

**NOMINATION OF HISTORIC BUILDING, STRUCTURE, SITE, OR OBJECT**  
**PHILADELPHIA REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES**  
**PHILADELPHIA HISTORICAL COMMISSION**

SUBMIT ALL ATTACHED MATERIALS ON PAPER AND IN ELECTRONIC FORM (CD, EMAIL, FLASH DRIVE)  
ELECTRONIC FILES MUST BE WORD OR WORD COMPATIBLE

**1. ADDRESS OF HISTORIC RESOURCE** *(must comply with an Office of Property Assessment address)*

Street address: **5115-39 Belfield Avenue**

Postal code: **19144-1732**

**2. NAME OF HISTORIC RESOURCE**

Historic Name: **"Sleepy Hollow" Mill Complex & Site**

Current Name: **Unknown**

**3. TYPE OF HISTORIC RESOURCE**

Building

Structure

Site

Object

**4. PROPERTY INFORMATION**

Condition:  excellent  good  fair  poor  ruins

Occupancy:  occupied  vacant  under construction  unknown

Current use: **Unknown**

**5. BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION**

*Please attach a narrative description and site/plot plan of the resource's boundaries.*

**6. DESCRIPTION**

*Please attach a narrative description and photographs of the resource's physical appearance, site, setting, and surroundings.*

**7. SIGNIFICANCE**

*Please attach a narrative Statement of Significance citing the Criteria for Designation the resource satisfies.*

Period of Significance (from year to year): **ca.1736-44 to 1983**

Date(s) of construction and/or alteration: **Various dates from ca.1736-44 to 1903**

Architects: **Unknown**

Builders: **Unknown**

Original owner: **Johann Eckstein (aka John Axstone)**

Significant person: **Christopher Sauer, George Dannenhauer, John Bromley, etc.**

**CRITERIA FOR DESIGNATION:**

The historic resource satisfies the following criteria for designation (check all that apply):

- (a) Has significant character, interest or value as part of the development, heritage or cultural characteristics of the City, Commonwealth or Nation or is associated with the life of a person significant in the past; or,
- (b) Is associated with an event of importance to the history of the City, Commonwealth or Nation; or,
- (c) Reflects the environment in an era characterized by a distinctive architectural style; or,
- (d) Embodies distinguishing characteristics of an architectural style or engineering specimen; or,
- (e) Is the work of a designer, architect, landscape architect or designer, or engineer whose work has significantly influenced the historical, architectural, economic, social, or cultural development of the City, Commonwealth or Nation; or,
- (f) Contains elements of design, detail, materials or craftsmanship which represent a significant innovation; or,
- (g) Is part of or related to a square, park or other distinctive area which should be preserved according to an historic, cultural or architectural motif; or,
- (h) Owing to its unique location or singular physical characteristic, represents an established and familiar visual feature of the neighborhood, community or City; or,
- (i) Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in pre-history or history; or
- (j) Exemplifies the cultural, political, economic, social or historical heritage of the community.

**8. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES**

*Please attach a bibliography.*

**9. NOMINATOR**

Organization: **The Keeping Society of Philadelphia**

Author: **Oscar Beisert, Architectural Historian  
Keeping Society of Philadelphia**

Date: **22 February 2021**

Address: **1315 Walnut Street, Suite 320  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107**

Telephone: **717.602.5002**

Email: **keeper@keepingphiladelphia.org**

Nominator  is  is not the property owner.

**PHC USE ONLY**

Date of Receipt: 22 February 2021

Correct-Complete  Incorrect-Incomplete

Date: 23 June 2021

Date of Notice Issuance: 30 July 2021

Property Owner at Time of Notice:

Name: Belfield Lofts LLC

Address: 1500 Market St, Suite 3310 E

City: Philadelphia

State: PA

Postal Code: 19102

Date(s) Reviewed by the Committee on Historic Designation: \_\_\_\_\_

Date(s) Reviewed by the Historical Commission: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Final Action: \_\_\_\_\_

Designated  Rejected

**NOMINATION**  
**FOR THE**  
**PHILADELPHIA REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES**

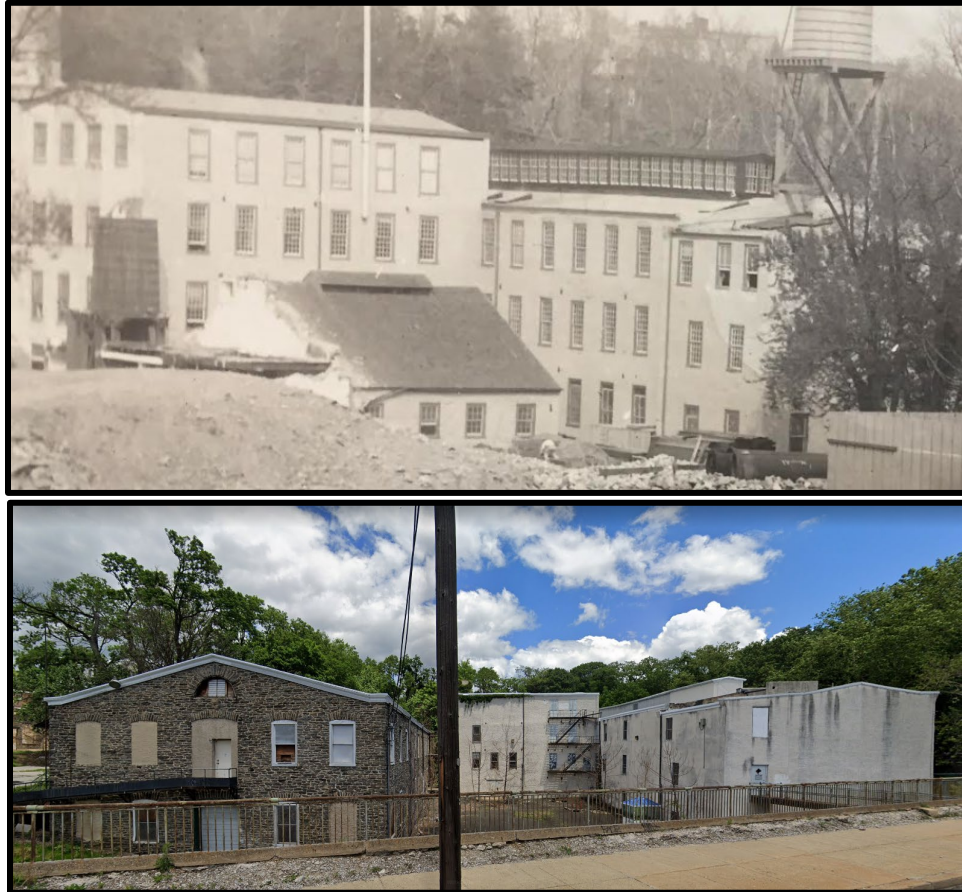


Figure 1. Top: Looking northeast at the subject property ca. 1890, showing the construction of Building 3, followed by Buildings 2, 1, and 6. Source: The Philadelphia Gas Works Photograph Collection, City Archives of Philadelphia.  
Figure 2. Bottom: Looking north at the subject property, ca. 2018. Source: Google.

**“SLEEPY HOLLOW” MILL COMPLEX & SITE – CA. 1736–1983**  
**KNOWN AS SAUER’S PAPER MILL, SHELLENBERG’S MILL (GRIST),**  
**DANNEHOWER’S MILL (GRIST),**  
**ARMSTRONG’S GLEN BANK MILL (CALICO/WOOLEN),**  
**JOHN H. BROMLEY’S GLEN CAIRN MILL (WOOLEN),**  
**THE BELLEVUE WORSTED MILLS (WOOLEN), ETC.**  
**5115–39 BELFIELD AVENUE**  
**GERMANTOWN**  
**PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19144–1732**

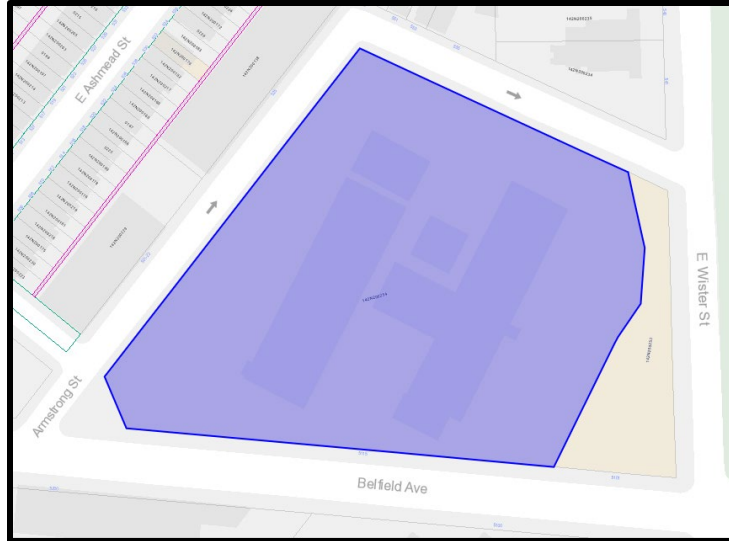


Figure 3. The boundary for the subject property is delineated in purple. Source: Atlas, City of Philadelphia.

## 5. BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

The boundary description of the proposed designation is as follows:

Beginning at a corner cut off which connects the Southeasterly side of Armstrong Street (40 feet wide) and the Northeasterly side of Belfield Avenue (60 feet wide) which point is measured Northwesterly along the said corner cut off connecting the said Southeasterly side of Armstrong Street and the Northeasterly side of Belfield Avenue the distance of 47.546 feet from a point on the Southeasterly end thereof and on the said Northeasterly side of Belfield Avenue; thence extending from said point of beginning Northeastwardly along the said Southeasterly side of Armstrong Street the distance of 369 feet, 8-3/8 inches to a point on the Southwesterly side of Armstrong Street (40 feet wide) thence extending Southeastwardly along the said Southwesterly side of Armstrong Street the distance of 262 feet, 10-1/4 inches more or less to a point; thence extending Southeastwardly the distance of 68 feet, 11-1/8 inches to a point; thence extending Southeastwardly the distance 50 feet, 2-1/2 inches to a point; thence extending Southwestwardly the distance of 36 feet, 4-1/8 inches to a point; thence extending Southeastwardly the distance of 126 feet 6 1/4 inches to a point on the said Northeasterly side of Belfield Avenue; thence extending Northwestwardly along the said Northeasterly side of Belfield Avenue the distance of 274 feet, 5-3/4 inches more or less to a point on the said Southeasterly end of the said corner cut off; thence extending Northwestwardly along the said corner cut off connecting the said Northeasterly side of Belfield Avenue and the said Southeasterly side of Armstrong Street the distance of 47.546 feet to a point on the said Northwesterly end thereon and on the said Southeasterly side of Armstrong Street being the first mentioned point and place of beginning.

OPA/BRT Account: 884463415

Department of Records Registry Number: 142N200254

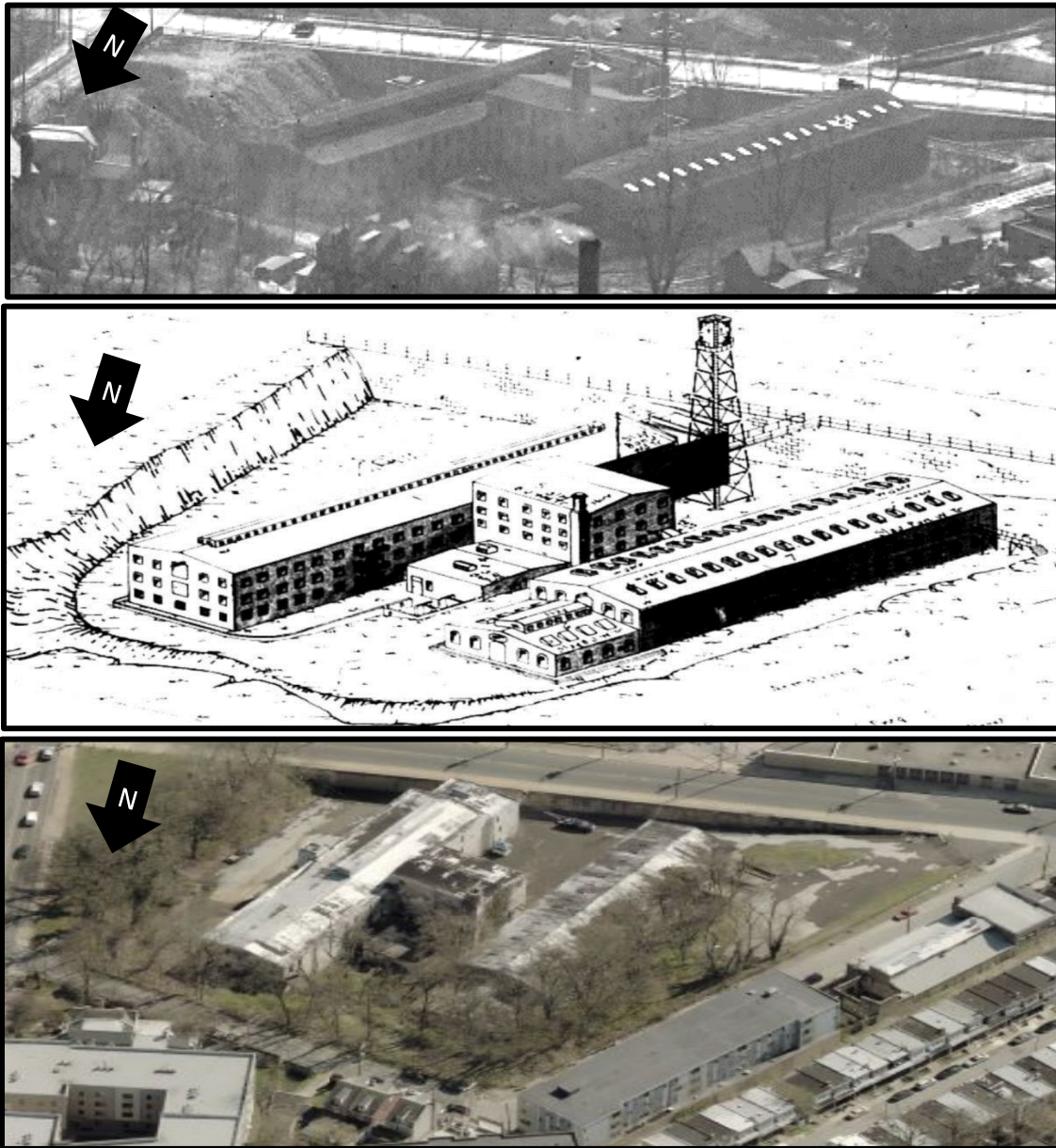


Figure 4. Top: Looking north from a bird’s eye view of the subject property showing all of the extant buildings, as labeled based on historic atlases. Source: Pictometry, Atlas, City of Philadelphia. Figure 5. Bottom: Looking north at the subject property. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020.

## 6. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

5311–39 Belfield Avenue is a former industrial site constructed in multiple phases, the last campaign of which was completed by ca. 1903. Though this location has been the site of some form of mill operations since ca. 1736, various later building campaigns are documented in the 1866–1867, 1888–1889, and 1893–1894 Hexamer General Surveys, as well as property atlases and fire insurance maps from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Constructed ca. 1910, 5115–39 Belfield Avenue is comprised of two connected buildings forming a T shape, an adjacent rectangular building, and three auxiliary buildings. All of this stands in a rare surviving historic landscape once known as “Sleepy Hollow,” which includes the relatively flat, low-lying valley of the Wingohocking Creek. Set within a land cavity, the industrial complex is framed by steeply rising ground at the northwest, north, northeast, and east that creates a surrounding ridge. At the south Belfield Avenue rising above the site over the path of the Wingohocking Creek. This hollow is one of the rare surviving industrial landscapes in Germantown and its vicinity that contains an historic industrial built environment (Figures 6, 7, and 8).

