case otherwise. Then, some twenty years later, he was called from his extensive Virginia plantations to assume command of the Continental Army at Cambridge in June, 1775.

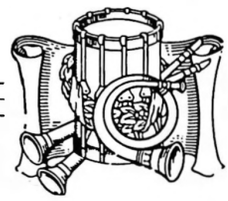
Immediately there his superior ability as a militarist was asserted; his prescience in field operations placed the blatantly boastful British grenadier regiments at a disadvantage promptly. In realizing that Washington, with the eye of a competently experienced engineer, lost no time in seizing every advantage the neighboring terrain afforded; entrenched his ridiculously ill-prepared force on Dorchester Heights overlooking Boston. The rest is history, British arms were humiliated and forced to evacuate Boston and abandon New England to the revolutionists.

If this early success did not afford him too much military experience, it certainly enhanced his personal prestige and inspired his associates in the fight for independence with new hope and confidence, and that was invaluable. Although there followed a phase of the campaign which, through its frustrations, offered little encouragement Washington kept his army together, even gained recruits. If his maneuvering on Long Island for possession of New York was tantamount to a defeat, "the Fox" evaded Howe's more effectively supplied regiments and led the way southward across New Jersey; weathered a winter's severe cold with all its physical privations at Morristown where he established his impoverished Continentals "in their ragged regimentals."

There Washington availed himself again of a terrain which assured him natural advantages. But this time Howe did not venture to challenge his defenses and Washington assumed the initiative, stepped out of Morristown, apparently on his way to the Quaker City, and barely succeeded in gaining the west bank of the Delaware while leaving the British pursuers on the opposite bank without means of making the crossing. They had not dubbed Washington "the Fox" in idle jest. Here they had another opportunity to appreciate his cunning, his natural talent as a prescient militarist. They found themselves helpless in further pursuit because Washington had taken advantage of

(Continued on page 19)

PROGRAM



Observance of the 175th Anniversary of the Battle of Germantown

October 4, 1952

SPONSORED BY THE GERMANTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

and the

GERMANTOWN BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION

PART I. Vernon Park, 11 a. m. to Noon

Introductory remarks by A. A. Martin, president of the Germantown Business Men's Association.

Opening address by Leighton P. Stradley, president of the Germantown Historical Society.

Dedication of the Battle Monument.

THE COMMANDER REPORTS (A Pageant).

Appearing before the people of Germantown, General George Washington tells of the battle and explains its significance.

Also represented in the pageant are General Washington's aides, Continental soldiers, including a fifer, a drummer and a bearer of the colors; Colonial ladies and gentlemen, with their children; and John Wister, whose home was at Vernon.

Closing address by Judge E. O. Lewis.

PART II. Tour of the Battlefield, 2 p. m.

Two buses will leave from the Greene St. side of Vernon Park, visiting the 12 points that played an important part in the Battle of Germantown.

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE

LEIGHTON P. STRADLEY, *Chairman*

A. A. MARTIN, *Co-Chairman*

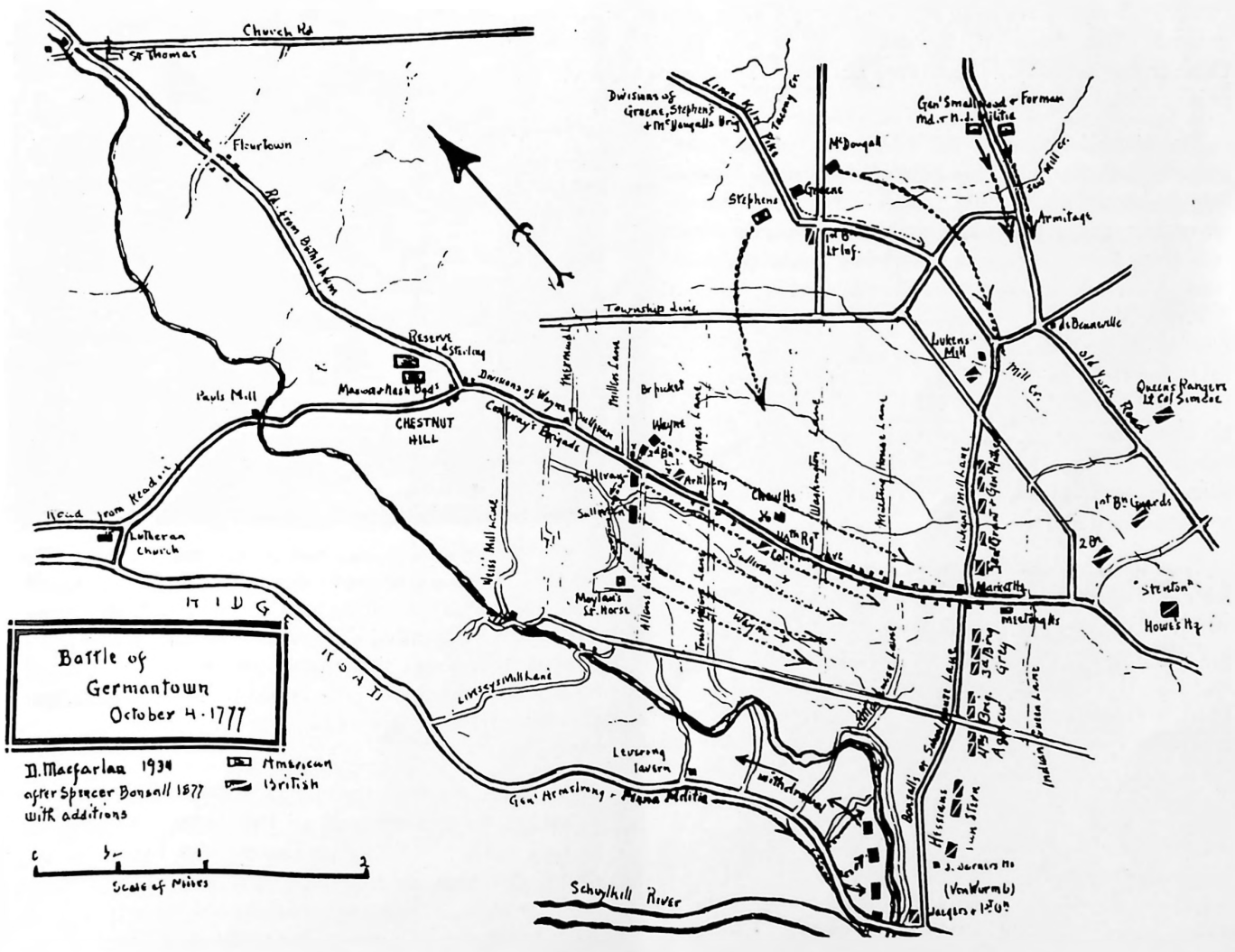
OTIS W. BALIS
EARLE N. BARBER
EDMUND A. CRENSHAW, JR.
FRANK R. DONAHUE, JR.
BENJAMIN W. FRAZIER
FRANCES A. WISTER
GEORGE A. HAVILAND
MICHAEL MITCHELL
LINN C. SEILER
BENJAMIN H. SHOEMAKER, 3d
GORDON W. VENABLE
FRANCES M. CAMPBELL

the weather; crossed the river before the severely cold weather set in and it was frozen over. However, he had directed his scouts to commandeer all the boats along both shores of the stream, and that had been accomplished with meticulous care. So, the famished Continentals had utilized all available floating equipment for their own convenience and—retained possession of it.

Which but spot-lights this martial genius the more emphatically; regardless of those wearisome months, their monotonous, tedious marches and their depressing effect upon his troops' morale, Washington saved the situation by his brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton, which followed soon. Especially, that Christmas Eve rout of the festive Hessians and the capture of Trenton gave the Continentals' cause a tremendous up-lift and probably at a moment when they most needed it. Also it is appropriate to note that some, perhaps the more cursory, commentators rated the second Battle of Trenton as the turning point of the revolutionary war.

Studious martialling of facts, at home and abroad, have decided otherwise. Subsequently General Howe, leading the pride of King George's cohorts, headed back to Staten Island; shipped his army in a vast flotilla and, after some weeks of apparent indecision which kept Washington on the anxious bench, appeared in Chesapeake Bay to embark at the mouth of the Elk River, only some sixty miles across country to the west of Philadelphia. But Washington's intelligence service had anticipated him once more. The British found Washington, with the young Marquis de Lafayette on his staff, waiting for them at Brandywine, September 11, 1777.