The parcel is bounded by Wister Street, Belfield Avenue, and the L-shaped Armstrong Street to create a trapezoidal parcel that sits below the grade of Belfield Avenue. The Chestnut Hill East (formerly Reading Railroad) tracks, and the Philadelphia Gas Works' Belfield Station are located to the south of the complex. Though it is part of La Salle University's campus, 5311-15 Belfield Avenue is physically separated from campus by Wister Street, Wister Woods Park, and an apartment building. Today, it serves as the La Salle University Facilities Management building.



A comparison of the subject property in 1926 and 2020, showing that 100 years later it is very much intact. Figure 6. Top: A 1926 bird's eye view of the subject property taken by the Aero Service Corporation. Source: The Aero Service Corporation Photographic Negative Collection, The Library Company of Philadelphia. Figure 7. Middle: The 1927 Manufacturer's Mutual Survey. Source: University of Pennsylvania. Figure 8. Bottom: Looking south at the subject property. Source: Pictometry, Atlas, City of Philadelphia.

For the purposes of this architectural description, the buildings will be described per their enumeration in the 1924 Sanborn Fire Insurance map, which somewhat corresponds to Hexamer General Surveys from the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 9. Left: Looking northeast at Buildings 1 and 6. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020. Figure 10. Right Looking northeast at Buildings 1 and 6 in 1902. Source: The Philadelphia Gas Works Photograph Collection, City Archives of Philadelphia.

## **BUILDING 1**

Building 1 is among the oldest structures in the mill complex, and was constructed in phases from the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Historically, it served as the finishing, mending, burling, weaving, and stock room areas of the mill. It is three stories in height, four bays wide and fifteen bays in length. The building contains a low-pitched gable roof and is built of stone masonry clad in stucco, masking any exterior indications of building alterations. Alterations to this building include the removal of the fourth floor sometime in the 1880s, and replacement with clerestory windows; in addition, a three-story northern wing was added to Building 1 ca. 1890. This wing originally had adjoining clerestory windows that have since been removed. The south elevation is partially obscured by Building 6, with no fenestration in visible areas. The majority of windows at the east and west elevations have been concealed (though more are visible on the east elevation), and surviving window openings have been replaced with vinyl one-over-one double-hung sash windows. A smoke stack at the east elevation extends out from the junction between the oldest portion of the building (likely dating to the mid-nineteenth century) and the ca.1890 northern addition. The north elevation is five bays in width and features a central loading bay at each floor, the upper two of which maintain original, paneled wooden doors. These openings are flanked by windows at each level.

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<sup>1</sup> The 1924 Sanborn Fire Insurance map includes several structures that have been demolished and/or rebuilt, which is why the numbers assigned to each extant building are not continuous.



Figure 11. Top: The southeast elevations of Buildings 6 and 1. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020. Figure 12. Middle: The southeast elevation of Building 1. Source: The Germantown Historical Society. Figure 13. Bottom: The southeast elevation of Building 1. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020.

“Sleepy Hollow” Mill Complex & Site - Known as Sauer’s Paper Mill, Shelleberg’s Grist Mill, Dannenhower’s Mill, Armstrong’s Glen Bank Mill, John H. Bromley’s Glen Cairn Mill, and The Bellevue Worsted Mills  
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Figure 14. Top: The north elevation of Building 1, showing the loading bays at center. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020. Figure 15. Bottom: A bird's eye view of the subject property, showing the subject façade shown above circled. Source: Pictometry, Atlas, City of Philadelphia



Figure 16. Left: Looking northeast at Building 2 in 1902. Source: The Philadelphia Gas Works Photograph Collection, City Archives of Philadelphia. Figure 17. Right: The primary (south) elevation of Building 2. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020.

## **BUILDING 2**

Standing in its present form by 1868 with components that may date to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, Building 2 is likely the oldest structure in the mill complex, and historically served as a grist mill, as well as a storage and sorting room. It is a four-story masonry building of rubble-schist construction clad in stucco with a low-slung, gabled asphalt roof. It measures six bays in width at the north and south elevations, and four bays at the east and west elevations. At the south elevation, the easternmost three bays have been enclosed, and a fire escape has been installed in front of the openings. An old S-tie is present within the façade. At the westernmost three bays of this elevation, only three windows at the second floor and one window at the third floor are visible. At the west elevation, vestiges of a covered wooden bridge connecting to Building 3 jut out from the exterior walls. Building 1 mostly obscures the east elevation, but the visible portions of the gable are unfenestrated. The north elevation historically contained similar fenestration as the south, though a number of these apertures have been obscured. A smokestack extends out from the northwestern corner of the building, above the roofline.



Figure 18. Top: The primary (south) elevation of Building 2. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020. Figure 19. Bottom: A bird's eye view of the subject property with the rear (north) and side (west) elevations circled. Source: Pictometry, Atlas, City of Philadelphia.

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Figure 20. Left: Looking north from the Philadelphia Gas Works' at Germantown across Belfield Avenue at the newly completed Building 3 in 1903. Source: The Philadelphia Gas Works Photograph Collection, City Archives of Philadelphia. Figure 21. Right: The primary (south) elevation of Building 3. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020.

### **BUILDING 3**

Building 3, built in 1902, replaced a similar building at the same location that was constructed in the late 1880s or early 1890s. The two-story factory building is constructed of a rubble Wissahickon schist, and is five bays wide at the north and south elevations and eighteen bays at the east and west elevations. At the south elevation, all the openings are supported by segmental arches. Additionally, both floors contain central openings flanked by two windows on each side. At the second floor, the central opening has been partially filled contains and a single metal door; a metal ramp leads from this door to an at-grade driveway accessible at the intersection of Belfield Avenue and Armstrong Street. At the first floor, a rolling garage door encloses the central opening. Two windows at each floor of this elevation have been stuccoed over. A fanlight opening, supported by schist voussoirs and keystone, adorns the center of the gable. At the west elevation, two loading bays at the second floor face the driveway, and the remaining sixteen bays are comprised of one-over-one vinyl windows. The east elevation primarily contains one-over-one windows, however eleven openings have been stuccoed over. At the roof, eighteen skylights pierce each side of the gable. Partly obscured by a one-story building dating to the early twentieth century, the north elevation is four bays wide by four bays deep, with a roof containing eight skylights and a clerestory. The second floor of the north elevation contains four segmental arched openings.



Figure 22. Top: The primary (south) elevation of Building 3. Figure 23. Bottom: The side (east) elevation of Building 3. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020.

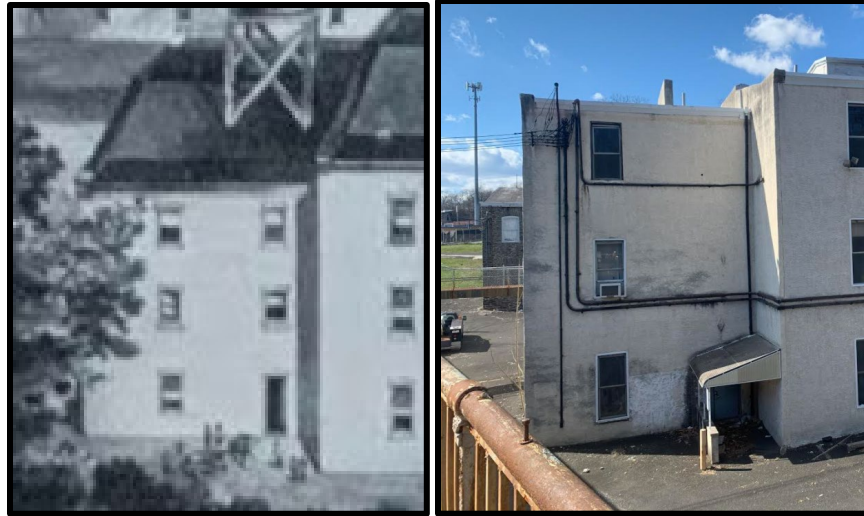


Figure 24. Left: A ca.1910 view of the southeast elevation of Building 6 of the Bellevue Worsted Mills. Source: The Germantown Historical Society. Figure 25. Right: The southeast elevation of Building 6. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020.

### **BUILDING 6**

This structure was constructed in phases during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and served as the office house of the mill. Today, the stucco-clad and Wissahickon schist masonry building stands three stories in height and three bays wide, extending from the south elevation of Building 1. The south elevation is unfenestrated, and at the second and third floor contains door openings though only the second floor contains a door with an adjacent metal walkway extending south to reach the sidewalk at Belfield Avenue. The east and west elevation each contain a single window at the first, second, and third floors. Historically, the west elevation featured a bay window at the third floor.

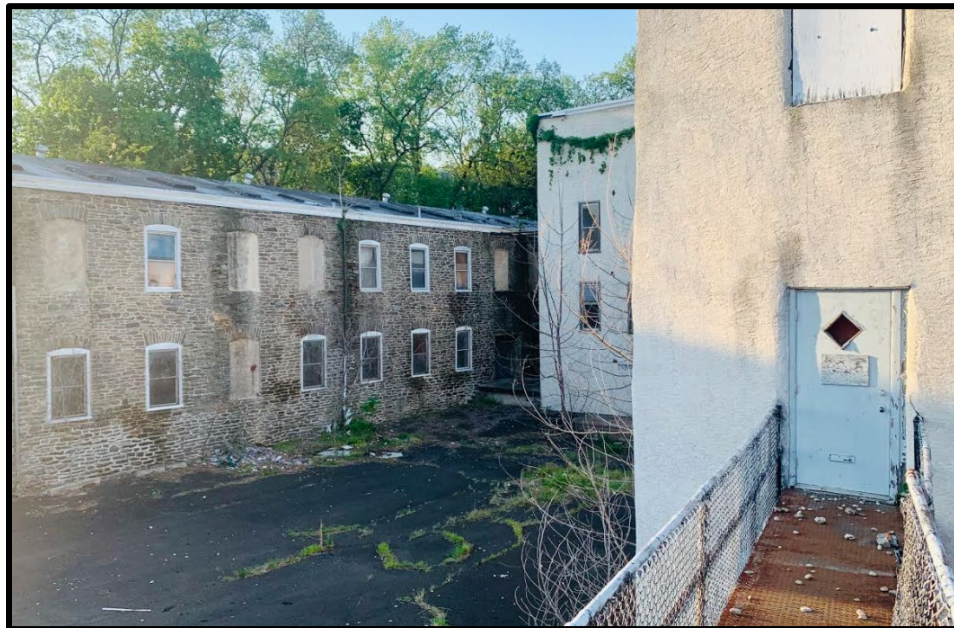


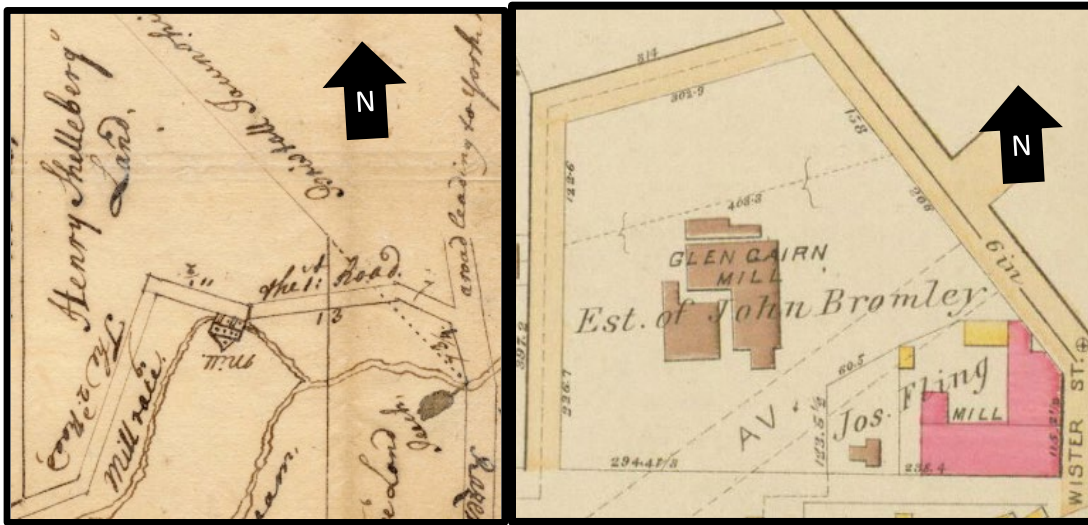
Figure 26. Looking north at Buildings 3, 2, and 6. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020.



Figure 27. Looking south, a bird's eye view of the subject property with the rear (north) and side (west) elevations of Building 9 circled. Source: Pictometry, Atlas, City of Philadelphia.

### **BUILDING 9**

Building 9 was historically in use as the boiler house of the mill and at one point contained three boilers. The building is partially obscured by foliage and overgrowth, but we know that it is a one-story, masonry building with a gable roof.



The subject property as it evolved as a mill complex in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Figure 28. Left: The 1746 Road Survey for Shellenberg's Mill Road. Figure 29. Right: A detail of the Bromley Philadelphia Atlas, 1889, showing the subject property when it was the Glen Cairn Mill, owned by the Estate of John Bromley.

## 7. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The subject property is a significant historic resource that merits designation by the Philadelphia Historical Commission and inclusion on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places. Located in the Germantown neighborhood of Philadelphia, the building satisfies the following Criteria for Designation as enumerated in Section 14-1004 of the Philadelphia Code:

- a) *Has significant character, interest, or value as part of the development, heritage, or cultural characteristics of the City, Commonwealth, or nation or is associated with the life of a person significant in the past;*
- i) *Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in pre-history or history; and*
- j) *Exemplifies the cultural, political, economic, social, or historical heritage of the community.*

The period of significance begins in ca.1736–44 and extends to 1983, the period in which the site served as a mill complex.



Figure 30. Looking northeast at what is known today as E. Wister Street in the background, this sketch of “Armstrong’s Mills,” the subject property, was likely completed in the mid-nineteenth century by Charles J. “C.J.” Wister, Jr. The mill race is visible on the left. Source: Wister Collection, PhilaLandmarks.

### **CRITERIA A, I, AND J**

The former mill complex and the ground upon which it stands at 5115–39 Belfield Avenue comprises a principal historic property in the Germantown neighborhood of Philadelphia that speaks to two and a half centuries of commercial and industrial development and heritage, ultimately, representing the cultural, economic, and social history of the local community, as well as the larger city and state. Of all the mill sites that once operated in Germantown, the earliest individual buildings have been largely lost and even the many complexes that once harnessed the waters of the Wingohocking Creek and other waterways have largely vanished. Among those extant, the subject property is the oldest mill site to survive in both Germantown and the Wingohocking Creek watershed, despite the fact that it is comprised of later nineteenth and early twentieth century buildings. From ca.1736–44 to 1983, the site was home to a variety of manufactories including a paper mill, a grist mill, chocolate and mustard mills, woolen and worsted yarn mills, a tenanted textile mill, and a surgical instruments factory.

Based on the assortment and timeline of manufactured products, the various owner-occupant and tenant manufacturers speak to the “active, industrious community” that formed what historian Stephanie Grauman Wolf called an “Urban Village”—Germantown, where agriculture was not the primary economic force. Wolf succinctly states “The earliest documents show that the bent of the community was industrial rather than agricultural.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Stephanie Grauman Wolf. *Urban Village: Population, Community and Family Structure in Germantown Pennsylvania, 1683–1800* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 9–10.