The result of that Battle did not prove a victory for either army and for the remainder of September the British and American forces maneuvered around Chester and Montgomery counties; Washington, bringing the wounded Lafayette to Col. Henry Hill's estate, "Roxborough Plantation," on School House Lane to recuperate. History notes that his Army encamped for the greater part of that two weeks on the same property, which we later knew as "Carlton." When Howe advanced from the south Washington



One may profitably refer to the map here used. It was drawn a hundred years after the battle, by Spencer Bonsall, yet it remains the best of the many maps made. On it Bonsall placed only the positions and movements of the British forces, and to it have been added the American movements.

withdrew to the hills around Whitemarsh leaving the enemy to occupy Germantown. While Howe made himself comfortable at "Stenton", Cornwallis moved on down Germantown Road to Philadelphia with his 5,000 British regulars; some 10,000 Redcoats, regulars, and Hessian mercenaries remaining with Howe. Of these, the latter were entrenched along the south of School House Lane from Ridge Road to Market Square; the regulars formed the British right flank located along the road to "Luken's Mill" (Church Lane today) and east of their center at Market Square.

That, of course, was the set-up on the eve of October 4, just twenty-three days after his forces had retired in perfect order from the field at Brandywine, his army practically intact. Washington held his staff meeting at Pennypacker's Mills, on the Perkiomen Creek and there mapped the Battle details; but it is interesting—and accentuates Washington's prowess as a strategist—to note the comments Montross (p. 228–31) makes at this point. Concerning the plan Washington made for the impending engagement, Montross remarks that it was based on the concentric advance of four columns of his troops at night; that such tactics, under such conditions particularly, would have been shunned by any European general. But, he adds, the miracle of it was that these troops actually did converge at the four strategic points with fairly good timing.

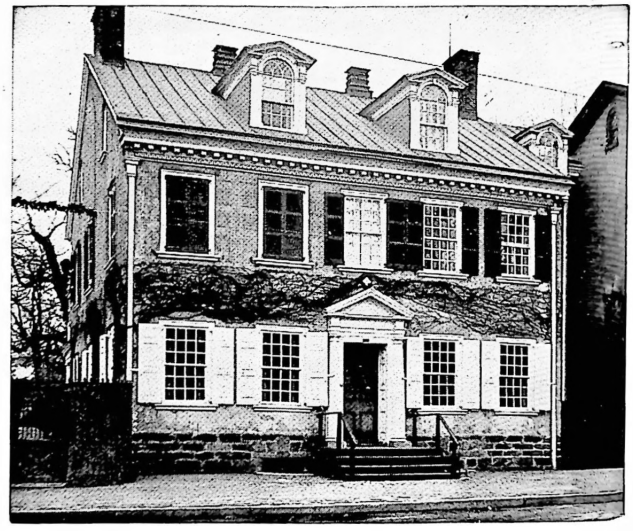
The exception was Greene's Division on the Continentals' left flank. This proved forty-five minutes late in attaining its objective, hence influenced unfavorably the maneuver's results. His misfortune was that, in coming down Limekiln Pike in the darkness, Greene's column turned off to the right at Luken's Mill. That diversion from his ordered procedure created serious confusion; because he was not intended to be at that point at that time, the presence of his division there conflicted with Wayne's. Also, because the entire field of operations was now enveloped in fog, these two divisions were unable to identify each other, became entirely confused, and so exchanged shots.

This unhappy episode, plus the unexpected resistance the British regulars interposed at "Cliveden", and the delay thus entailed upon the Continentals' massed assault on Howe's center at Market Square, induced Washington's order for a general retirement. That, too, redounds to Washington's credit since his several division commanders, despite the enveloping confusion in which fog and battle smoke combined, extricated themselves in remarkably good order.

Considering that they had assumed the offensive, which opposed some ten thousand troops under the Stars and Stripes to approximately the same number supporting the Royal colors, the American casualties reflect credit upon the generalship exercised by their Commander as well as his subordinates. Omitting the 400 Continentals the British captured (after the former had taken 100 Redcoats prisoner) Washington's killed and wounded totalled about 600; Howe's, something over 500.

Had Congress been more cooperatively disposed, Washington might have been spared much anxiety as to the progress of Franklin's diplomacy at Paris. With, or without, their Government's official blessing French compatriots had been forwarding supplies and ammunitions in aid of the Rebel Colonists. Both Feuchtwanger and Van Doren, recalling the more intimate relationships, purposes and practices then current around Versailles, make that fact clear. They both identify Pierre and Phillip Beaumarchais as the filibustering principals in this case; advancing several million livres of their private fortune in munitions with only a promise of repayment.

Mr. Miller's *Triumph of Freedom* (p. 208) supports this record with the statement that "during the Spring and Summer of 1777, French ships carrying cannon, muskets and ammunition, procured by Beaumarchais, continued to arrive at New England harbors. Beaumarchais' secret aid was now beginning to pay off; the arms and ammunition that stopped



The Morris House, facing Market Square, center of British Line

Burgoyne at Saratoga originally came from French arsenals. Without this timely assistance, it is doubtful whether the Americans could have recovered from the heavy losses in artillery . . . sustained at Ticonderoga."

At Paris we find the U. S. Consul-General, Mr. Franklin, doing very well all this time. As a matter of fact both Messrs. Van Doren and Feuchtwanger afford generous detail concerning the factors, friend and foe alike, Franklin implemented to advance the French alliance. Though he had established himself very securely in Marie Antoinette's good graces—hence was already a great favorite with all the Court at Versailles, except King Louis XVI in person—it

was the word of "Saratoga and Germantown" which crystallized sentiment into action there. Franklin made the most of it.

To that point the King had declared that he detested the proposed alliance. Employed every excuse his vacillating intellect could devise to avoid signing such a compact. He argued with the Queen and his ministers, Vergennes, Maurepas, and Gerard, that such encouragement of democracy could but threaten all the monarchies of Europe with revolt, especially, his own already restless citizenry would be excited to violence. Then he proposed an alliance with his cousin George III, also the Emperor of Austria; because he believed no combination of revolutionaries would dare challenge such an entente as that. Later still, he parried "Toinette's" urgent appeals in support of his ministers' advice with the announcement that he could not champion the American colonies' liberation without consulting another cousin, King Charles of Spain, with whom he was allied already.

Kept apprised of the Royal resistance maneuvers. Franklin concentrated the more persistently upon the King's vanity. This "uncouth American," as Louis regarded him, was confident that the Bourbon's inherent selfishness would respond eventually to self-aggrandizement. "Old Ben" played on that chord consistently, with "Toinette"—as the Court favorites addressed Marie Antoinette—and with the King's ministers. Franklin, immediately that word reached Paris (early November) of the Germantown engagement and of Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga (October 7), urged upon the Queen and the King's ministers that the French alliance must be approved as proposed with the utmost dispatch.

In making his representations the more realistic Franklin confided that now England was offering peace terms, very attractive to the Colonies, but still short of absolute independence. That being the case, he suggested, France would have no one to blame but herself for her misfortunes; her signature on the pact now would certainly bring England to her knees. Urging that the Continentals, already certain of success, would realize their independence much sooner upon consummation of this alliance; the Allies would be in position to dictate terms of surrender and, certainly, France would repossess her lost Canadian provinces.

And that worked, finally. Above all, Louis XVI craved an achievement which would glorify his "ancestors". The Spanish throne was no less desirous of new West Indian acquisitions with greater security for those she already possessed. Therefore, but no less grudgingly, Louis authorized Count Gerard to affix the Royal approval to the proposed treaties, one relating to commerce and friendship, the other pledging offensive and defensive aid until absolute independence was realized. That was done February 6, 1778, in Franklin's apartments at Passy, some four months after the dynamic eventualities at Germantown and Saratoga.

After Franklin had signed, as Minister Plenipotentiary, Arthur Lee added his signature with his title as U. S. Commissioner to France and to Spain. Silas Deane, as the remaining member of the joint Commission to France, concluded the ceremony. Though Lee's jealousies and baseless suspicions, confided to his colleagues in Congress, had resulted in the latter's order recalling Deane that member of the Commission had waited out the signing of the treaties. Determined to see that accomplished he had delayed compliance with those instructions some two months. His successor, John Adams, though appointed months earlier did not arrive at Paris until after the alliance had been concluded.

Hence Van Doren says Deane sailed March 31, 1778, from Toulon with Count Gerard, the new Minister to the U. S. A., aboard Admiral Count d'Etaing's flagship in the French fleet, and that, according to others among these historians quoted, arrived in the Delaware river July 8th of that year.