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Figure 31. Top Left: Looking north at Roberts' Mill on E. Church Lane (formerly Mill Street), originally established by Richard Townsend in 1683, the first known grist mill in Philadelphia. Source: The Library Company of Philadelphia. Figure 32. Top Right: Looking southeast at Roberts' Mill in the mid-nineteenth century. Source: The American Philosophical Society. Figure 33. Bottom Left: Second and third Rittenhouse Paper Mill built around 1700 on Paper Mill Run outside of Germantown. Source: Library of Congress. Figure 34. Bottom right: The Rittenhouse Paper Mill today. Source: Oscar Beisert, 2020.

These inherent attributes propelled Germantown to flourish as a vibrant economic center in its own right during the pre-industrial eighteenth century, a position that was greatly augmented by the industrial age throughout the nineteenth century with the advent of numerous mills and factories. The Wingohocking Creek provided the power for some of the first mills in both Germantown and Philadelphia. As early as the late 1680s there were already plans to build a mill along the creek. At the third session of the Germantown Town Council in 1691, the community had a contract to build a linseed oil mill on the Wingohocking where it crossed present-day East Penn Street.<sup>3</sup> Around the same time Richard Townsend, an English Quaker, established a grist mill on the east branch of the Wingohocking Creek (sometimes called Mill Creek) on East Church Lane (formerly Mill Street) near present-day North Twenty-First Street.<sup>4</sup> Known later as Robert's Mill (Figures 31 and 32), demolished in 1874, the large stone, gable-front building was similar in scale

<sup>3</sup> This mill was a combination oil and grist mill by 1705 but appears to have been abandoned by the 1750s and the site no longer used (J.M. Duffin, ed., *Acta Germanopolis: Records of the Corporation of Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1691–1707* [Philadelphia: Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 2008], 176, 516–17).

<sup>4</sup> John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia in the Olden Time* (Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stuart, 1899), 512. Many histories date the mill to 1683 but it is more likely the mill was built in the 1690s or first decade of 1700.

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and form to the central building associated with the subject property, as seen in Figures 30 and 50.<sup>5</sup> Another important mill of the same period was William Rittenhouse's paper mill, the first in British North America, located on Paper Mill Run just across the Germantown township line in Roxborough (Figures 33 and 34).<sup>6</sup>

Through the course of the eighteenth century several mills were built along the Wingohocking Creek. The third mill, known as Potts's Mill, was a grist mill built adjacent to Germantown Township sometime around 1706 near where the creek crosses Old York Road (by present-day Wyoming Avenue).<sup>7</sup> Around 1734, Christian Kintzing built or purchased a grist mill also adjacent to Germantown where the creek crosses on present-day East Logan Street at Belfield Avenue.<sup>8</sup> This site would become the nucleus of the Wakefield Mills complex in the nineteenth century. Likely contemporary to Kintzing's mill was that of the subject property. Sometime before 1762, Moses Hall built a fulling mill on the creek in Germantown in the vicinity of present-day Belfield and Locust Avenues.<sup>9</sup> Not far from the mouth of the Wingohocking Creek near present-day Ramona and North "G" Street, Melchior Swarer built a grist mill in the 1760s.<sup>10</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century two additional grist mills stood on the East Branch of the Wingohocking Creek between the Robert's Mill and its junction with the Wingohocking Creek near present-day East Logan Street.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 35. Signatures of Johann Catherine Eckstein in 1727. Source: Road Petitions, Clerk of Quarter Sessions Records, RG 21.26, CAP. Courtesy of Joseph J. Menkevich.

The first mill on the subject property was a paper mill built between 1736 and 1746 by Johann Eckstein (also known as John Axstone) (d. 1763). Eckstein was likely a German immigrant who first appears in Germantown in 1726 when he purchased a house and lot on the northeast side of Germantown Avenue by present-day Ashmead Street. Like most

<sup>5</sup> Edward W. Hocker, *Germantown 1683–1933* (Germantown: Published by the Author, 1933), 45.

<sup>6</sup> Hocker, *Germantown 1683–1933*, 42–43.

<sup>7</sup> Deed: Thomas Potts, of Bristol Township, Philadelphia Co., yeoman, to George Gray, of Philadelphia, merchant, 2 July 1706, Exemplification Record No. 8, p. 188, CAP.

<sup>8</sup> Deed: Bernard Reser, then of Germantown, baker, and Elizabeth, his wife, to Christian Kensing, Bristol Township, Philadelphia Co., miller, 26 March 1734, recited in PDBk D., No. 38, p. 149, CAP.

<sup>9</sup> "A Plan of Moses Hall's Twelve Lotts of Land in German Town as put for Sale by him at Publick Venue this Twenty Second Day of November Anno Domini 1762," Christian Lehman Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>10</sup> Deed: John Ledlie, of Bristol Township, Philadelphia Co., yeoman, and Margaret, his wife, to Melcher Swarer, of Creesam, Germantown, miller, 27 December 1760, PDBk M.R., No. 5, p. 3, CAP. Swarer was taxed for a mill at this location in 1767.

<sup>11</sup> Entries for Joseph McGargy and Peter Kessler, Bristol Township, 1800, State Tax Assessment Ledgers (1.8), Office of City Commissioners Records, Record Group 1, CAP.

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early parcels in Germantown, that property stretched all the way back to the township line at present-day East Wister Street.<sup>12</sup> He was considered by most contemporaries as a Separatist – someone who does not belong to any one religion – and appears to have a close relationship with another Germantown Separatist, Christopher Sauer (1695–1758).<sup>13</sup> In most records Eckstein is listed as a rope maker and was prosperous enough to purchase additional land by the 1730s. His first new purchase was in 1731 of a tract of sixteenth-and-one-half acres along the East Branch of the Wingohocking Creek in adjacent Bristol Township (at what is today the site of Central High School) to which he added another fifteen-and-one-half-acres to the south in 1737.<sup>14</sup> In 1736 he purchased a small landlocked one-acre property in Germantown along the Wingohocking Creek immediately to the northwest of his home property.<sup>15</sup> This lot became the location of the mill pond.

It is fairly clear from these purchases in the 1730s of land directly along the creek that Eckstein had plans to build some sort of mill, which realized in the form of a paper mill on the backend of his Germantown property sometime before 1746. The choice of a paper mill is not entirely surprising because this was the nascent period of papermaking in the Delaware Valley as demand for American-made paper for printers was growing. The local demand was fueled by Christopher Sauer who started printing German languages books in Germantown by 1738. His great ambition was to print a bible, which he succeeded in doing in 1743—it became the first European language bible printed in British North America. To achieve this end and continue printing his newspaper, almanac and other publications, Sauer had a great need for paper. It appears that he was able to convince Eckstein to build a paper mill on the subject property and Sauer began to make paper. Sauer’s ability to keep the mill operating was hampered by the high demand for papermakers in the colonies. When lead papermaker Gerhard Heinrich (Henry) Schütz left his employment at the mill,

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<sup>12</sup> Deeds of Lease and Release: Thomas Potts, of Germantown, butcher, and Magdalene, his wife, to John Axstone, rope maker, of Germantown, for £140, 25 & 26 August 1726, PDBk G, No. 8, p. 120, CAP. It is possible that Thomas Potts had some plans for a mill on this property during his brief ownership in the 1720s because he purchased the backend on Wingohocking Creek of the adjacent Lensen lot to the southeast (recited in Potts to Axtone deed).

<sup>13</sup> Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, Ind.: The Brethren Press, 1967), 274–75; Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, v. 1 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1958), 646, 651. Eckstein served as one of the trustees of the Lower Burial Ground in Germantown.

<sup>14</sup> Deed: John Richardson, of Bristol Township, Philadelphia Co., yeoman, and Mary, his wife, to Johannes Eckstein, of Germantown, ropemaker, for £48.15.0, 2 December 1731, PDBk G., No. 8, p.123; Deed: John Richardson, of Bristol Township, Philadelphia Co., yeoman, and Mary, his wife, to John Eckstein, of Germantown, ropemaker, for £65, PDBk G., No. 8, 126, CAP.

<sup>15</sup> Deed: Laurence Switzer, yeoman, of Germantown, and Anna Barbara, his wife, to John Eckstein, ropemaker, for £5, 12 October 1736, PDBk E.F., No. 10, p. 164, CAP.

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Sauer was unable to continue the business. Ultimately, Eckstein decided to sell it.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that Benjamin Franklin may have purchased paper from Sauer's mill.<sup>17</sup>

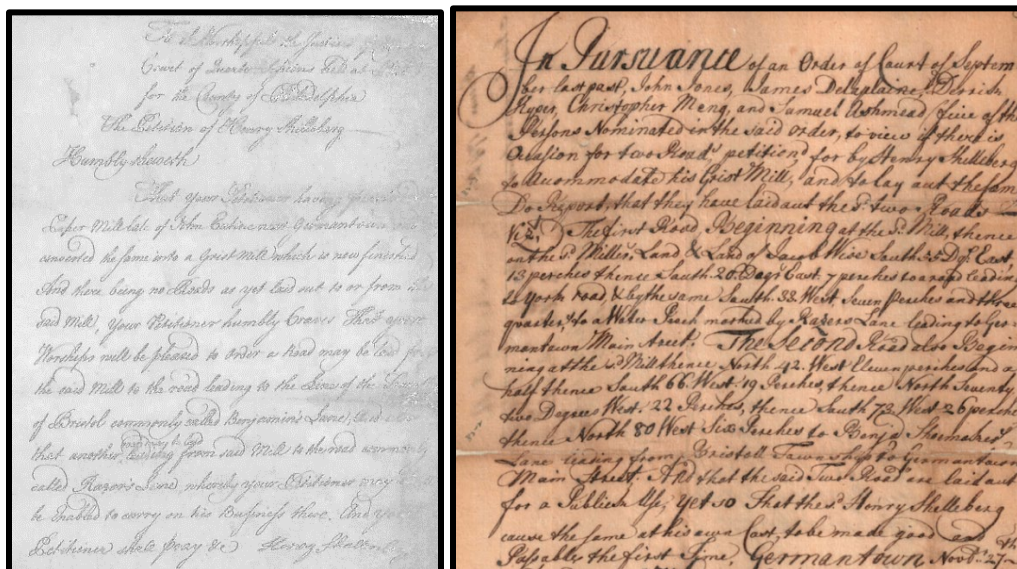


Figure 36. Left: The Petition of Henry Shellenberg (to open two mill roads) to the Court of Quarter Sessions of Philadelphia County, 1746. Figure 37. Right: A survey of the two mill roads for Henry Shellenberg in 1746. Source: Road Petitions and Road Dockets, Clerk of Quarter Sessions Records, RG 21.25 and 21.26, CAP.

In May 1746, Henry Shellenberg (1705–1755) purchased the paper mill along with eleven acres, twenty-nine perches and converted it into a grist mill.<sup>18</sup> The new use expanded the customer base of the mill and required a new public road for access. He petitioned for and was ultimately granted the opening of a road by the Philadelphia County Court of Quarter Sessions in September 1746 (Figures 36, 37, and 38). The road was surveyed and officially opened in November with the cost of construction to be borne by Shellenberg.<sup>19</sup> After four years at this mill Shellenberg took over the larger and older Robeson grist mill at the mouth

<sup>16</sup> Donald F. Durnbaugh, “Christopher Sauer, Pennsylvania-German Printer. His Youth in German and Later Relationships with Europe,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (1958): 316–40; C. William Miller, *Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Printing, 1728–1766: A Descriptive Bibliography*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 102 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974), xxxix–xli; “William McCulloch’s Additions to Thomas’s History of Printing,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* new series 31 (1921): 128. McCulloch states that Sauer “employed Wm. Adleheit and Henry Sheetz to work the mill.” There is an undated reference to Benjamin Franklin buying paper from Henry Schütz (George Simpson Eddy, ed., *Account Books Kept by Benjamin Franklin Ledger “D” 1739–1747* [New York, 1929], 33)

<sup>17</sup> George Simpson Eddy, ed., *Account Books Kept by Benjamin Franklin Ledger “D” 1739–1747* (New York, 1929), 33.

<sup>18</sup> Deed: John Ekstein, alias Axstone, of Germantown, rope maker, and Catherine, his wife, to Henry Shellenberg, Germantown, miller, for a “stone messuage or tenement (Intended to be erected into a Grist Mill)” for £600, 14 May 1746, PDBk G, No. 10, p. 78, CAP.

<sup>19</sup> Road Docket, Vol. 3, p. 78, 85–86, Court of Quarter Sessions Records, CAP. The petition states Shellenberger “purchased the paper Mill late of John Extine near Germantown and converted the same into a Grist Mill which is now finished.”

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of the Wissahickon Creek and turned over this mill to George Dannenhauer (Dannenhower) (1717–1795) who acquired title to the property in 1756.<sup>20</sup>

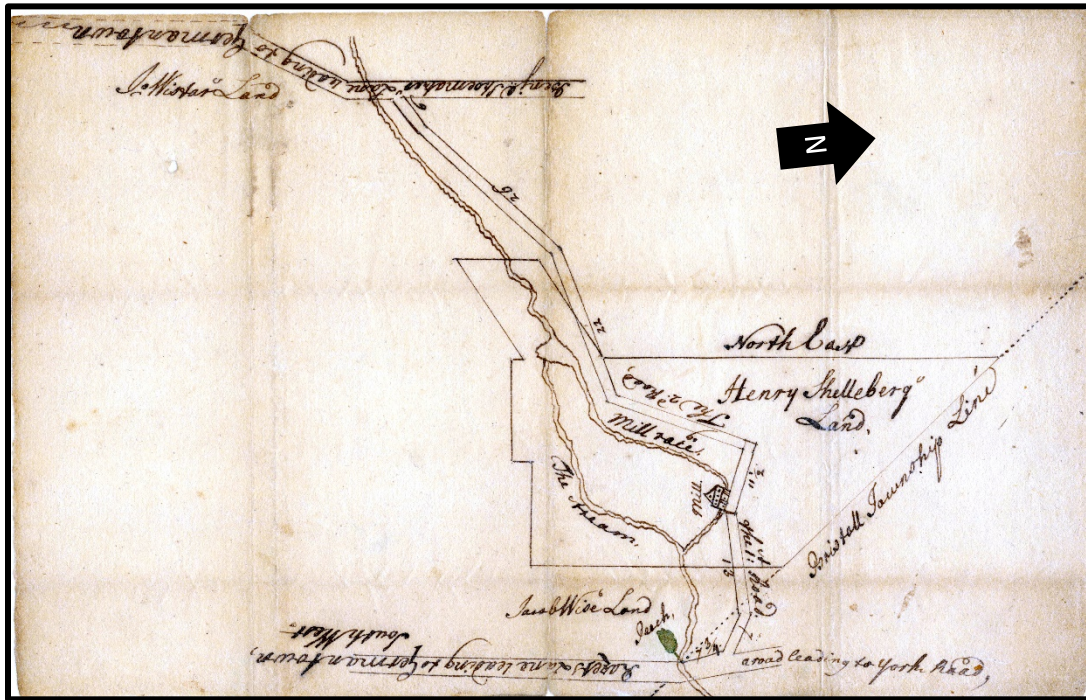


Figure 38. 1746 survey of two mill roads for Henry Shelleberg which includes property lines at that time. Present-day E. Penn Street is at the top and E. Wister Street at the bottom. Source: Road Petition, Clerk of Quarter Sessions Records, RG 21.26, City Archives of Philadelphia.