Considering the assembled evidence it is apparent that Washington and his insurgent Colonial forces had to demonstrate, to the satisfaction of the European militarist, the ability to cope with the English army so effectively as to assure the Continental arms eventual victory. And that assurance was impressed upon the authorities at London as well as at Paris. George III and his Tory party found little encouragement either among the Colonists or at home; in Parliament or abroad in the land.

Therefore, covering the field with these authors, viewing events as they see them, we must come to the conclusion that the Battle of Germantown, as the turning point in that 1777–78 campaign, actually determined the destiny of the United States of America, naturally then, it became eventually the ninth Capital of the United States of America.



Johnson House, underfire during the battle

Recollections of Germantown

by Dr. Stanley Rhoads Yarnall

Principal Emeritns of Germantown Friends School

I have been asked for some impressions of Germantown as I remember it 55 years ago when I first came here as a young teacher.

My first thought is of the Main Street, as we always called it. What a comfortable, home-like place it was then with its low gables and harmonious lines—the simple homes with their lots stretching back in sheltered gardens, only gradually changing to meet new business needs, with almost nothing of the modern building that has so transformed the old village thoroughfare, that now only oases are left of the German and Colonial styles.

My favorite Winter walk after the day's work was from Coulter St. to the Chew House in the glow of a red or amber sunset and then back again in the gathering dusk to Walnut Lane, turning at Wyck to Greene St., while the argand burners and student lamps began to glow in cozy homes and more stately mansions, and so home to a good supper at my landlady's table—for dinner in such homes was always then a midday affair.

She was part of the older Germantown, the aunt of a bishop and proud of it, but prouder perhaps of her housewifely skill, her reputation and experience as a cook and provider, and the beautiful and delicate needlework for which she was famous. She was an arresting figure in her rare appearances on the street with her widow's bonnet, the resolute set of her shoulders, the independent tilt of her head, and a certain challenging glance from her keen old eyes.

People One Met

Our streets were more interesting then; more people used their legs for the purpose of their creation, and it was possible to have the nod of recognition, the greeting or chat with friends and neighbors as we went about our business or our quieter pleasures. Individuality rather than uniformity was the rule, and one became familiar with real personalities. They were not mere blurs or floating visions as the autos flashed past.

Doctors and clergymen seem to come before me. Dr. Dunton, quiet and sedate in his carriage; Dr. Downs, erect with his white beard and rather sombre equipage; Dr. Müller always driving rather fast, with a serious, absorbed expression as though some major operation was just on or off.

Then near St. Luke's one might see Mr. Upjohn. "Father" many called him—with his shoulders erect and head thrown back, walking vigorously, cane in hand; or near Calvary, Dr. Perry, that kindly Christian gentleman, gracious and ready to respond to all whom he met; or Samuel Emlen, the venerable ruddy-faced Friend walking between his comfortable home and the Coulter St. Meeting House where he worshipped so many years; or on Chelten Ave., Dr. Jennings, always a striking figure, then at the beginning of his long and useful ministry and soon to become our most familiar and beloved religious leader. Bayard Henry was a large part of Germantown in those days—a great citizen, dynamic, massive, a rare combination of gentleness and strength, our leader in political reform and civic righteousness.

Changes in Traffic

One of the most striking changes is in the traffic. There especially was individuality found. Instead of Buicks and Packards and Pontiacs, Plymouths, Chevrolets, Fords and a score of others, all so similar, the styles of carriages were as varied as colonial tastes in flowered waistcoats. Germantown gave its name to the standard family carriage of our country, and the substantial stables in the grounds of ample old homes bear witness to this fact. There was a rare quality of dignity and worth in the Germantown carriages. They bespoke a sort of well-being and background that gave one a sense of real values and permanence and morale, whether they were driven by their owners or by dignified coachmen who were as well-known in the community as were the families who owned them or the horses that drew them. Then, too, there were buggies and Jenny Linds and a few glass-enclosed station wagons, especially in the neighborhood of Queen Lane and the other Pennsylvania Railroad stations, and on Summer afternoons phaetons and breaks with beautifully turned-out teams for the Wissahickon.

I must mention old Charles Wister, the last tenant of Grumblethorpe, whom I love to remember as he drove out in Autumn and Winter afternoons in a sort of high old-fashioned gig. His competent housekeeper sat beside him and held the reins over the plump, friendly horse while the old man looked about him, the picture of comfort and content, his cheeks

like rosy apples, and a blue-gray shawl pinned closely under his chin.

Social Affairs

I might dwell on Manheim and the Cricket Club on Summer afternoons with its delightful atmosphere of leisured sport and social well-being, culminating now and then in an international cricket match when Lord Hawks brought his team over and everyone who counted turned out, four-in-hands and all, and filled the beautiful old grandstand—now a memory—and stood or sat around the field to cheer on the gentlemen of Philadelphia, with a special interest in our Germantown contingent of great cricketers, E. W. and Percy Clark, George Patterson, and Frank Bohlen. Those were great days.

I have written far more than I intended to and must stop, but not without a word of moralizing. The Germantown of 55 years ago was conscious of its past and true to it. It was conservative yet active in developing institutions that met its religious and civic needs—churches, schools, saving funds, banks, hospitals, Christian Associations, boys' clubs, libraries. Smaller numbers implied individual interest and support. Its citizens did their full share in the larger life of Philadelphia and led in political reform and the fight for righteousness. One felt with Paul of Tarsus —a citizen of no mean city.

In the more crowded life of today with its rapid tempo and sense of rush and confusion, we need in historic celebrations to remember the roots from which we grow—the gentle, humane spirit of Pastorius, the concern for freedom and the rights of man expressed by the first group protest against slavery; the love of quiet homes and gardens; unhurried industry based on intelligence and thrift; the development of a constructive community spirit. As we cherish these things, our present and future may be consistent with our past.



Chew House, around which the Battle raged

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The Shadow of a Great Soul

By James Francis Cooke

President, The Presser Foundation President, Theodore Presser Company (1925–1936)
Editor Emeritus, Etude, The Music Magazine

ONE OF THE most quoted thoughts from Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay, "Self-Reliance," is "An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man." However, the ideals, ambitions, visions, character, philosophy, but most of all, the faith and determination of a great man are far more interesting from a human standpoint than his material success.

Mr. Theodore Presser, founder of The Presser Foundation and the Presser Home for Retired Music Teachers in Germantown, which is one of the departments of The Foundation, was so modest and so retiring that only a few of his neighbors in Germantown really knew of his notable achievements in education, business and philanthropy. Therefore this sketch is not confined to Mr. Presser's accomplishments alone, but to the man himself.

The Presser Home for Retired Music Teachers in Germantown is the only institution of its kind. Save for the Casa di Riposo per Musicisti (House of Rest for Musicians), in Milan, Italy, founded by the composer, Giuseppe Verdi, in the last century, there is no other Home resembling it. The Verdi Home is for musicians in general. The Presser Home is restricted to music teachers. At the Verdi Home the residents sleep in wards and dine at long refectory tables and have little or no privacy as in all conventional Homes.

In the Presser Home the atmosphere is that of a fine hotel. Each guest has a private room, and the cheerful sunny dining room resembles that of an up-to-date modern hostel. There are no more restraining regulations than those which obtain for the comfort and protection of all the guests.

The late Theodore Presser (1848–1925) was a Pennsylvanian and a Philadelphian, but his life interests were international. He lived to see his name carried throughout the entire musical world. He was born in Pittsburgh in 1848. His mother was American born, but his father, Christian Presser, was born in the German-French district of the Saar. Christian Presser was a glue maker and soon developed a profitable glue business in America. Theodore was brought up in a strictly religious home and was a devout Christian throughout his incessantly busy life.

Mr. Presser's musical education began when he was a music clerk in the store of C. C. Mellor in Pittsburgh. His first teacher was a Lutheran minister. His further education in music was pursued at Mount Union College, Alliance, Ohio; Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio; the New England Conservatory in Boston, Mass., and at the Leipzig Conservatory in Germany, where he remained for two years studying with many noted German masters. There he met Reinecke, Grieg and Brahms.

When Mr. Presser was professor of music at Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio in 1876, he founded the Music Teachers National Association, the parent organization of the great music club movement in America. Its combined membership is now estimated at over five hundred thousand. Later when he was teaching at Hollins college in Virginia he became convinced that the M. T. N. A. should have an organ, that is, a journal or a magazine. Therefore it was in 1883 he left his well-paid position, moved to the neighboring city of Lynchburg, Va., and established *The Etude*. The following year he moved his office to Philadelphia and located in a small upstairs room at 1004 Walnut Street. He was confident that when *The Etude* secured five thousand subscribers he could turn it over to others and return to the teaching profession. His intentions and ideals were wholly altruistic.