A native of Germany, Dannenhower arrived at Germantown in the early 1740s. He is said to have built a house for himself in ca.1745 (Figures 42 and 43), at which time he also purchased a half-acre lot on Fisher’s Lane, now East Logan Street.<sup>21</sup> Dannenhower and his wife Elizabeth were members of St. Michael’s Evangelical Lutheran Church, where he served as an elder.<sup>22</sup> Dannenhower’s mill proved to be quite successful. In the 1760s, he began to acquire more land in both Germantown and Bristol Townships along the bed of the Wissahickon Creek and adjacent to his mill pond (Figure 44), which afforded him

<sup>20</sup> *Pennsilvanische Geschichts-Schreiber*, 16 March 1750, 16 July 1751; Deed: Dorothea Shelleberg, widow of Henry Shelleberg, of Roxborough Township, miller, and Daniel Williams, of the city, baker, executors of the will of Henry Shelleberg, to George Dannehower, of Germantown, miller, for £850, 29 January 1756, PDBk H., No. 7, p 82, CAP. This deed recites that Danenhower had entered into a sales agreement with Shellenberg and paid £400 before Shellenberg died.

<sup>21</sup> Deed: Bernard Reser, of Germantown, baker, and Ann Elizabeth, his wife, to George Danahower, of Germantown, yeoman, two lots, for paying a ground rent, 21 March 1745, PDBk I.C., No. 21, p. 404, CAP. Danenhower sold the Germantown Avenue property with a house on it in 1750 (PDBk I.W., No. 8, p. 667, CAP).

<sup>22</sup> Ancestry.com. *Pennsylvania and New Jersey, U.S., Church and Town Records, 1669–2013* [database online]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.

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greater control over the creek.<sup>23</sup> By the time of his death in 1795, Dannenhower's total property was worth £3,155.<sup>24</sup>

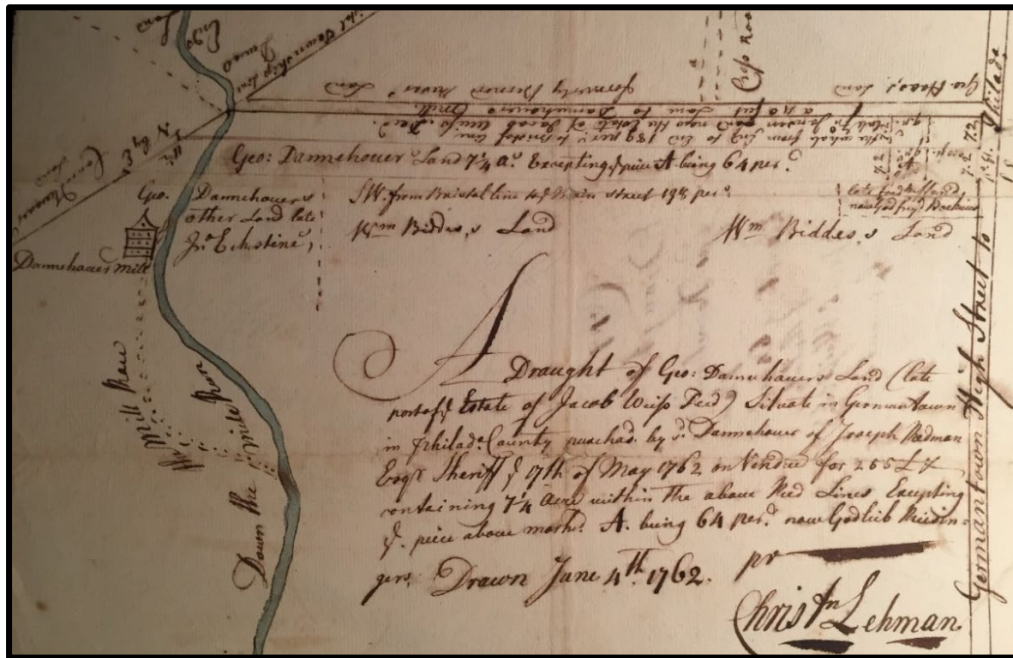


Figure 39. A draft survey of “George Dannehouer’s land, 4 June 1762 by Christian Lehman. The subject property is labeled “Geo: Dannehouer,” showing a three-and-one-half-story mill building on the site. Source: Christian Lehman Land Documents and Lehman Family Papers, Collection 0362, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

George Dannehouer - Miller	
7 1/2 acres	2. Dwelling
1. Grist Mill	750
2. Horses	12
2. Cows	6
£ 768	

Figure 40. A tax assessment from the 1770s for George Dannehouer, which includes taxation for the grist mill. Source: Ancestry.com.

<sup>23</sup> Deed: Laurence Sweitzer and Anne Barbara, his wife, to George Danenhower, 6 3/4 acres in Germantown, 6 July 1761. recited in PDBk E.F., No. 5, p. 96; Deed Poll: Joseph Redman, sheriff, to George Dannenhower, of Germantown, miller, 7 1/4 acres in Germantown, for £150, 5 June 1762, Court of Common Pleas Sheriff Deed Book A-1, p. 305; Deed: John Theobald End, of Germantown, sadler, and Sybilla, his wife, to George Dannenhower, of Germantown, miller, 10 acres and 25 perches in Bristol Township, for £322, 18 February 1767, PDBk E.F., No. 5, p. 355; Deed: Joseph Swift, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant, and Margaret, his wife, to George Dannehouer, 6 acres 138 perches in Germantown for £115, 26 January 1772, PDBk E.F., No. 10, p. 167, CAP.

<sup>24</sup> “The Account of the Estate of George Dannenhower, late of the Township of Germantown,” 16 June 1796, Case file Book 19, p. 23, March Term 1800, Philadelphia County Orphans Court.

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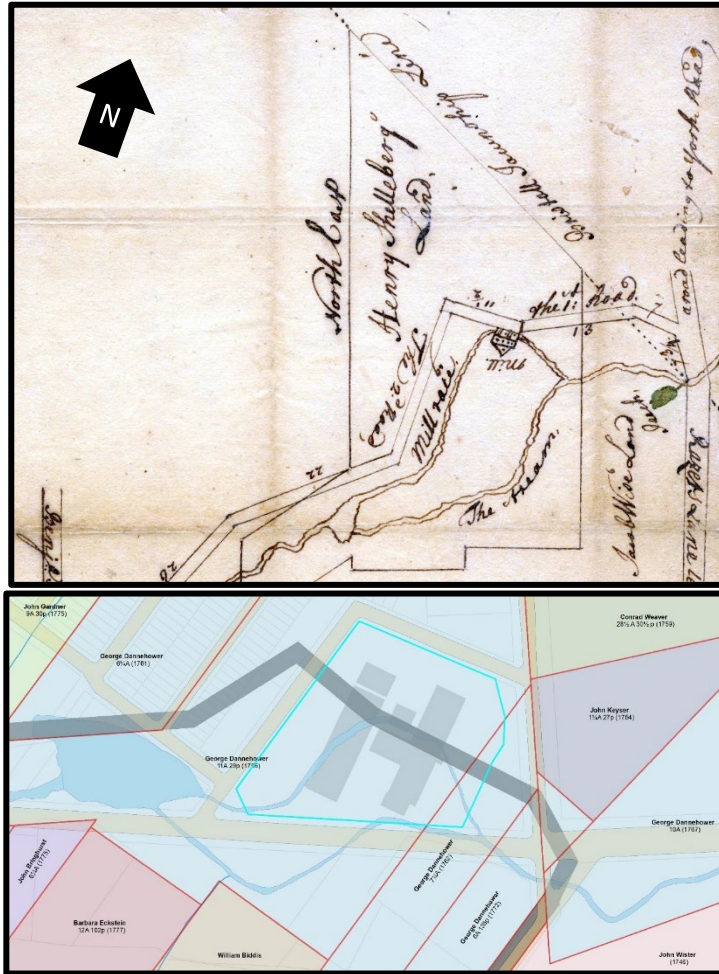
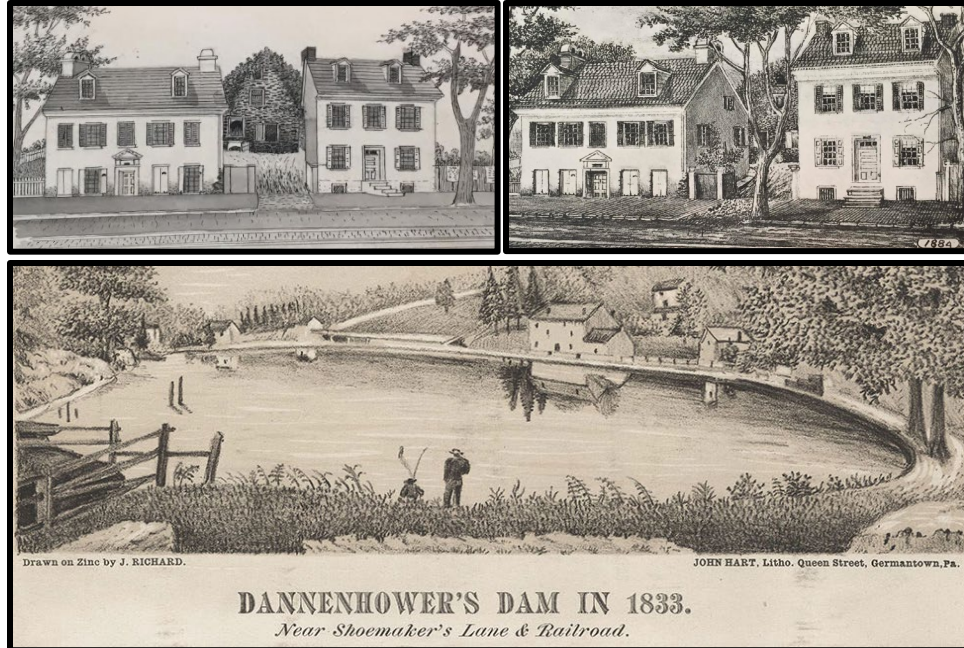


Figure 41. Bottom: Comparison of Figure 38, 1746 Shelleberg Mill road survey (top), with approximate location of the road in relation to the subject property and current roads along with names and property lines in 1777 (outlined in red). Source: Road Petitions, Clerk of Quarter Sessions Records, CAP; J.M. Duffin, Map of Philadelphia 1777.

The appearance for the former mill buildings that stood on the subject property in 1858 speak to Germantown’s foundational period, illustrating the types of structures that were used early-on for manufacturing. One drawing, likely completed in the mid-nineteenth century by Charles J. “C.J.” Wister, Jr., as well as a photograph taken in 1858 show that the subject property contained buildings that were like those associated with Robert’s Mill and the Rittenhouse Paper Mill. While the built environment has changed dramatically since the mid-nineteenth century, archaeological investigations may reveal where precisely these manufactories stood on the site; although a thorough physical examination of the interior of Building 2 may find that it includes at least the foundations or stone walls of the central building shown in Figures 30 and 50.



Figures 42. and 43. Top: Two views drawn by John Richards in 1884, depicting, left to right, the Jacob Muller House, an old bake house at the rear, and the George Dannenhower House (ca.1745), all of which stood near the present site of E. Clapier Street. Source: Germantown Historical Society. Figure 44. Bottom: “Dannenhower’s Dam in 1833” looking towards E. Penn Street, on the property Johann Eckstein purchased in 1736, drawn on Zinc by John Richard in 1868. Source: Free Library of Philadelphia.

After Dannenhower’s death, his executors of the estate sold the subject property, which included the grist mill, in May 1795. Dannenhower’s mill was purchased by John Haworth, a wealthy Quaker merchant of Philadelphia. He improved the mill by shifting its to specialty grinding as a chocolate and mustard manufactory, as combination mills were common.<sup>25</sup> Haworth spent close \$4,000 on the conversion and other improvements between 1795 and 1801.<sup>26</sup> The consumption of chocolate, particularly as a drink, was fairly common in eighteenth century America. Philadelphia was the second largest producer and consumer during this period. Moses Hall’s fulling mill farther up the Wingohocking Creek

<sup>25</sup> Deed Tripartite: Christian Duy, Charles Dannenhauer, and George Dannenhauer, executors of the will of George Dannehauer, first part, Elizabeth Dannenhauer, widow of George Dannenhauer late of Germantown, miller, to John Haworth, of the City of Philadelphia, merchant, for £500, 1 May 1795, PDBk D., No. 52, p. 260, CAP. Haworth was also spelled Hayworth.; James F. Gay, “Chocolate Production and Uses in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century North America,” in *Chocolate History, Culture, and Heritage*, edited by Grivetti and Shapiro (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2009), 281–300.

<sup>26</sup> Deed of Trust: John Haworth, of Philadelphia, chocolate and mustard manufacturer, and Mary, his wife, to Thomas Norton, of Northern Liberties, gentleman, John Johnson of Germantown, gentleman, James Wood, of Philadelphia, merchant, James Whitehead, of Philadelphia, grocer, and James Stewart, of Philadelphia, merchant, in trust to sell assets for benefit of creditors, 7 April 1801, PDBk E.F., No. 10, p. 94, CAP. This document includes a list of all Haworth’s assets and debts at that time and glimpse into his business and mill.

(site no longer extant) was converted into a chocolate mill around this time as well.<sup>27</sup> In 1798 Haworth had a man named John Smith living on site and likely working in the mill. The entire mill property included one stone chocolate mill (33 by 27 feet), a stone barn, stone shop, stone stable, and a frame barn in addition to two stone houses (one one-story and the other two-story).<sup>28</sup> Haworth ended up over extending his business and had to turn over all his property to trustees to settle his debts.<sup>29</sup> The mill property was sold at public auction in 1801. It was described as “12-1/2 acres, more or less, whereon are erected a stone mill, with one pair of stones, for grist and compleat [sic] chocolate and mustard work; two stone dwelling houses, a good barn and stables...”<sup>30</sup> James Tyson bought the mill but only held on to it for two years.<sup>31</sup> The next owner marked a major and significant transition of the mill and the subject property—the manufacturing of textiles.

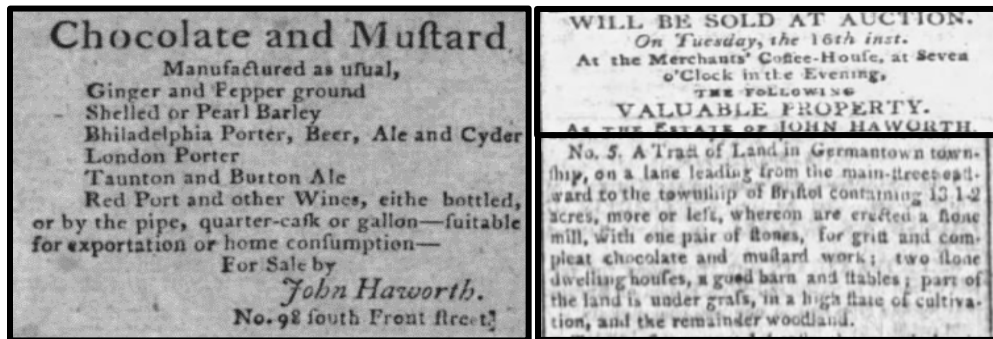


Figure 45. Left: An advertisement for John Haworth’s chocolate & mustard products in 1797. Source: Newspapers.com. Figure 46. Right (top and bottom): The auction notice for John Haworth’s estate, showing the header and “No. 5”—the subject property. Source: “Will Be Sold At Auction,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, 6 June 1801, 3.

<sup>27</sup> It was converted by John Bringhurst sometime between the late 1780s and 1794 (Deed: John Bringhurst, of Germantown, saddle tree maker, and Sarah, his wife, to John Mayo, of the City of Philadelphia, merchant, 28 May 1794, PDBk D., No. 49, p. 320).

<sup>28</sup> United States Direct Tax of 1798: Tax Lists for the State of Pennsylvania. M372, microfilm, Records of the Internal Revenue Service, 1791–2006, Record Group 58. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

<sup>29</sup> Deed of Trust: John Haworth, and Mary, his wife, to Thomas Norton et alia, 7 April 1801. In this valuation of the entire mill property was worth \$3,000 while the total amount of money Haworth spent on the property was \$4,000. Haworth mortgaged the property for \$1,500 to Hannah Benner Handel, the widow of innkeeper Adam Handel.

<sup>30</sup> “Will Be Sold At Auction,” *Aurora General Advertiser*, 6 June 1801, 3.

<sup>31</sup> Deed: Thomas Norton, of Northern Liberties Township, gentleman, John Johnson, the younger, of Germantown, gentleman, James Wood, of the City of Philadelphia, merchant, James Whithead, of the same, grocer, and James Stewart, of the same, merchant, assignees in trust of John Haworth, of the City of Philadelphia, chocolate and mustard manufacturer, and Mary his wife, to James Tyson, of Upper Darby Township, Delaware Co., for \$2,975, 18 June 1801, PDBk E.F., No. 10, p. 169, CAP.

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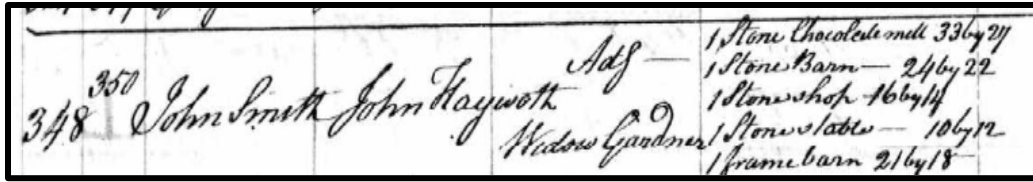


Figure 47. John Haworth's assessment for the subject property in 1798. United States Direct Tax of 1798: Tax Lists for the State of Pennsylvania. M372, microfilm, Records of the Internal Revenue Service, 1791-2006, Record Group 58. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

On February 22, 1803, brothers Henry and William Stewart, calico printers, purchased the subject property which included “the building improvements, mill gears, stones, wheels, implements, utensils, ways, waters, water courses, dams, races, freeboards...”<sup>32</sup> Calico printing is a textile finishing process that prints colors and patterns on cloth. It was one of the protected industrial skills in Great Britain that fell under the general restrictions to prohibit skilled workers and technologies from leaving the country for the Colonies. In spite of this, John Hewson (1744–1821) succeeded in leaving England for Philadelphia where he set up the first calico printing works in the United States at Kensington in 1774. Benjamin Franklin encouraged Hewson to emigrate and even suggested he set up a mill in Germantown.<sup>33</sup> Hewson's success encouraged others to take up calico printing. In Germantown, an English merchant, William Davy, purchased the aforementioned fulling mill of Moses Hall in 1795 and converted it into a calico printing mill by 1797.<sup>34</sup> This mill was first run by Stephen Addington, who went bankrupt in 1797. It was then taken over by Henry Stewart,<sup>35</sup> who likely continued to run the Davy mill until he purchased the subject property which ultimately became the second calico mill on the Wingohocking Creek.<sup>36</sup> These two mills were the first textile mills in Germantown. They were soon followed around 1809 by Joseph Siddall and Issachar Thorpe who both erected a mill on the East Branch of the Wingohocking Creek. Thorp, Siddall & Company are generally credited with the first cylinder printing machine in the United States.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Deed: James Tyson, of Upper Darby Township, Delaware Co., yeoman, and Sarah, his wife, to Henry Stewart and William Steward, both of Germantown, calico printers, for \$4,200, 22 February 1803, PDBk E.F., No. 12, p. 679, CAP. The Stewarts sold off all the chocolate works equipment in the mill at an auction in July 1803 (“By York and Lippincott,” *Gazette of the United States*, 11 July 1803).

<sup>33</sup> Linda Eaton, *Printed Textiles: British and American Cottons and Linens, 1700–1850* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2014), 84.

<sup>34</sup> Deed: John Mayo, of City of Philadelphia, merchant, and Elizabeth, his wife, to William Davy, of the same, merchant for £1,800, 30 September 1795, PDBk D., No. 50, p. 370; Norman B. Wilkinson, “Mr. Davy's Diary, 1794,” *Pennsylvania History* 20 (1953): 258–79. In a 1797 newspaper advertisement, Davy describes the mill as “now occupied in, the calico business, and rents for £140 per ann” (“For Sale Elegant Building Lots,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 September 1797).

<sup>35</sup> Martha C. Halpern, “Germantown Goods: A Survey of the Textile Industry in Germantown,” *The Germantown Crier* 43 (1991): 7.

<sup>36</sup> “Henry Steward Callico printer” is the key individual responsible for the tax assessment of the Davy “Callico printing Shop” in 1800 (Germantown Township, 1800, State Tax Assessment Ledgers [1.8], Office of City Commissioners Records, Record Group 1, CAP).

<sup>37</sup> Eaton, *Printed Textiles*, 93. Siddall acquired title to this property in 1813 (PBDk I.C., No. 28, p. 290, CAP).

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Figure 48. Example of a printed Germantown calico silk handkerchief by the Germantown Print Works, 1824, depicting a scene with William Penn and Lenape as well as the Quaker Meeting at Fourth and Arch Streets. Source: Watkinson Library, Trinity College (Hartford, CT).

Henry and William Stewart appear to have been leaders in the calico printing industry in Philadelphia. In December 1803 “Henry Stewart, of the township of Germantown” petitioned the United States “House of Representatives on behalf of himself and other calico printers and dyers” for federal-level duties to assist and protect the domestic industry.<sup>38</sup> They presented a second petition in January 1805 to both the House and Senate.<sup>39</sup> Unsuccessful at the federal level, they went to Pennsylvania legislature with a petition for a three-year interest-free loan of \$4,000 in December 1805.<sup>40</sup> The following year, William Stewart took complete ownership over the works.<sup>41</sup> Ultimately, these efforts to seek protection for their industry, as well as assistance for their business, did realize.

In January of 1808, the Stewart mill was sold at sheriff sale as a result of a lawsuit brought by Robert Armstrong.<sup>42</sup> The buyers were another pair brothers Robert (d. 1845) and

<sup>38</sup> *Journal of the House of Representatives of The United States* v. 4 (Washington D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1826), 491. Stephen Addington also presented a petition to Congress asking for aid of his mill in 1797 (*Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1795, 679).

<sup>39</sup> *Journal of the House of Representatives*, v. 5, 91; *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America*, 21 January 1805).

<sup>40</sup> *Journal of the Sixteenth House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Lancaster: William Hamilton, 1805), 93.

<sup>41</sup> Deed: Henry Stewart, of Germantown Township, calico printer, and Mary, his wife, to William Stewart, of the same, calico printer, for \$3,000, 10 January 1806, PDBk E.F., No. 22, p. 524, CAP.

<sup>42</sup> Deed Poll: William T. Donaldson, sheriff, to Robert Armstrong and Edward Armstrong, of Germantown, calico printers, 11 January 1808, Pennsylvania Supreme Court Sheriff Deed Book C., p. 350.

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Edward Armstrong (d. 1847). It is possible that this sale was the result of a settlement or court proceeding because the Armstrongs appear to have worked for Stewart. They both witnessed the 1806 deed when William Stewart bought out his brother's share. Robert and Edward Armstrong both appear in the 1808 Germantown tax among the eight calico printers listed in the vicinity of the mill on the subject property.<sup>43</sup> William Stewart appears to have continued to hold some connection with the mill until at least 1811.<sup>44</sup> When the Armstrongs took control of the mill they continued it as a textile finishing operation into the 1830s.

The subject property, then called "Armstrong's Mill," was incorporated into the nearby Wakefield Mills complex by 1832. At that time the subject property had "one Printing Machine for two Colours, with forty-five Copper Shells of the best engraving and patterns; two Dash-Wheels and Gearing, three large Coppers and Fixtures, Squeezers and Gearing, Cisterns...[and] many valuable articles in the use of a print work." This was part of a ten-year lease that began in 1830.<sup>45</sup> With its primary mills at Fisher's Hollow (Figures 87, 88, 89, and 90) at the site of the Kintzing Mill, the Wakefield Manufacturing Corporation was formerly known Fisher, Gouge and Potts. This firm, most notably known as producers of woolens, was the largest woolen establishment in Germantown with 66 employees engaged in the manufacture of broadcloths, cassimere, and satinets by 1820. The two other notable woolen manufactures in Germantown at that time were: Philip Kelly with 31 employees, manufacturing broadcloths, kerseys, and satinets in the former Hall/Davy mill on the Wingohocking Creek; and Burd Patterson with 16 "hands," producing white flannel exclusively on Cresheim Creek.<sup>46</sup> The primary product changed to hosiery in the 1830s, when they were leasing a portion of the subject property. At this time, Germantown was known for its woolen products—especially its hosiery. Eventually incorporated as the Wakefield Manufacturing Corporation, the firm did not survive the Panic of 1857.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Germantown Township, 1808, pp. 86–87, State Tax Assessment Ledgers (1.8), Office of City Commissioners Records, Record Group 1, CAP

<sup>44</sup> The 1810 and 1811 Germantown tax lists do not record the changed in ownership of the mill. It is likely the Armstrongs took full control over the mill by 1812 when William Stewart purchased the former 1690s oil mill site on Wingohocking Creek and established a new mill there (Deed: Daniel Pastorius, of Germantown, tanner, and Elizabeth, his wife, to William Stewart, of the same, calico printer, for \$2,000, 5 December 1812, PDBk M.R., No. 3, p. 440, CAP). It is interesting to note that in 1811 there was an Abraham Dananhower listed as a calico printer after Edward Armstrong on the list.

<sup>45</sup> "Assignees' Sale At Public Auction," *The National Gazette*, 15 December 1832, 3. This sale was for a complex of three mills all part of a "New Establishment, in Bleaching, Dying, and Printing of Cotton Goods."

<sup>46</sup> Philip Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism, The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), 97.

<sup>47</sup> Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism*, 232–33; *Raftsmen's Journal* (Clearfield, PA), 28 October 1857, 1.

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Figure 49. 1859 Oxford Township Atlas by M. Dripps. Source: Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network.

At mid-century, three rural districts associated and/or adjacent to Germantown were combined into a single Twenty-Second Ward, which housed more than 1,000 textile workers. These workers produced more than \$600,000 in textile goods, including yarns, calicoes, carpets, and hosiery. The fiber of record in Germantown employed in these operations was primarily wool.<sup>48</sup> By that time, the subject property was called the Glen Bank Mill and was under the direction of James Armstrong (ca. 1818–1877), the son of Edward Armstrong. The Glen Bank Mill spun woolen yarn using water power, employed seven workers, and had a total value of materials at \$16,000—the second largest wool spinner in Germantown.<sup>49</sup> Armstrong fared much better than the Wakefield Mills in the 1850s and expanded his operations. In 1860 the Glen Bank Mill was powered by both water and steam, an operation that employed 50 workers (30 men and 20 women). With a total product value of \$58,200, it was the third largest woolen factory in Germantown.<sup>50</sup>

The future of the Glen Bank Mill was bright in the early 1860s. James Armstrong and Paul Klotz took ownership from James’ brother in 1863.<sup>51</sup> By 1866 the mill complex included:

[An] establishment cover[ing] three-quarters of an acre of ground, and comprises three buildings, all connected together forming an L. There is an old mill, two stories in height, and two new structures, one four stories and other three stories. The structures are all stone, and were built in the

<sup>48</sup> Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism*, 7–8.

<sup>49</sup> Theodore Hershberg, Philadelphia Social History Project: Manufacturing Data, 1850, ICPSR34967-v2. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2014. While title to the land during this period became vested in James’s brother John Armstrong, the federal manufacturing census always lists the mill under James’ name.

<sup>50</sup> Hershberg, Philadelphia Social History Project: Manufacturing Data, 1860.; Jesse Lightfoot, “Plan of the Fifth Section of the resurvey and regulation of the late Borough of Germantown, Twenty-second Ward, City of Philadelphia. Resolution April 17, 1856; approved by Board of Surveyors October 21, 1861,” Philadelphia Streets Department, Survey and Designs Bureau.

<sup>51</sup> Deed: John Armstrong, of Philadelphia, manufacturer to James Armstrong and Paul Klotz, both of the Twenty-Second Ward, manufacturers, 11 May 1863, PDBk A.C.H., No. 104, p. 170, CAP. This deed has a full recital of the various consolidations of title interests among the Armstrong heirs.

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most substantial manner. The mills have been engaged lately in making cassimeres and balmoral skirts.<sup>52</sup>

That same year the mill suffered from a common problem to textile mills during this period—fire. At 7:00PM on December 14, 1866, when a “man carrying cotton came into contact with a gas light,” the fire broke out. Apparently, the system “to flood the mills” was out of order due to a broken valve. It is said that James Armstrong was in route from Philadelphia with the new valve when the fire broke out.<sup>53</sup> As a result, 150 hands were “thrown out of employment.”<sup>54</sup> The mill was insured for \$52,000, though the loss was estimated by some sources to be approximately \$150,000.<sup>55</sup> According to the accounts at the time all the buildings were “completely gutted” and nothing remained but the stone walls.<sup>56</sup> This loss was too much for the partnership of Armstrong and Klotz to recover and the property was sold at sheriff’s sale. However, ultimately, John Armstrong stepped in and bought back the property.<sup>57</sup>

Enough remained of the Glen Bank buildings that John Armstrong was able to rebuild one wing of the complex and restart its operations in April 1868. The rebuilt building stood four-stories tall and measured 45 by 60 feet, which is the approximate dimensions of Building 2 as it stands today.<sup>58</sup> Six months after reopening, the mill suffered a second fire in which all the “contents of the mill were destroyed.”<sup>59</sup> However, it appears that Building 2 remains, likely dating to the earlier history of the property.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> “Destructive Fire New Germantown, An Extensive Woolen Mill Burned,” *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 15 December 1866, 7.

<sup>53</sup> *Germantown Telegraph*, 14 December 1866.

<sup>54</sup> “Cotton Mill Burned,” *Richmond Dispatch*, 17 December 1866, 3.

<sup>55</sup> *The New Orleans Crescent*, 16 December 1866, 1.

<sup>56</sup> “Destructive Fire New Germantown,” *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 15 December 1866, 7; “The Fire Near Germantown,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 December 1866, 3.

<sup>57</sup> Deed Poll: Henry C. Howell, sheriff, to John Armstrong, 6 April 1867, District Court of Philadelphia Sheriff Deed Book No. 65, 323, CAP.

<sup>58</sup> “Fire at Germantown – Destruction of a Cassimere Manufactory,” *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 24 October 1868, 8. According to an 1859 dictionary, “Rebuild” meant to “To build again; to renew a structure; to build or construct what has been demolished; as, to rebuild a house, a wall, a wharf, or a city.” According to the same 1859 dictionary, “Rebuilt” meant to “Built again, reconstructed” (John Ogilvie, *The Imperial Dictionary, English, Technological, and Scientific* [United Kingdom, Blackie, 1859], 547).

<sup>59</sup> “Fire at Germantown – Destruction of a Cassimere Manufactory,” *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 24 October 1868, 8; “The News,” *The Buffalo Commercial*, 24 October 1868, 2.