When he came to the end of his first year, a year of ceaseless struggle, he was naturally very anxious to find how many renewals he might receive. The subscription list had mounted to 721. Mr. Presser was immensely encouraged and immediately doubled the size of the publication. He found that the demands for music and books were so great, that he started in a modest way to publish music, hardly realizing that he was founding one of the greatest music publishing firms in history and what was to become the most widely circulated magazine of its type, *The Etude Music Magazine*. The circulation list in time went beyond the 200,000 mark. But this was not without years of hard, intensive application upon the part of Mr. Presser and his collaborators. It made possible the establishment of one of the largest musical foundations in history.

His first publishing office in Philadelphia was very modest. On one wall was a shelf with a few folios of music and music albums, as well as a few books

about music. On the other side of the room was a counter under which was a pallet, upon which Mr. Presser, then a man of thirty-six, slept at night for the next three years. His meals were extremely meagre, bread and milk, cornmeal mush with meat or fish once a week. But that did not matter to him as he was having all kinds of fun in furthering his ambitions. His entertainment was work and making as many friends as possible by fostering their musical interests.

Mr. Presser was fortunate in meeting the Philadelphia music critic and teacher of piano, James Gibbons Huneker. Mr. Huneker was a member of an old Philadelphia family and was a nephew of Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. Mr. Presser employed the scintillating James G. Huneker as the first Editor of *The Etude*. "Jim" Huneker was a Bohemian at heart and seemed far more like a citizen of the Place Pigalle than the Quaker City. He is still, years after his passing in 1921, one of the most distinctive figures in the artistic, literary and musical life of Philadelphia. Jim Huneker was a natural wit and it was a joy to be with him. He had a remarkable, sparkling literary style. His enemies used to say that he wrote with a stiletto and not a pen, but he had a warm and sympathetic side.

Quoting from the writer's article in the Philadelphia Forum for May 1948, we read:

"His wit was razor sharp and his correspondence liable to be very salty. When Mr. Presser was pious, Mr. Huneker was impious; when Mr. Huneker was scintillating in his verbal flashes, Mr. Presser was practical in his writings, but never prosaic; where Mr. Presser was always dependable it was very hard to pin Mr. Huneker down. For fourteen years after the writer became Editor of *The Etude*, Huneker wrote for the magazine and one never knew whether an article would be delivered on time or not. Practically all of his work for *The Etude* was published anonymously, of which his 'Old Fogy' series is considered one of his finest productions. How these two men managed to work in harness is difficult to imagine. Huneker was extravagant to the point of profligacy; Mr. Presser was economical to the point of parsimony, although his economies were never self gratification, but rather for the purpose of carrying out his ideals for others. James Huneker once said to the writer: 'Lord knows what Presser lived on in those days. It must have been fried ideals.' "

When the writer joined Mr. Presser in 1907 as Editor of *The Etude*, Mr. Huneker had gone to New York where he gained high reputation as Music Critic for the *Sun* and the New York *Times*. His reviews were often not merely trenchant, but often lacerating and because he was himself a fine musician, a pupil of the great Joseffy, and not merely a word-slinger, he gained the respect of all artists some of whom feared to read his reviews of their performances. He made frequent visits to Philadelphia where he usually lunched with Mr. Presser and the writer. Mr. Presser always recognized what an asset Huneker was in starting *The Etude*, although he was frequently shocked by his audacious, profane and Rabelaisian conversation. But in the end Mr. Presser would say: "Well, you just can't help loving Jim."

In 1891 Mr. Presser moved his business from Walnut Street to 1704 Chestnut Street. During the nineties the catalogs and the business expanded amazingly and Mr. Presser found himself in the possession of more money than he ever dreamed that he might acquire. The logical and righteous distribution of his means was always an annoyauce to him. "It is far harder to give money away to the best advantage than to make it," he often repeated. Before long he found himself in the possession of 1708-10–12 and 1714 Chestnut Street, which are still owned by The Presser Foundation. Later he acquired the properties 1713–15–17 Sansom Street, immediately behind the Chestnut Street store, and upon this site erected a ten-story office building, the "Presser Annex," now known as "1717 Sansom Street." All of these properties are still owned by The Presser Foundation.

It was during this period of his life that he met and married Helen Louise Curren, taking a fine residence on Logan Square. Later they moved to Germantown. Old Germantown residents will remember that at the corner of West Johnson and Jefferson (now Cherokee Street) Streets, there were two old mansions. Mr. Presser bought the second from the corner, No. 121 West Johnson Street. This property was surrounded by a handsomely landscaped garden and had a pretentious garage with driver's residence above. This lovely old mansion, completely remodeled by Mr. Presser, became his residence for the rest of his life.

While traveling in Europe with Mrs. Presser they visited the Casa di Riposo per Musicisti in Milan, Italy. This visit inspired him to suggest to the Music Teachers National Association the erection of a Home for Aged Music Teachers in America. However, as the Association was not in a position to undertake and endow such an ambitious project, Mr. Presser decided to build and sponsor such a Home himself.

In 1906 he purchased a residential property at 236 South Third Street, Philadelphia, in the heart of the old city. The opening of this first Presser Home for Aged Music Teachers was widely announced in the press and in *The Etude*. In the next three years the applicants for admission were so few that Mr. Presser became discouraged and was about to discontinue it. Someone suggested to him that perhaps there were no "aged" music teachers, and the name was changed to "The Presser Home for Retired Music Teachers." The number of applicants rose surprisingly, and in 1911 the Home moved to the old mansion on West



Presser Home

Johnson Street adjoining Mr. Presser's residence. In 1913 a fine modern fireproof building was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies in which many prominent citizens took part, including Gov. Edward Stuart, Mayor Blankenburg, David Bispham, world-famous Philadelphia-born baritone; Dr. Charles Heber Clark (Max Adler), author of "Out of the Hurly-Burly"; Maud Powell, eminent violin virtuoso; Dr. Ernest Hutcheson, concert pianist and teacher, later president of the Juilliard School of Music; the Hon. Richard P. Hobson of Spanish War fame; Dr. Hugh A. Clarke, Professor of Music at the University of Pennsylvania; Henri Scott, Philadelphia operatic basso, and many representative musical leaders from all over the United States. The writer presided upon this occasion and had great difficulty in inducing Mr. Presser "to say a few words."

After Mr. Presser's demise in 1925 his own residence which adjoined the Home was demolished. Later a new wing and Assembly Room were added to the main building, materially increasing the capacity of the Home. The present Home is located upon a beautiful garden plot of four acres. In spring the flowering trees in the gardens are one of the sights of Germantown.

Quoting again from the writer's article in the Philadelphia *Forum* for June, 1948, we read:

"After the completion of the Home, Mr. Presser's fortune continued to mount until he soon realized that he would have to consolidate many of his private, *strictly secret* philanthropies, into a foundation, which was established in 1916 through the creation of two Deeds of Trust with the Pennsylvania Company and the Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company. Mr. Presser had lived so modestly and so economically in Philadelphia that few suspected the size of his fortune. His objective was never personal gain, but the furtherance of his ideals in carrying out his desire to help others.

"Mr. Presser's intimates were few, although he had many friends in all parts of the country. He enjoyed entertaining in his home in Germantown. Three years after the death of his first wife in 1905, he married Mrs. Elise Houston Ferrell, who had been a neighbor and intimate friend of the first Mrs. Presser. She was a true daughter of the South with all the lavender and old lace charm of southern gentility. She contributed immensely to Mr. Presser's last days with her wit and high spiritual outlook.

"Besides the Presser Home, the Presser Foundation has several other departments. The Scholarship Department has assisted over eight thousand music students in college with scholarship funds. The grants are never made to the individual students, but are made to the college. The students to receive the scholarship are then selected by the President and the Head of the Music Department of the college.

"Another phase of The Foundation work is the Assistance Department. This department makes emergency grants to music teachers in distress. These have been confined very largely in recent years to elderly music teachers who have greatly reduced means of support. It has also covered a large number of cases with monthly stipends, where, after careful examination of the circumstances, continued help is imperative. It has happened that some of the world's distinguished music teachers have been helped through this fund, when destiny has been unkind to them. It is significant to note that the pride and the high ethical sense of musicians is such that cases of attempted misrepresentation and falsification have been extremely rare despite the very large aggregate funds disbursed. It has happened repeatedly that when recipients have 'come into money' they have insisted upon returning monies received by them. To protect the sensitive pride of musicians every effort is made to keep grants confidential. In addition to grants to individuals The Foundation has rushed money to districts afflicted by cyclone, flood, fire and other calamities where musicians were known to have been temporarily afflicted. In the case of the famous explosion at Halifax in which the better part of the town was demolished, a check was sent to the Mayor within twelve hours and musicians were directly and immediately helped. The sum was returned with gratitude when the town recovered. One of Mr. Presser's friends was Sir Wilfred Thomason Grenfell, whose missionary efforts in Newfoundland and Labrador are widely known. A church that he founded in Labrador recently burned down, and The Foundation has assisted in securing a new organ for it.