<sup>60</sup> A later newspaper report about a thief named Henry Birner who was found in the burned property stealing “brass cocks and some other articles valued at about \$250,” indicates that the stone structure likely remained (“Police Intelligence,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 December 1868, 2).

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Figure 50. Looking north, this daguerreotype taken by C.J. Wister in 1858, depicts Armstrong’s Glen Bank Mill at what was locally referred to as “Sleepy Hollow”—the precise location of the subject property. As a reference point, the newly built Wiener House stands on the high ground above the subject property, a notable Gothic Revival style dwelling that would eventually become part of the Germantown Dispensary & Hospital’s ever-growing campus. The first suburban residences of Church Lane or the newly opened Locust Avenue appear on left. Source: The Germantown Historical Society.

Located in a cavity in the landscape along what was historically the Wingohocking Creek, Sleepy Hollow, another name for the subject property and its associated mill complex, was certainly not the only such hollow or glen in the nearby locality. In East Germantown, historically known as Bristol Township, the Weber and Thorp Mills stood at Harper’s Hollow (Figure 81) on the site of the associated park at Thorp’s Lane near Old York Road, now Eighteenth Street and Olney Avenue. Fisher’s Hollow was home to the Wakefield Mills, later known as the Wakefield Manufacturing Company, founded by the Fisher family and operated for much of the nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup> There were also mills and industrial activities at Frog Hollow (Figure 84) and Happy Hollow, both in West Germantown.<sup>62</sup> However, the subject of “hollows” as a common industrial property type is discussed in more detail later in the nomination.

<sup>61</sup> Irvin Miller and Judith Callard, *Remembering Germantown, 60 Years of the Germantown Crier* (Arcadia Publishing, 2008).

<sup>62</sup> John Palmer Garber, Naaman Henry Keyser, Henry Kain, and Horace Ferdinand McCann. *History of Old Germantown*. (Philadelphia: H.F. McCann, 1907), 181 and 215.

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Figure 51. Top left: The Wakefield Mills at Fisher's Hollow, near Lindley and Belfield Avenues, built by William Logan Fisher, photographed by John G. Bullock ca. 1913. All but one building of this complex has been demolished. Source: The John C. Bullock Lantern Slide Collection, The Library Company of Philadelphia. Figure 52. Top right: Harper's Hollow, a mill complex, at Thorpe's Lane and Old York Road near Germantown, taken by Edwin Costley Jellet. Source: The Germantown Historical Society. Figure 53. Bottom: The Wakefield Mills at Fisher's Hollow near Lindley and Belfield Avenues in 1900. Source: Irvin Miller and Judith Callard. *Remembering Germantown, 60 Years of the Germantown Crier*. (Arcadia Publishing, 2008).

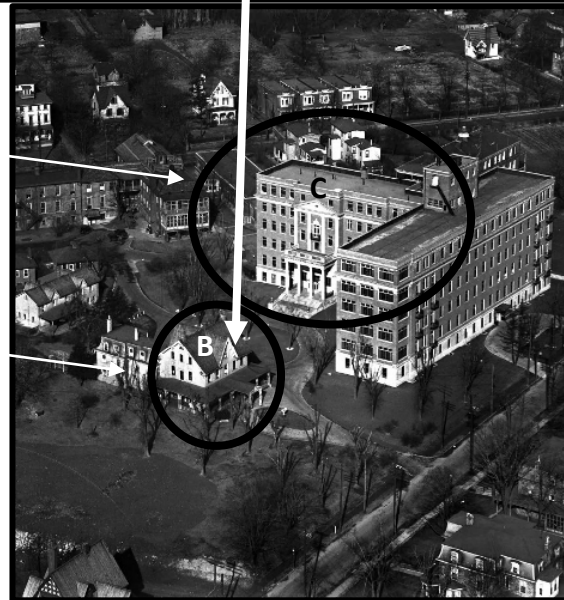
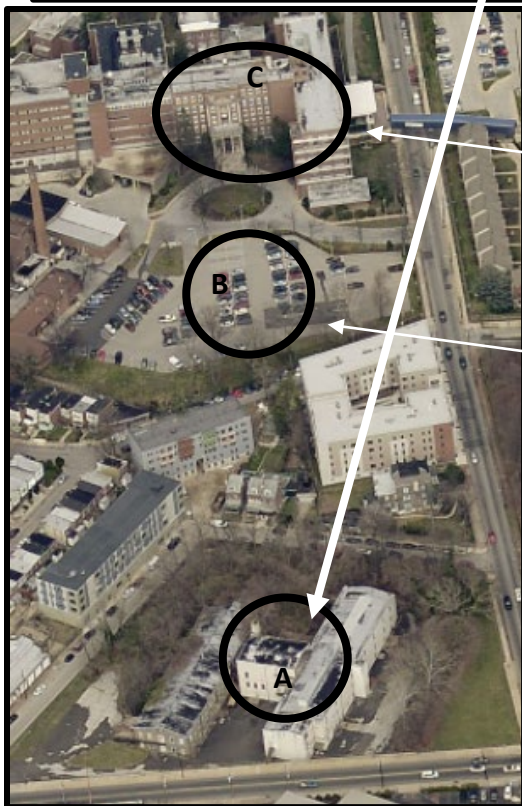
The first half of the nineteenth century saw two major owners of the subject property with just a few more tenant occupants. Though Philadelphia possessed the largest population cluster in North America in 1810, Germantown Borough and Township, as well as Bristol Township, remained primarily rural in character, boasting roughly eighteen square miles of estates, farms, and creekside mills at the center of which was the village of Germantown. Straddling the line of Germantown and Bristol Townships, the subject property contained what could safely be called a creekside mill, though one that had already changed its operational status and technologies on several occasions to suit the fluctuating economies and manufactures of Germantown in less than one hundred years.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Philip Scranton. *Proprietary Capitalism, The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), 97.

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## **CONCLUSION**

Since it is recorded that much of Armstrong’s Mills destroyed by fire in the 1860s, the 1736–44 to 1868 extent of the period of significance is one represented by the location or, more succinctly, the associated ground and what is unseen through the extant historic structures that occupy the site today. Since the subject property’s-built environment is one exclusively associated and formed by continued mill occupancy and industrial use since the early eighteenth century, the subject property may be likely to yield archaeological information important to the history of the colonial and industrial age economies—specifically manufacturing—in Germantown. Thus, the relevance of Criterion I is for archaeological significance. That said, it is well-known that all manner of building types in the region constructed of rubble schist were often adapted, nominally expanded, and even greatly enlarged over the course of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries so that the notion of Armstrong’s Mills being “entirely destroyed” does not necessarily mean that Buildings 1 and 2, especially the latter, do not contain the foundations of the earlier structures or even component parts (stone walls) of their predecessors. Building 2 could occupy the site and include components of the larger grist mill shown in Figures 30 and 50, though a precise confirmation of this contention would require a physical investigation and additional study.



Location A, the site of Building 2, is shown on the 1858 photograph and the recent bird's eye view. Location B, the Weiner House—eventually part of the Germantown Hospital, is shown in the 1858 photograph, the ca.1920 Dallin Aerial, and the recent bird's eye view.

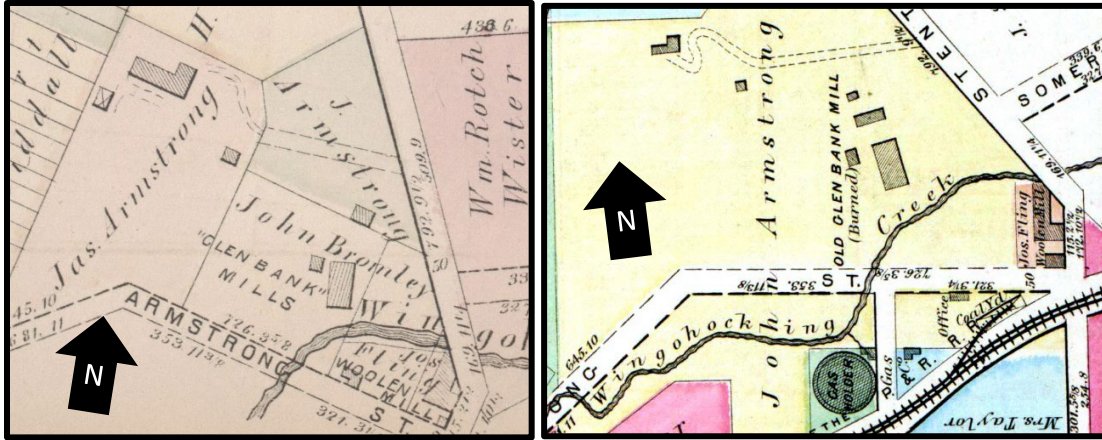


Figure 54. 1876 (left) and Figure 55. 1871 (right) atlases showing subject property. Source Hopkins *City of Philadelphia, 22<sup>nd</sup> Ward, 1876*; Hopkins, *Atlas of the Late Borough of Germantown, 22nd Ward, 1871*.

### CRITERIA A & J

Criteria A and J are strongly represented in the buildings that form the complex today, epitomizing mills of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Spanning the period of 1866–68 to 1983, the extant buildings on the subject property represent the industrial development of Germantown, as well as the cultural, economic, and social heritage of the community. Moreover, the site represents one of the only surviving complexes in Germantown.<sup>64</sup>

By the mid-nineteenth century, the number of mills related to woolen and textile manufacture had increased dramatically at Germantown. Pennsylvania was home to no less than 70 woolen mills that were members of the National Association of Woolen Manufacturers, roughly 25 percent of which were located in Germantown. The Leicester Knitting Mills was founded by Charles Spencer in 1850 at Cumberland and Armat Streets. Manufacturing hosiery and fancy knitted goods (which Germantown became known for), Spencer’s mill became one of the largest industrial complexes in the area, employing nearly 540 workers by 1895.<sup>65</sup> This complex, however, is no longer extant. Almost as large, the Germantown Hosiery Mills of Conyers Button & Co. (demolished) stood behind the owner’s Federal style house at the northeast corner of Germantown Avenue and Walnut Lane by 1840. Employing approximately 500 workers, the mill produced hosiery and fancy knit goods.<sup>66</sup> Another large complex and employer, the Sherwood Knitting Mills (demolished) stood between Baynton and Miller Streets, where the Allen brothers manufactured hosiery and fancy knit goods. The complex served nearly 400 hands by

<sup>64</sup> “From Philadelphia,” *Memphis Daily Post*, 15 December 1866, 1.

<sup>65</sup> *Germantown Crier*, Volumes 42–43, 1989, 10; and “Leicester Mills Co., Germantown, 22d Ward, Philadelphia, Plates 2897–2898,” Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 30. (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer, 1895). [Leicester Mills Co. \(philageohistory.org\)](http://philageohistory.org) Accessed on 4 January 2020.

<sup>66</sup> “Germantown Hosiery Mills, Conyers Button & Co., Germantown, 22d Ward, Philadelphia, Plates 2022–2023,” Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 21. (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer, 1886). [Germantown Hosiery Mills, Conyers Button & Co. \(philageohistory.org\)](http://philageohistory.org) Accessed on 4 January 2020.

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1885.<sup>67</sup> The Hinckley Knitting Mills was founded by Aaron Jones (who started in the Wakefield Mills) in 1840, and the firm’s buildings were constructed between 1863 and 1875 between Wister and Jefferson Streets, 130 feet north of Germantown Avenue. No longer extant, this mill was served by 250 workers in the production of fancy knit goods and hosiery by 1879.<sup>68</sup> The Osceola Knitting Mill was another that once stood at the northwest corner of Osceola and Herman Streets. Owned by Thomas Cope & Brother, the mill complex was erected on the site between 1860 and 1881, where at one time 225 workers produced hosiery goods, largely stockings.<sup>69</sup> Another important manufacturer was Scatchard & Sons’ Woolen Mills situated on the south side of Magnolia Street, west of Cheltenham Avenue. Between 1871 and 1884, this was another large mill complex, specializing in the manufacture of cotton, woolen, and Merino yarns and shoddy. The firm reportedly employed between 110 and 120 people by 1885.<sup>70</sup>



Figure 56. Left: The Leicester Mills, Charles Spencer & Co. at Armat and Cumberland Streets in Germantown. This survey was completed in 1895 as one of the Hexamer General Surveys. Source: Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network. Figure 57. Right: Scatchard & Sons’ Woolen Mills on East Cheltenham Avenue in Germantown. Between 1871 and 1884, this was another large mill complex that specialized in the manufacture of cotton, woolen, and Merino yarns and shoddy. Source: The Warren-Ehret Company Photographs, Hagley Digital Archives.

<sup>67</sup> “Sherwood Knitting Mills, J. & B. Allen, Germantown, 22d Ward, Philadelphia, Plate 1923,” Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 20. (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer, 1885). [Sherwood Knitting Mills \(philageohistory.org\)](http://philageohistory.org) Accessed on 4 January 2020.

<sup>68</sup> “Hinckley Knitting Mills, Aaron Jones’ Sons, Germantown, 22d Ward, Philadelphia, Plate 1351–1352,” Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 14. (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer, 1879). [Sherwood Knitting Mills \(philageohistory.org\)](http://philageohistory.org) Accessed on 4 January 2020.

<sup>69</sup> “Osceola Knitting Mill, Thos. B. Cope & Bro., Germantown, 22d Ward, Philadelphia, Plate 1706,” Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 18. (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer, 1882). [Sherwood Knitting Mills \(philageohistory.org\)](http://philageohistory.org) Accessed on 4 January 2020.

<sup>70</sup> “Scatchard’s Mill, Joseph Scatchard’s Sons, Germantown, 22d Ward, Philadelphia, Plate 1942,” Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 20. (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer, 1885). [Scatchard's Mill, Joseph Scatchard's Sons \(philageohistory.org\)](http://philageohistory.org) Accessed on 4 January 2020.

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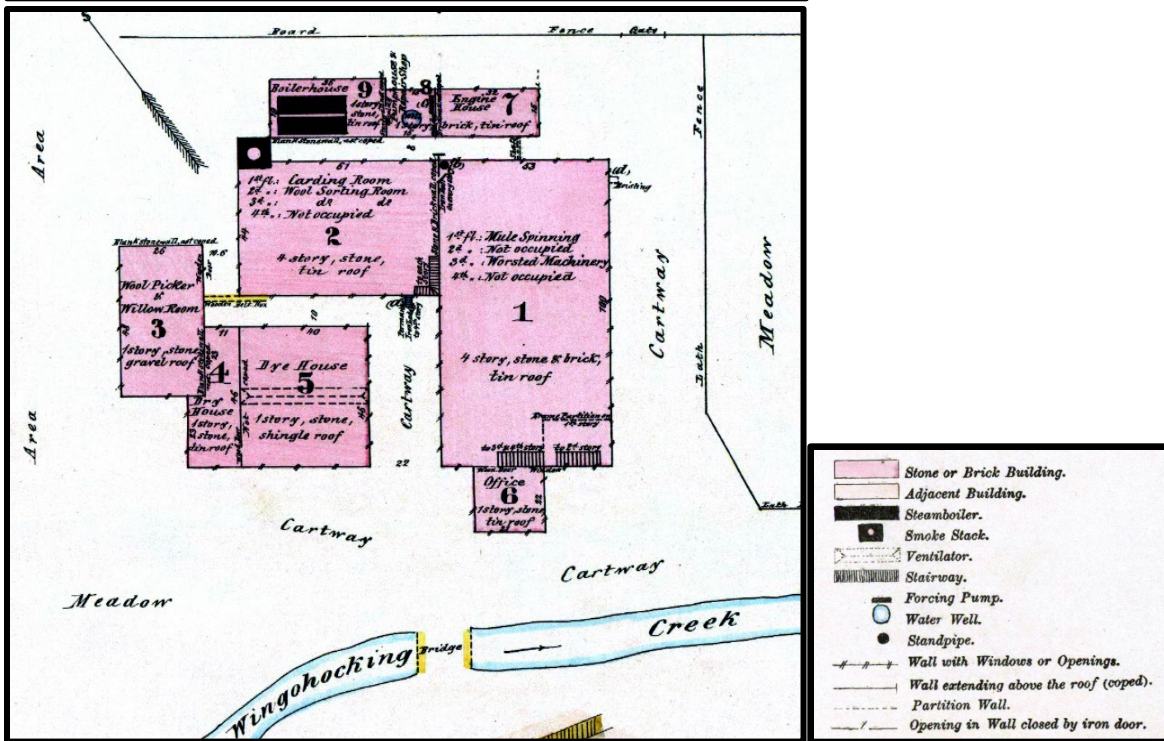
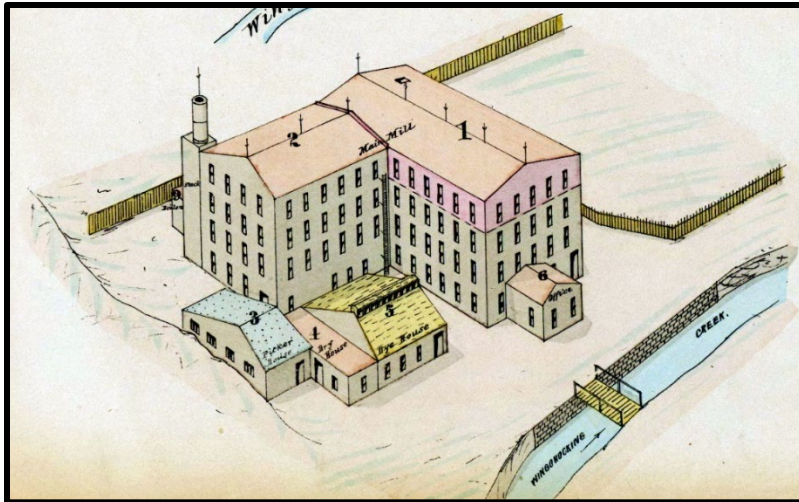


Figure 58. Top: A bird's eye view of the Glencairn Woolen Mills, showing Building Nos. 1 through 9, during the ownership of John Bromley. Figure 59. Bottom: The floor plan of the Glencairn Woolen Mills. Source: Glencairn Woolen Mills, Plate 1029, Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 11, ca. 1876.

An important part of the growth and evolution of textile production in Germantown after the Civil War was the manufacturing of woolen products, particularly woolen and worsted yarns. These products have characteristic differences as woolen yarns have shorter fibers and tend to be more hairy and worsted yarns have longer fibers and are smoother. During the 1860s, the number of yarn mills in Germantown almost doubled, employing a

workforce that tripled in size.<sup>71</sup> This period of growth continued for the next decade, so much so that by 1882 the amount of spinning machinery found in Germantown mills had multiplied tripled or quadrupled.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps lesser known, one aspect of the growth of local yarn manufacturing increased as the Germantown product became integral to the Navajo rug and blanket industry. As can be seen today on the antiques market, Navajo rugs and blankets, once known as Navajo Germantown rugs, were created from brightly colored yarn produced in Germantown mills, which began after the Civil War. These yarns were sold and shipped to Navajo reservations in the western United States.

The growth in the yarn market brought new life to the subject property. In May 1875 John Bromley (1817–1884), a prosperous English-born dry goods merchant from Manayunk (not related to the Bromleys who owned the Kensington carpet mill) decided to bring the Armstrong mill back to life.<sup>73</sup> Slightly more than a year later the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported:

The Armstrong Mills, at Germantown, which were destroyed by fire about seven years ago, have been rebuilt, with one story added to the larger mill, by Mr. John Bromley, for his son, J. Howard Bromley, who will conduct the business of manufacturing woolen yarns in the two lower stories. The other floors have been rented out.<sup>74</sup>

A fire insurance survey of the site in June 1876 documents how Bromley transformed, rebuilt, and expanded the mills, which was renamed: the Glencairn Woolen Mills. Building 2 retains the dimensions of newspaper descriptions dating to 1868, standing four-stories tall and comprised of Wissahickon schist, measuring 44 by 61 feet. Despite the fact that it was a newly rebuilt and enlarged mill complex, the fourth floor of Building 1 was constructed of brick in 1876, another indicator that the term “rebuilt” may have been in reference to extensive renovations rather than entirely new construction. Nevertheless, the Glencairn Woolen Mills manufactured woolen and worsted yarns—the ubiquitous Germantown product, employing 58 hands at one time—fifteen men, seventeen boys, and 26 girls. Like many mills of the era, there was also another tenant occupying the subject property in 1876—Foster & Isles, Worsted Yarn Manufacturers, leasing the third floor of Buildings 1 and 2.

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<sup>71</sup> Halpern, “Germantown Goods,” 11.

<sup>72</sup> Halpern, “Germantown Goods,” 12

<sup>73</sup> This John Bromley was born in Bury (just outside of Manchester), Lancashire, England and came to Philadelphia in 1818 (Viola A. Bromley, *The Bromley Genealogy: Being A Records of the Descendants of Luke Bromley of Warwick, R.I., and Stonington, Conn.* [New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1911], 329). He was the uncle of the famous Philadelphia Bromley civil engineers and atlas publishers.

<sup>74</sup> *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 20 July 1876, 3.

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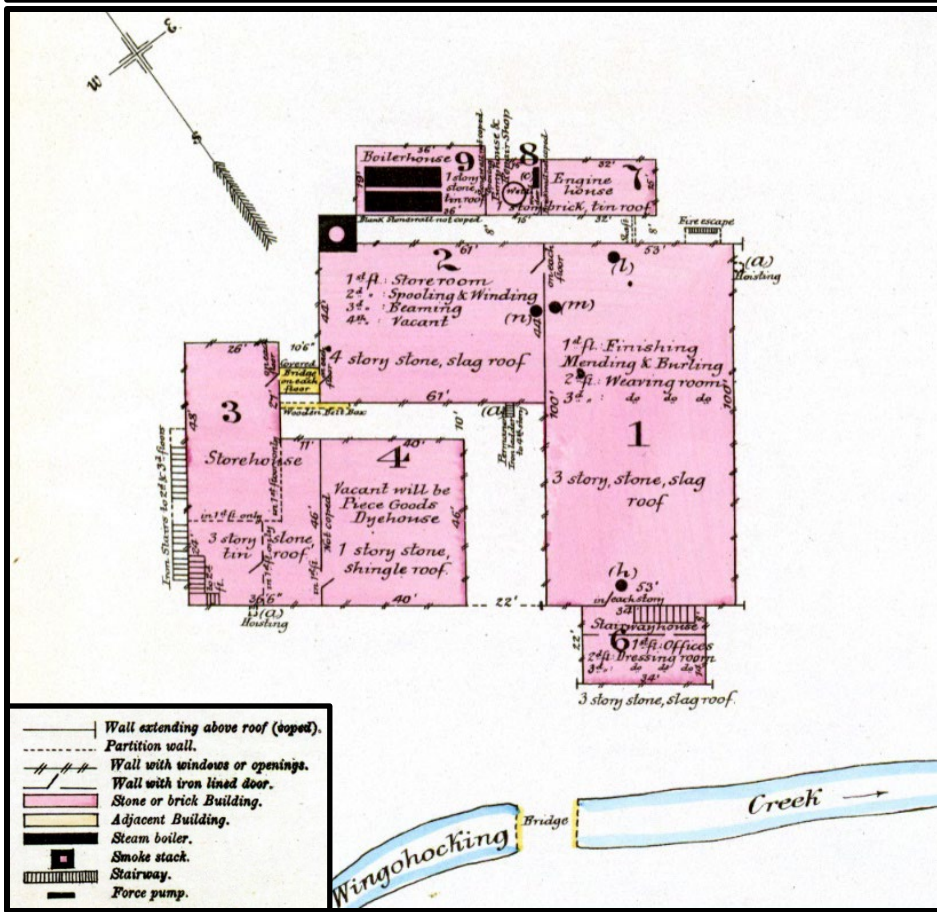
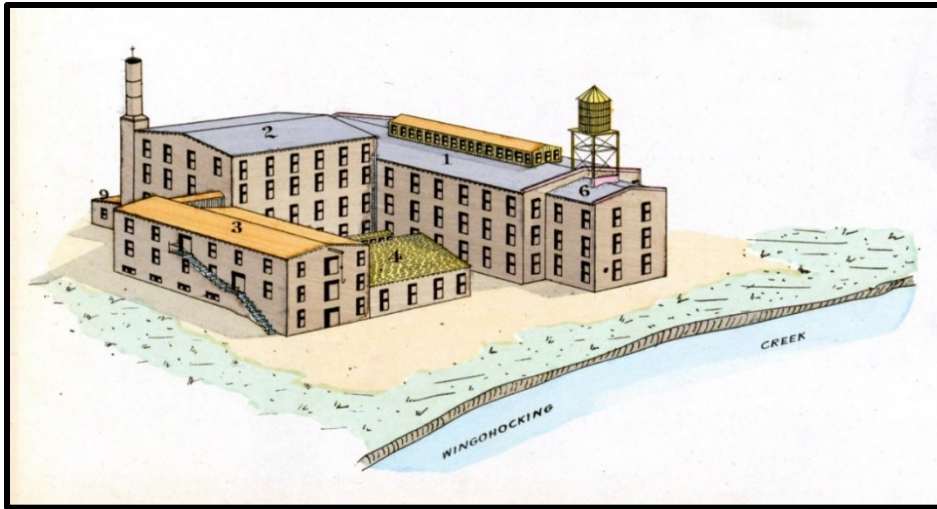


Figure 60. Top: A bird's eye view of the Bellevue Woolen Mills, showing Building Nos. 1 through 9, during the ownership of John Bromley and the tenancy of D. Greer. Figure 61. Bottom: The floor plan of the Bellevue Woolen Mills. Source: Bellevue Woolen Mills, Plate 2278, Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 24, 1889.

The early years of the renewed mill were under the direction of John Howard Bromley (1851–1929) who was only 25 years old when his father turned the mill over to him. He does not appear to have remained long with the business as his mother, Jeannette Gorden Bromley (1821–1905), began leasing the property to various tenants after the elder John Bromley died in 1884. The Bromley family continued to lease the mill complex for nearly one hundred years. The most important of their tenants was Benjamin William Greer (1854–1920), a New York textile manufacturer, who moved to Germantown and established and continued worsted yarn manufacturing at the subject property. His mill, the Bellevue Worsted Mills, operated in the subject property from 1875 to 1884.<sup>75</sup>

It was during this period too that physical alterations and changes in building function occurred at the property. Between 1876 and 1888, the brick fourth floor of the otherwise stone Building 1 was removed and replaced with a clerestory, which survives to-date. The use changed to finishing, mending, and burling on the first floor; and weaving rooms on the second and third floors. Building 2 was largely unchanged from its exterior with a storeroom on the first floor; spooling and winding on the second floor, beaming on the third floor, and a vacant fourth floor. Buildings 3 and 4 were either entirely demolished or more likely consolidated and subsumed by a large three-story stone addition. What had been Building 4 became part of Building 3, and what had been Building 5 became Building 4, being largely unchanged and vacant. Building 6 was also dramatically enlarged being doubled in its footprint, expanding from one-story to three for the purposes of offices and dressing rooms.<sup>76</sup>

By the 1880s, the Wingohocking Creek had become polluted by all of the industries, and, ultimately, was seen as a serious nuisance to public health and safety in the form of an open sewer. Germantown citizens lobbied the City of Philadelphia to “appropriate a sufficient sum of money to make the Wingohocking creek [sic] a covered sewer...”<sup>77</sup> As part of converting the Wingohocking Creek into the Wingohocking Sewer, private property owners underwent condemnation proceedings in the form of both real property and access to the adjacent waters. The subject property was affected by the creation of the Wingohocking Sewer in December 1887, when proceedings began to open Belfield Avenue along the path of the creek. While the City of Philadelphia awarded Jeannette G. Bromley \$12,000 in damages, she not only found the amount deficient, but also required that the money be provided in advance so that she could be compensated for the requirement of a new power source.<sup>78</sup> Once the suit was settled in 1890, the city was able to begin work on covering over the section of the Wingohocking Creek between East Penn and East Wister Streets.

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<sup>75</sup> A digital search of the *Philadelphia Real Estate Record & Building Guide*.

<sup>76</sup> Bellevue Woolen Mills, Plate 2278, Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 24, 1889.

<sup>77</sup> “The Wingohocking Creek,” *The Times* (Philadelphia, PA), 14 October 1889, 1.

<sup>78</sup> “Wingohocking Creek, The Suit of Mrs. Bromley Dismissed by Judge Arnold,” *The Times* (Philadelphia, PA), 13 July 1890, 3.

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Between 1889 and 1893, the subject mill expanded in size, which is documented in an 1893 Hexamer Survey. Building 1 was extended, three-stories in stone construction, to the northeast by 51 feet, encapsulating Building 7, the engine house. This northeasterly wing included a stockroom on the first floor and weaving rooms on the second and third floors. The earlier portion of Building 1 included finishing, mending, and burling spaces on the first floor, and weaving spaces on the second and third floors. Building 2 remained as it was and stands today, it had a storeroom on the first floor, twisting operations on the second floor, beaming on the third floor, and a store stockroom on the fourth floor. Building 3 was also extended 48 feet to the southwest, standing three-stories tall and being of rubble Wissahickon schist construction. This southwesterly wing included dry piece goods on the first floor, warpings on the second floor, and yarn storage on the third floor. The earlier component of Building 3 included a storeroom on the first floor, spooling on the second floor, and beaming on the third floor. Building 4 also remained as it was with washing and scoring as its new use. Building 6 finally included a stairway house with offices on the first floor, a dressing room on the second floor, and designing and weaving on the third floor. Building 8 remained a repair shop set between Buildings 7 and 9, while Building 9, the one-story stone boiler house, was enlarged to the northeast by ten feet.



Figure 62. Left: Navajo Germantown Blanket, ca.1890s, 35”x21”. Figure 63. Center: Navajo Germantown Pictorial Moki Blanket, c. 1880s, 97" x 78" (T2872-CO). Figure 64. Right: Navajo Germantown Textile, ca.1900, 48” x 29”. Source: Mark Sublette Medicine Man Gallery TM.