"The Department of Music Buildings has built in whole or helped to build ten fine Presser Music Halls at colleges. Many of these buildings have been in successful operation for years. Owing to the great demand for assistance arising from the depression of the 30's, the work of this building department has been indefinitely suspended. No date for its resumption is determinable."

The Foundation was the result of Mr. Presser's

long study and preparation. He had been secretly giving from his private means to music teachers in distress and to deserving colleges and students who proposed to become music teachers. The details of his private gifts were known only to his secretary, Miss Cox, and the writer. He then saw the need of visiting colleges to better understand their musical educational operations. For several years he made about three trips a year, with the writer, covering thousands and thousands of miles, talking with college authorities about buildings and scholarships in music study. In 1920 Dr. John Louis Haney (former President of the Central High School, Philadelphia) joined these exploratory tours, which were continued until Mr. Presser's last year. They were of definite importance in the operation of The Foundation. Since 1925 Dr. Haney has been Secretary of The Foundation.

In addition to the foregoing The Foundation has made three $10,000 grants for three years to the Philadelphia Orchestra, for the purchase of tickets for the concerts of the Orchestra. These tickets were distributed to musically interested students of the public, parochial and private High Schools of the City of Philadelphia. It has made two grants of $1,000 for two years, for music students attending the concerts at the Robin Hood Dell. This has been productive of greatly increased interest upon the part of the students. These grants have been confined to these two "all city" musical organizations mentioned. No grants can be made to smaller organizations.

Mr. Presser was very proud of Philadelphia and Germantown and congratulated himself upon having selected Philadelphia instead of New York as the seat of his operations. He thought that Philadelphia was the finest city in the world in which to reside. He had few social aspirations. The "old families" meant no more to him than the Vares or the Penroses. He liked people for what they were and not for what they thought they were. He joined none of the big city clubs because as he said: "I haven't the time." He was keenly interested in the political scene, but took no direct interest in politics. He was a deeply religious man, but made no display of religion. He attended the Methodist church because "he liked the preacher." The preacher was Dr. J. S. Ladd Thomas, Dean of the School of Theology, Temple University. Dr. Thomas preached Mr. Presser's funeral sermon.

Mr. Presser quoted from the Bible continually, and was especially fond of Proverbs, the Psalms, the minor prophets and the Gospel according to St. John. He detested those who professed Christ but made no attempt to live up to His teachings. He was most understanding in his attitude toward other denominations and contributed liberally to many. He was a strange combination of modesty and simplicity,

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tempered by shrewdness and great sagacity. In business matters if he found that a competitor was trying to drive a hard or disadvantageous bargain, he became as hard fisted as a Disraeli or a Bismarck. However, if he felt that one with whom he was dealing warranted his confidence he would be generous in the extreme. Few were ever successful in imposing upon him. He used to say when bargaining: "I never listen to what a man says. I listen to what he thinks."

Another provision Mr. Presser made for the purposes of the Trust was "to increase the value of musical education" and "to popularize the study of music and encourage the choice of music as a profession" and has been interpreted to include occasional assistance to the MacDowell Colony, the Music Teachers National Association and to far-reaching propaganda such as was issued at the beginning of World War II when The Presser Foundation combatted the senseless agitation to have legislative bodies declare music a "non-essential." This was done by the issuance of 300,000 posters, "Forward March with Music," giving the opinions of thirty prominent public leaders as to the value of music at a time of national crisis. These were sent to every member of Congress and of the state legislatures, to thousands of newspapers, libraries, schools, clubs and broadcasting stations. The reprint value of this project was estimated as reaching over ten million through different channels. There had never hitherto been a war in which music held such a significant part.

Like all great teachers, Mr. Presser was given to illustrating his thoughts with precepts, parables, proverbs and anecdotes. One of his favorite proverbs was the German "Undank ist der Weltes Lohn" (Ingratitude is the world's reward) but he always added "Never expect gratitude but never forget to give it." While Mr. Presser's musical training was long and excellent, he was never a fine musician in the sense of being a proficient performer of outstanding ability or a composer. He was a wise and experienced publisher and an editor with vision and ingenuity. Most of all he was an incomparable compiler. He found that many of the best musicians were excellent business men and that many of the most successful business men were often very fine musicians. At the first suspicion of lack of integrity he would instantly stop a transaction and never do business with the individual again. If one gained his confidence he would go to great extremes of liberality. In this way he explained he made only honest friends who knew that he was honest. When asked how he had made so much money in a field which many considered unpromising, he smiled and replied: "I did it just a little differently."

The Presser Home in Germantown, which the residents call a "home without a capital 'H'," has a fine

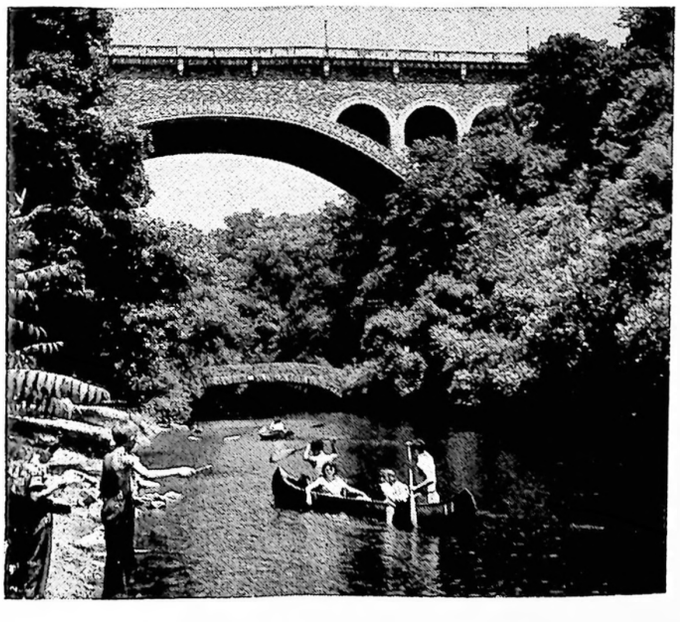
Assembly Hall in which many of the outstanding musicians of the world have appeared on visits. These are under the direction of the Presser Social Club. The Assembly Room has a fine Steinway piano, a twenty-inch screen, television, and an excellent AM and FM radio. The Home has a well-chosen library. Book service from the Philadelphia Free Library is obtainable. There are practice rooms which are much used by the residents.

The general health conditions in the Home have been exceptionally good. Dr. William A. Buck is the physician in charge and Dr. Frank E. Bristol is the surgeon. The Home has a modern, finely equipped infirmary with expert nurses in attendance. The Presser Foundation is proud to receive visitors at the Presser Home which is open daily. Mr. Clarence Foy, for many years Superintendent, will be glad to welcome those who desire to visit the Home.

Mr. Presser taught French as a young man at Mount Union College, but he spoke the language clumsily. Despite his quasi-German ancestry, he spoke German crudely. On the occasion of visits from European publishers he called the writer as an interpreter. The Theodore Presser Company has always had many visitors from foreign countries who do not speak English.

Mr. Presser had no children of his own, but was inordinately fond of little folks. Every Christmas he would gather in his large garage all of the less fortunate children he could find in his neighborhood, give them a Christmas celebration and presents.

It has been the writer's privilege to know many men of world renown in different fields here and abroad. He is sure that it is not his almost filial affection for Mr. Presser which makes him stand out as one of the most distinctive of all. Today, twenty-seven years after his death, there is a warm feeling of deep gratitude and reverence in the hearts of thousands, young and old, who have received benefits from the inspired generosity of Theodore Presser.



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The Army Then Proceeded . . .

(Continued from page 13)

old records have it, "in the Burgh [borough] of Wigtoun."

"Sir George Mackenzie, one of the earliest Scottish genealogists, writes:

*"Agnew.—The chief is Agnew of Lochnaw, whose predecessors came from Ireland, Rego Davidus 2do, being a son of ye Lord Agnews, alias Lord of Larne. There he gott the keeping of the King's castell of Lochnaw, and was made Heritable Constable yrof."

From the appointment of the Agnews to the keeping of Lochnaw by the above David II., to their restoration (after having been ousted by Earl Douglas) by James I., a hiatus occurs in family records as to the dates of the successions and marriages of three generations.

LOCHNAW

The descriptions of the "Castell" with its surrounding lakes, crags, mounds for its defence (watch) fire hill, etc. are charming and romantic, even though mixed with cruelty, violence, battles and war. Many are the tales, tragic and comic, legends, and stories of prowess and defeat, of seizure and forfeiture, of royal favour and disfavour, that were connected with Lochnaw and its neighbors. Among those were M'Cullochs, MacDonalls, Campbells, Corswalls, and Dunskeys. Accounts of these remind one of all of Scott's novels rolled into one, or of "The Scottish Chiefs."

There was a chronic war, between border chiefs, who successively conquered, and lost, castles and territory. The Douglass family became powerful, and at one time occupied Lochnaw. There occurred constant fighting between the Douglasses and the King, each committing murder, sieges, pillage and violence against the other. After William, 8th Earl of Douglas, was murdered by King James at Sterling Castle, the King gave to Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw a renewal of his Charter as follows:

"Edinburgh the twenty-ninth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord the One thousandth four hundredth, fiftieth secondth and in the sixteenth of our reign.

"Penes Dominum de Lochnaw.

"James, by the grace of God, King of the Scots, to all good men (etc.) * * *

"Wherefore we straightly command, and hereby apprize, all whom it may concern, that they promptly respond to, obey, and apply to the said Andrew, and after his decease to his heirs foresaid, in all matters pertaining to the said office; under all the penalties to which they shall otherwise be subject."

The said Andrew Agnew, who died in 1455, was the First Hereditary Sheriff of Galloway. From him the line runs through nine members of the family to Sir James Agnew, Knight, 4th Baronet of Lochnaw Castle and Eleventh Sheriff, who succeeded to the Sheriffdom in 1701, and died in 1735. He was the grandfather* of our General.

Sir James was the first Sheriff to become interested in farming, and in the improvement of the soil and crops. He originated new methods such as using lime and planting grass seed, in order to increase production.

Outside of this the duties of the Sheriffs were manifold. Besides summoning armed men, and fighting their neighbors, and defending the King of England, they corrected the "absent, remiss and disobedient," held court, settled cases, and held elections for members of Parliament. No elections were held for Sheriff, as it was an hereditary office. Tenants were obliged to appear in person to vote, and were fined for absence.*

Sir James married Lady Mary Montgomerie, daughter of the 8th Earl of Eglintown in 1683. She died in 1742, having survived Sir James by seven years[1]. Their family consisted of 21 children, of whom the eldest was Sir Andrew, born in 1687. He became 5th Baronet and Twelfth, and last, Hereditary Sheriff. Sir James's fourth son was James Agnew of Bishop Auckland[2], County Durham, England. He was a Major in Kerr's Dragoon's, now known as the 7th Hussars. He saw service at Fontenoy, where his horse was shot under him, and elsewhere abroad.

Our General, who might be described as "of German Town," was Major James's son, and presumably was born at Bishop Auckland.

THE LAST OF THE SHERIFFS

The office of Sheriff was abolished by Parliament in 1741, and so came to a close a fascinating and exciting period in County Galloway, and Scotland.

General Agnew personally had no part in that life, but the spirit and courage of the Sheriffs found a vent in his military life of which he wrote: "Zeal for His

---

*The name Agnew was originally "Agneau," and there are three lambs on the coat of arms. Although Norman, it is not certain whether the first Agneau came to England with William the Conqueror, or whether he went first to Ireland.

*Often incorrectly mentioned as General Agnew's father.

[1]Sir James and Lady Mary were buried in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.

[2]This is recorded as a "good estate" brought to him by his wife. Naturally, it became the Major's property, as was the custom.

[3]What about making this a custom here? Many persons have lost their lives so that we in the United States might have the vote. It might almost be said that General Agnew also lost his life in this cause.

Majesty's service, and our country carries men through all difficulties."

PART III

THE MILITARY CAREER OF GENERAL AGNEW

The General's military career was a distinguished one, and without intensive study it would be difficult to trace it completely. However, a few facts have been discovered.

In England Prime Ministers were rising and falling, and public men were squabbling, instead of turning their attention to the Colonies, until in 1775 trouble began in earnest. Through many of the above campaigns, brave British officers carried out the commands of Prime Ministers, and generals in England, often conflicting, and with disastrous results. Among the most loyal of these officers was James Agnew.

He, listed as "James Agnew gent.," entered His Majesty's Service as an Ensign in Handasyd's Regiment in 1739. (Age not given.) He was advanced to 1st Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Lieut.-Colonel, and finally to Colonel in 1775. At the same time he was made Aide-de-Camp to the King.

In 1777, he is noted as dead, and his wife Elizabeth, [née Sanders] was granted a pension of £40 per annum.*

He had served in the Lowlands, and in Ireland before his first trip to America, which appears to have been in 1745.

A letter in the *Family book, dated September 18th, 1745 indicates that he was at the first siege of Louisburg, as well as at the second.

"My son James is now at Louisbourgh (Cape Breton) and was at the siege of it which lasted longer than yours for it took them six weeks; he was slightly wounded in the left knee, but is now quite recovered; he was also at the taking of a man-of-war of sixty-four guns, which proves a very rich prize, and I hope his share will turn out £1000." (Major James Agnew to his brother.)

Colonel Agnew, as he was then, was also at Halifax, and in Quebec in 1759. His Regiment returned to England in 1763. Then again to Ireland, from where in 1776 they sailed to America on what proved to be the General's last and fatal trip.

This brought him to the American Revolution when he was at Brooklyn Heights, New York Island, Long Island, Amboy, Danbury, Brandywine, and German Town, where he fell.

Occasionally he has been mentioned as a Major General. He commanded Brigades at Brooklyn, Amboy, Brandywine, and at German Town, where his Regiments were the 17th, 37th, 46th and 64th, attached to Cornwallis's Column.

His British Majesty's Government acknowledged the General's fine service by awarding the pension of a Colonel to his widow.

1777—OCTOBER 4th—1952

October 4th, 1952 marks the 175th Anniversary of the Battle of Germantown, and of the death of General James Agnew at "Grumblethorpe." This ancient house, built in 1744, remained in the possession of the Wister family until September 1940. At that time it was purchased by the Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks, in order to preserve and restore it. Aside from its historic connection with the Battle, it is a fine example of German architecture, which has almost disappeared from the "Great Road."

At the time of the Battle John Wister was in his town house. No written word has come down from him concerning it, or this sad event. Doubtless he was happy that his "Big House" was not the scene of actual fighting, and was not riddled by bullets. Probably, the death of an enemy officer there disturbed him less than physical damage would have done.

His charming granddaughter Sally might have described it in her Journal, but she was far away at North Wales, with other members of the family.

The descendants of John Wister respect the gallant officer and cherish his memory.

Lately they have been in touch with Colonel Quentin Agnew of Lochnaw; and with General R. Donald Agnew of Canada, who has visited the house several times.

Thus ends the story of how a loyal and courageous Scotsman, and British officer, happened to die in the summer residence of a Philadelphia merchant, in the village of German Town, in far-away Pennsylvania, North America.

There is a room named for him at "Grumblethorpe," and the present owners continue to foster the memory of Brigadier General James Agnew in that "unfortunate place called German-Town."



Livezey House on the Wissahickon

*All the above from the Public Records Office, London.

*"The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway" by the late Sir Andrew Agnew, Baronet of Lochnaw, 1893.

Mount Airy

(Continued from page 15)

sold in 1886 to the Philadelphia Lutheran Theological Seminary, which then occupied a building on Franklin Square. The seminary was moved to Mount Airy and the former Gowen house has since been the administration building of the seminary, while on the grounds have been erected a large dormitory building, the Krauth Memorial Library, the Schaeffer-Ashmead Memorial Church and several dwellings for members of the seminary faculty.

In recent years the administration building has been restored to what the architect believed were the conditions when James Gowen lived there.

This original Mount Airy estate, from which the community takes its name, is noted historically for other things besides the occupancy by James Gowen.

While Chief Justice Allen dwelt here Benjamin Franklin and many other noted men of the day were guests at the Allen home. It was a famous country place, and traditions still survive of the splendor of the Allen home and of the impression which the chief justice made upon the humble dwellers of the region when he drove out from Philadelphia in his landau drawn by four black horses.

Right at the Allen house the battle of Germantown began at dawn on October 4, 1777, when the Americans, advancing down Germantown road, attacked the British pickets, stationed in front of the Allen house. A marker indicating this fact has been placed on the seminary grounds by one of the classes of that institution.



End of British Line near here

The first of the series of educational institutions conducted in the Allen house was a school for girls, opened in the first years of the nineteenth century. Then in 1807 the Rev. Francis X. Brosius, a Catholic priest who came from France, established Mount Airy College here. His successor, in 1813, was Benjamin Constant, also a Frenchman, who called his school the Mount Airy Collegiate Institute.

Augustus L. Roumfort, a graduate of West Point Military Academy, acquired the school in 1826 and made it a military school with the name of American Classical and Military Lyceum. There were 150 students, mostly from Southern States, and some from Cuba and Mexico. One of the instructors was John A. Quitman, who later was a general in the war with Mexico and also Governor of Mississippi. Some of the students of that period afterwards gained fame. One was George Gordon Meade, who became commander of the Union army in the Civil War. Another was Pierre G. T. Beauregard, of Louisiana, who, as Confederate army commander, opened the hostilities of the Civil War.

After Roumfort disposed of the school in 1835, to Captain Alden Partridge, he held a number of public offices, including member of the State Legislature, superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, then controlled by the State; Mayor of Harrisburg, and superintendent of the Bridesburg Arsenal. He died in Harrisburg in 1878.

Gowen av., Allen lane and Roumfort road, in the Mount Airy region, recall three outstanding men all of whom had their abode on the original Mount Airy estate.

—Reprinted from

THE PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN

March 26, 1928

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About Our Authors

GEORGE A. HAVILAND: descendant of David Rittenhouse, born in Germantown, graduated from Germantown High School and Temple University, where he majored in political science; former feature writer for the *Germantown Courier*, for which he wrote a number of articles dealing with historic houses and other landmarks in the community; now a community planner with the Citizens' Council on City Planning.

MISS FRANCES A. WISTER is a descendant of John Wister, a Philadelphia merchant, who came to America from the Palatinate in 1727.

John Wister erected his "big" house on the Germantown road, as a country residence for his family in 1744, and named it "Grumblethorpe".

From this house Miss Wister's great-great-grandfather, another John Wister, departed in 1803 to make his home at "Vernon", now used as headquarters by the Germantown Community Council.

Active in many organizations for the benefit of the city, Miss Wister is a member of the founders of the Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks and its president, 1931. This society is the first of its kind in Philadelphia, devoted to saving historic buildings.

The music loving public appreciate her many years of service as a board member of the Philadelphia Orchestra Association, as well as president of the Woman's Committee of this same association.

Miss Wister is a delightful speaker on historical subjects on which she has an extensive knowledge. She is deeply interested in Germantown past and present.

JAMES FRANCIS COOKE was born in Michigan, educated in public schools in Brooklyn. Private music study began a twenty-five year career of piano teaching at the age of 13. At the age of 23 he married Betsy E. Beckwith and they had one son, Francis Sherman Cooke. After wide study in Europe he received honorary degrees from many universities, including University of Pennsylvania Music Department, 1930, and University of Michigan, 1938.

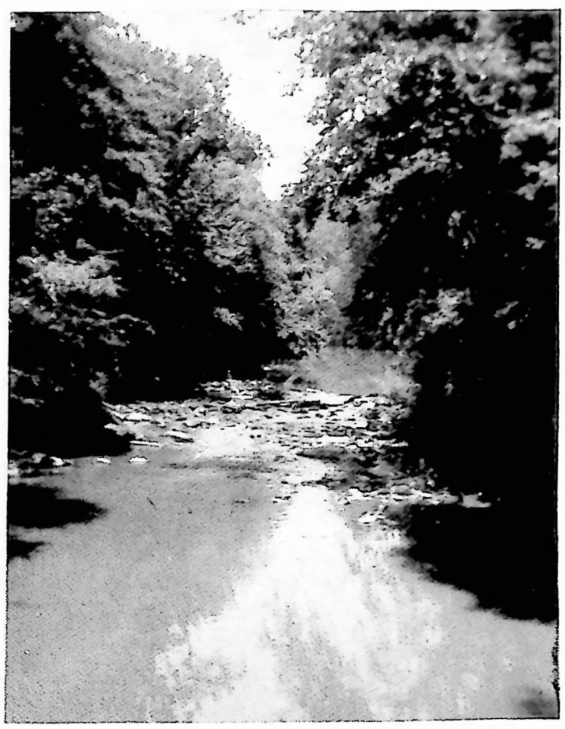
Mr. Cooke was editor of *Etude*; President of Philadelphia Music Teachers Association, 1910–27; Write-about Club, 1916–17; Drama League of Philadelphia, 1917; Four Minute Man, 1917; Henry LaBarre Jayne Memorial Fund (President, 1916); President, Chestnut Street Businessmen's Association, 1938–present; President, Pennsylvania Music Teachers Association; Board of Directors, Musical Fund Society, and member of Authors League of America; Committee of American Conservatory at Fontainebleau, and member of American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP).

STANLEY RHOADS YARNALL was born in Philadelphia August 29, 1871. After the death of his parents, he was brought up by his aunts on the old Rhoads farm at the junction of West Chester Pike and Bryn Mawr Avenue, and later in Media.

He was educated at Friends Schools, and earned his A.B. at Haverford College in 1892, and his A.M. from the same college in 1893. He also took special courses in education at Columbia, Cornell and Harvard. In 1925 the University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him an Honorary degree of Master of Arts.

In 1898 he joined the Faculty of Germantown Friends' School, and became its Principal in 1907, which post he held until his retirement in 1941.

Mr. Yarnall is one of the two surviving members of a Committee that organized the Philadelphia Council of Boy Scouts of America and is one of the organizers of the Germantown Community Council.



Typical scene of Wissahickon Creek. Looking up stream from Paper Mill Road

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Excerpts from the Pennsylvania Gazette

No Loot Too Small

Among those who suffered from looting during the British occupation of Germantown was Dr. Charles Bensell, whose house was on the west side of the present Germantown Ave. north of School House Lane.

When the British took possession of Germantown, the doctor and his family sought refuge in Horsham, leaving their home on September 24, 1777. During their absence, their house was stripped of its entire contents, down to "two coffee mills."

As described in an inventory by Dr. Bensell, dated February 24, 1779, the loot included: ". . . Three feather beds and five bedsteads . . . a house organ, forte piano and violin; . . . three ten-plate iron stoves, and two six-plate ditto; . . . two skeletons, with a variety of anatomical preparations, &c."

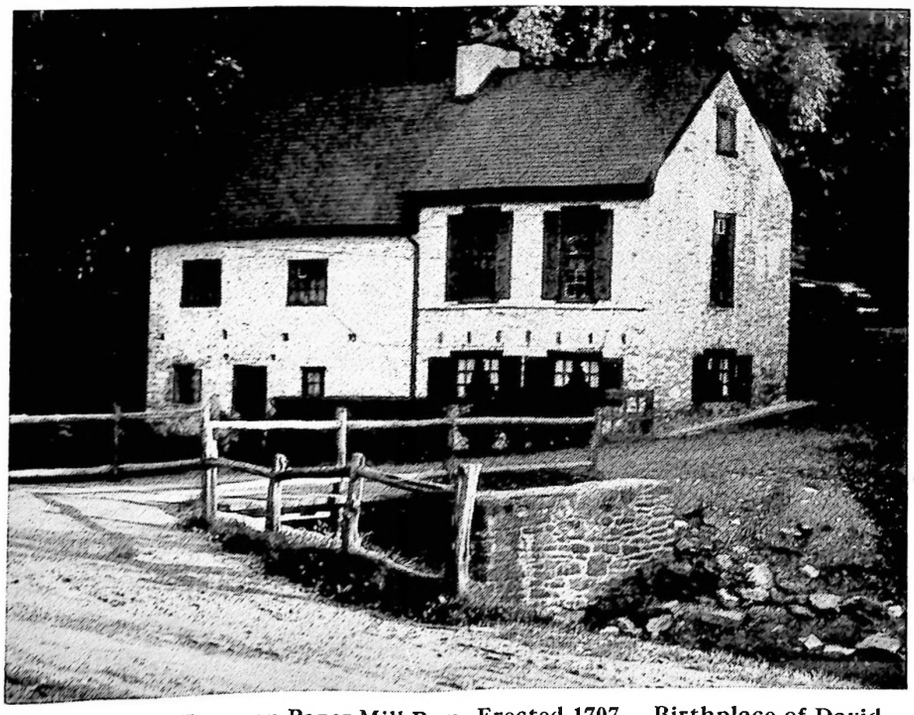
This inventory, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 10, 1779, concludes:

"N.B. There were between 40 and 50 locks taken from the doors and closets of the said house. The flower-garden was also robbed of the roots, which, as I am informed, were sold in Philadelphia by the persons. The purchasers are requested to inform me thereof, that such wicked practices may be punished for the present and prevented in future."

Center for Salt

With the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, salt soon became scarce and Germantown was made a storage center for the supplies collected by the American Government. A reference to the situation is found in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 19, 1776:

"To the Poor. Whereas we, the subscribers, are entrusted with 200 bushels of coarse salt, to be distributed gratis, for the benefit of the Poor in general, according to their several necessities; they are desired to apply on the 28th and 29th of June instant, at the house of Paul Engle, at the upper end of Germantown, where due attention will be given by Ludwig Englehart, Jacob Engle, Christian Sneider, Jacob Hall and Peter Keyser."



Rittenhouse House on Paper Mill Run, Erected 1707. Birthplace of David Rittenhouse, Pennsylvania's First and Greatest Astronomer, April 8, 1732. He was Treasurer of the State from 1777 to 1789.

MR. SAMUEL F. HOUSTON, our Honorary President, departed this life on May 2, at the age of 85. He was a lifelong resident of this area, having spent his early years in Germantown, then moving to Chestnut Hill in his young manhood. Every aspect of the community was of interest to him, and everyone is familiar with his achievements on its behalf. Mr. Houston was on the Board of the Germantown Historical Society for many years.

Samuel F. Houston was a life member of the Germantown Historical Society and was sincerely interested in its affairs. A generous contributor where his heart led he bore the entire cost of erecting a fine building on High Street for the use of the "Houston Post" in memory of his son Henry H. Houston 2nd, who lost his life in France during the first world war. He was the main contributor to building the Pro-Cathedral in Roxborough.

On May 8, the shocking death of MRS. CAROLINE O. TIMANUS, chairman of our garden committee, saddened us all.

While serving as chairman of a garden fete that day at, and for the benefit of, the Morris house, Mrs. Timanus fell down the cellar steps there, and was killed.

The Historical Society garden has taken on charm and dignity under her guidance, and she was also an enthusiastic and indefatigable worker for the preservation of the historic houses in Germantown, being an active member of both the Grumblethorpe and Upsala committees, and at the time of her death, acting chairman of hostesses at the Morris house. Her place in the various organizations for which she was such a loyal worker will be hard to fill.

On June 20, death claimed MRS. FRANK MILES DAY. Mrs. Day, the former Anna Blakiston, was actively interested in many and varied fields of endeavor, and belonged to many clubs and organizations; but to Germantown she gave a full share of her loyalty and interest. One thinks of her especially in connection with the Friends of the Wissahickon, which she helped to found and keep alive, serving as secretary for many years.

Although 83 years of age, she presided over its booth at the Vernon Fair last May and was planning to take an active part in the Grumblethorpe Supper on June 17. Just a few hours before it was to take place she felt unwell, and died three days later.

These people will be greatly missed, not only for their unassuming strength which they lent to the Society, but as the finest type of citizens, as well.

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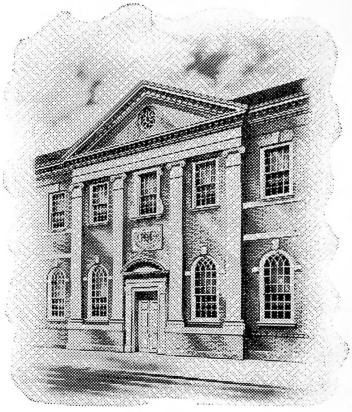
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ADVERTISERS INDEX



Asher's Candy 28
Boswell House 23
Brown & Braucher 29
Cherry's 2
Colonial Motors 32
Commonwealth Title Co. of Philadelphia 4
Continental Mills, Inc . . . . . 2nd Cover
Coulter House 35
Courtney Electric Co., F. K. 35
Davis Buick 2
Diamond Rug Cleaners 27
Thomas S. Gassner Co., Inc. 28
Germantown Fire Insurance Co. 2
Germantown Fireproof Storage Co. 2
Germantown Roofing and Insulation Co., Inc. 27
Germantown Savings Fund 1
Harris Gramm, Inc. 28
Johnson's Flower Shop 29
Kirk & Nice 36
Martin, A. A., Inc. 4
Maurer, Eugene, Inc. 36
National Bank of Germantown . . . . . Back Cover
Newton Coal Co., George B. 27
Northern Liberties Federal Savings & Loan Association 4
Pennsylvania Company . . . . . 2nd Cover
Priestman-Helmetag Co. 28
Reth & Son, Jacob 32
Real Estate Trust Company . . . . . 3rd Cover
Nelson M. Reider 28
Rowell, C. A. 4
Schuck Electric Co. 36
Smith, J. & R., Inc. 27
Staton's Galleries 36
Victor, Nellie 35
Westbrook Publishing Co., Inc. . . . . 2nd Cover
Women's Exchange 35
Wicaco Machine Corp. 33
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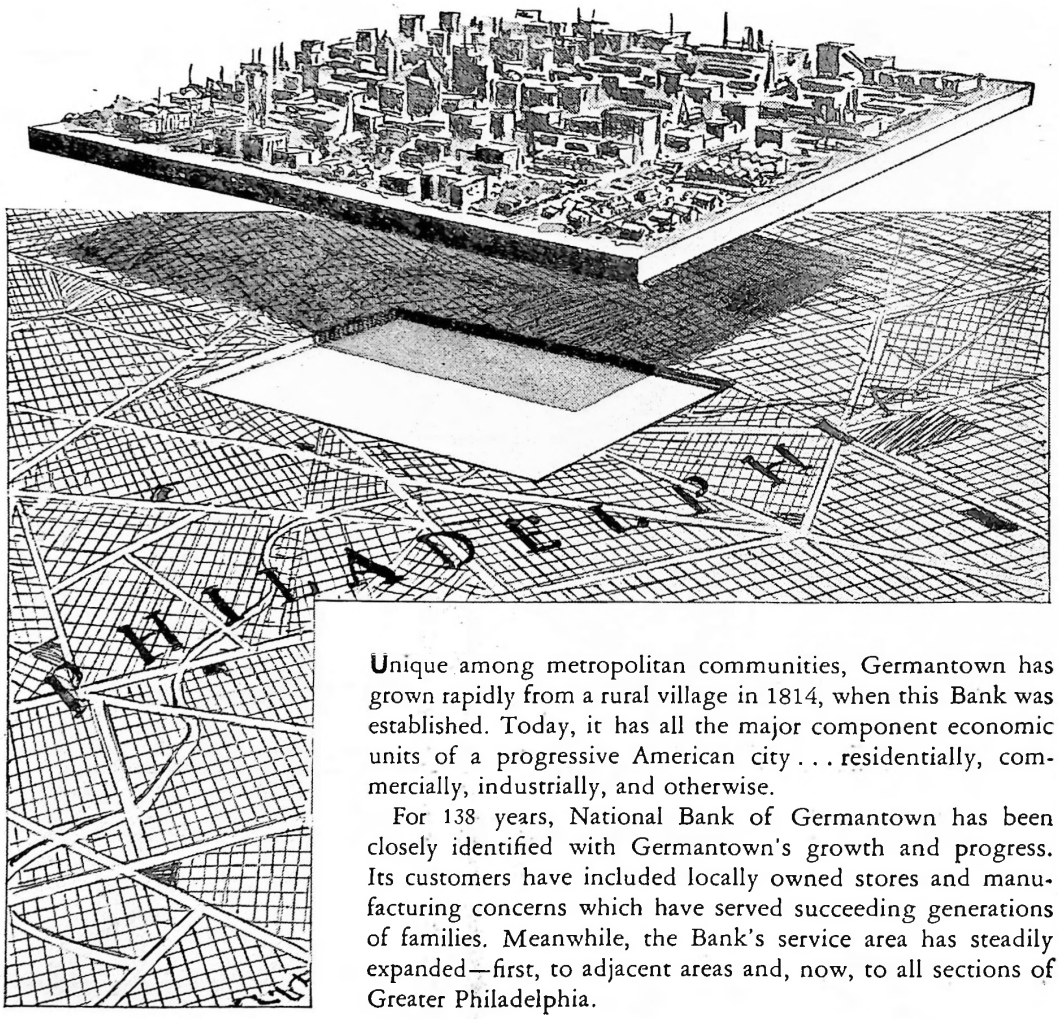
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