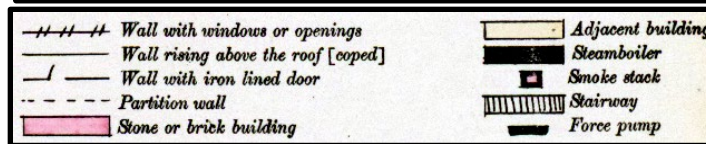
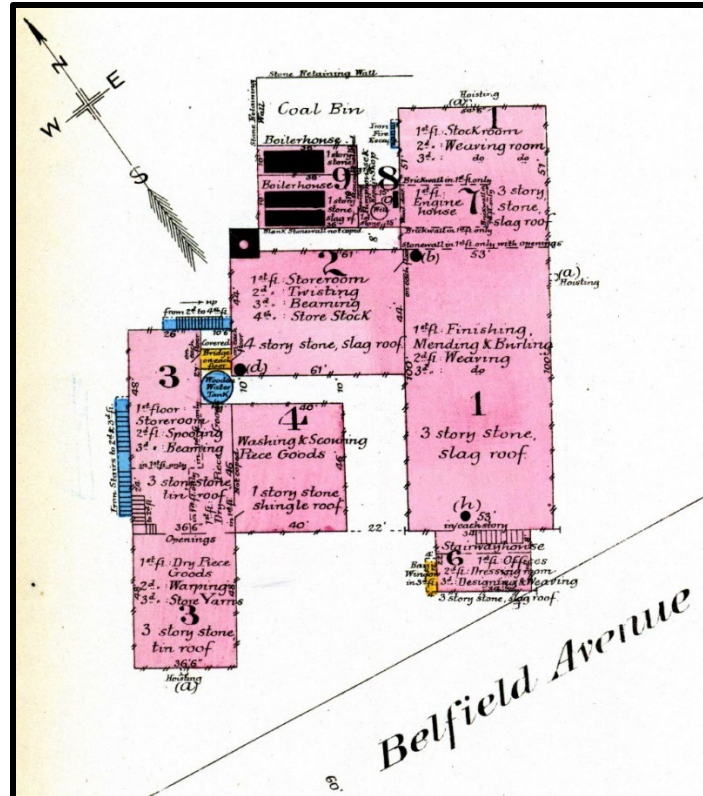
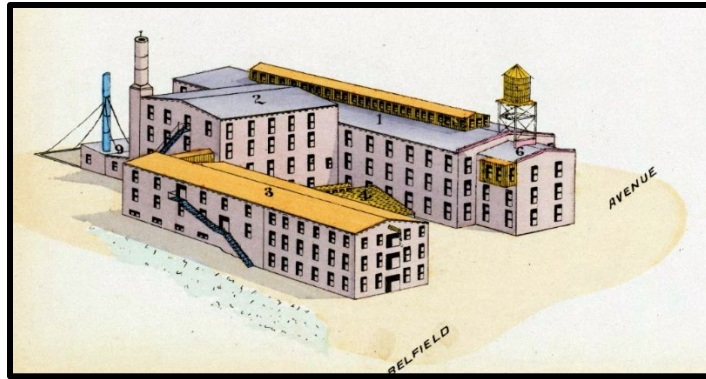


Figure 65. Top: A bird's eye view of the Bellevue Woolen Mills, showing Building Nos. 1 through 9, during the ownership of John Bromley and the tenancy of D. Greer. Figure 66. Center: The floor plan of the Bellevue Woolen Mills (with key). Figure 67. Bottom: Key. Source: Bellevue Woolen Mills, Plate 2218, Hexamer General Surveys, Volume 28, 1893.

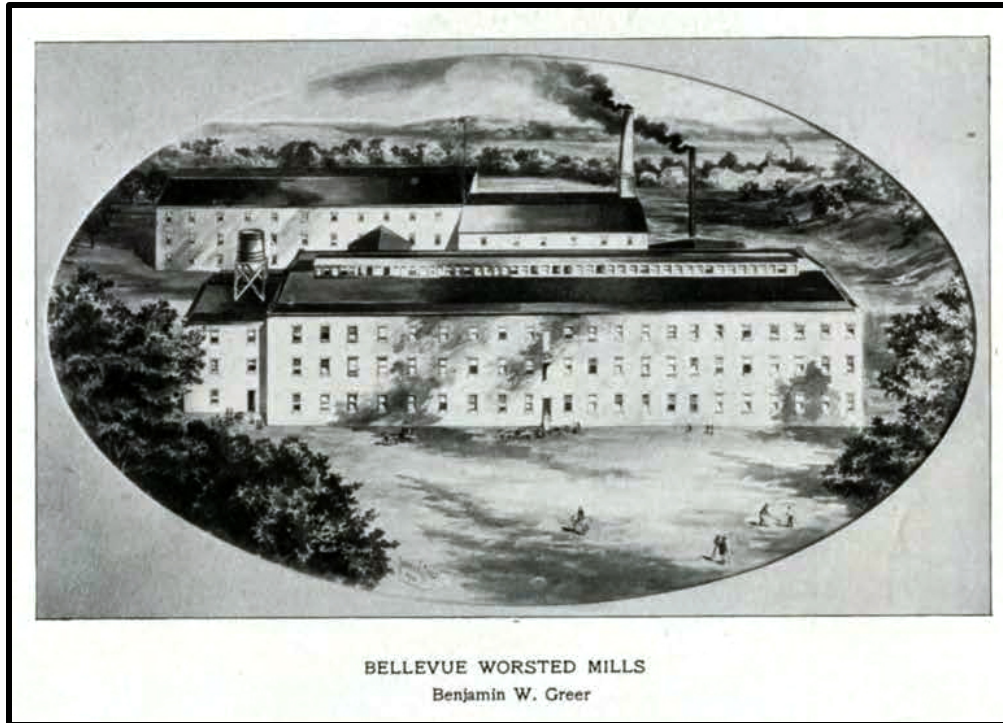


Figure 68. The Bellevue Worsted Mills of Benjamin W. Greer in a romanticized landscape, ca. 1899. Source: *Handsome Homes of Germantown, Chestnut Hill, Mt. Airy and Pelham, Leading Financial Institutions and Industrial Establishments* (Germantown: Press of Germantown Independent-Gazette, 1899).

Greer was certainly a successful mill owner, but his business operations were not without the heart wrenching problems of the era related to the labor movement. In fact, while he rewarded his highest earning spinners with gold watches in January 1893, the scene was drastically different by July 1893. Sixty weavers were on strike regarding reduced wages and poor working conditions. While Greer was combative in an interview with *The Philadelphia Inquirer* on the subject, he had been working towards making the workplace more equitable, and, even in 1893, appeared begrudgingly amenable to negotiations with his disgruntled employees.<sup>79</sup> Ultimately, the spinners and weavers returned to the woolen mills by late July, early August.<sup>80</sup> In 1894, Greer's labor practices were again called into question, as some young female hands were reportedly working 13-hour days, a controversial that appears to have been expediently resolved.<sup>81</sup> By 1896, Greer employed anywhere from 200 and 300 "hands" at the subject property.<sup>82</sup>

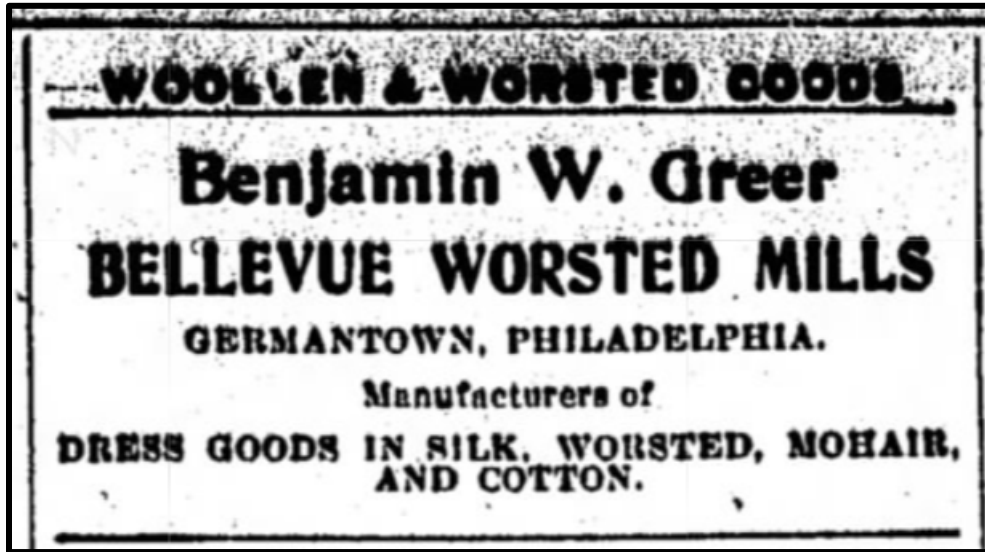
<sup>79</sup> "The Situation At Greer's," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 July 1893, 7.

<sup>80</sup> "Philadelphia Affairs," *The New Journal*, 26 July 1893, 2; and "Mill-Workers Busy," 5 August 1893, 4.

<sup>81</sup> "Working Overtime," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 21 December 1894, 3.

<sup>82</sup> "Germantown Celebration," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 October 1896, 3.

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**Rewarding Industry and Fidelity.**  
 Benjamin W. Greer, proprietor of the Bellevue Worsted Mills, of Germantown, wishing to reward industry and fidelity among his employes, has presented six of his weavers each with a handsome gold watch for having earned the highest wages during the past twelve months. The engineer and watchman were similarly rewarded. Each timepiece is handsomely engraved and bears an appropriate inscription.

**OTHER BENEFITS ACCORDED.**  
 "Everything has been done to make them comfortable, but they do not appreciate it. They have been too well cared for in past years and imagine that they are being imposed upon. We give them a ball annually on the first floor of the mill, costing at least \$250, and in addition last Christmas gave eight watches to the weavers making the highest wages for the year, simply to encourage them in their work. We also have been giving 10 per cent. additional on the amount of their tw... amounting in many cases to \$250, doing better than Philadelphia.

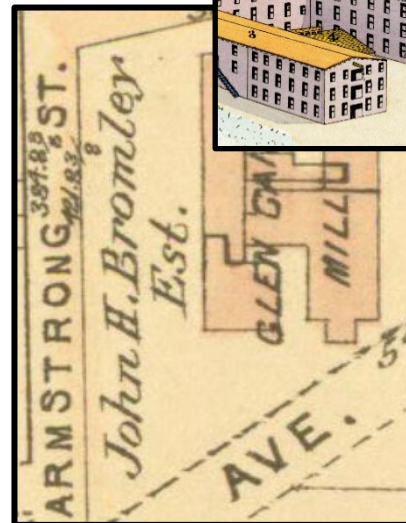
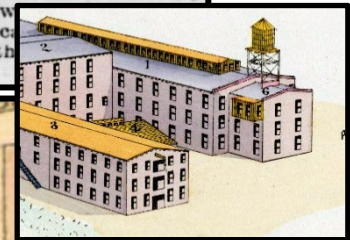


Figure 69. Top: An advertisement for the Bellevue Worsted Mills in 1898. Source: *Tyrone Daily Herald*, 21 February 1898, 51. Figure 70. Middle: Reports on the mills in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1893. Source: *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 January 1893, 4. Figure 71. Bottom left: *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*, 1895, G.W. Bromley. Figure 72. Bottom right: *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*, 1910, G.W. Bromley and Co., Plate 37.

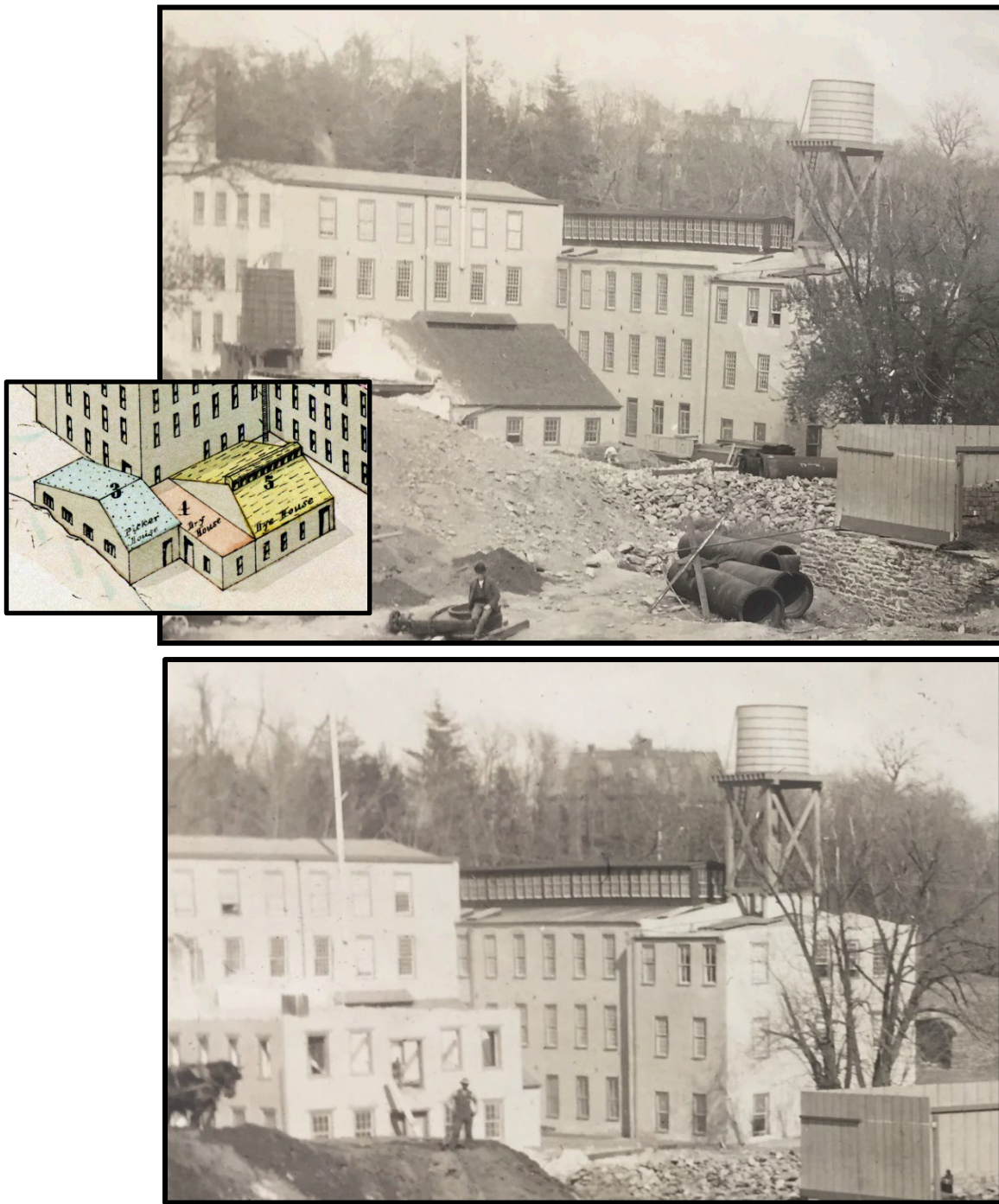
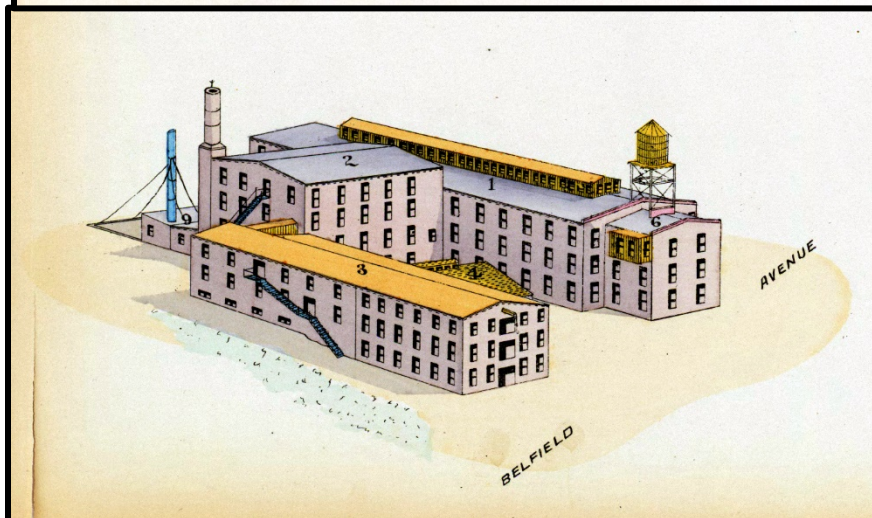
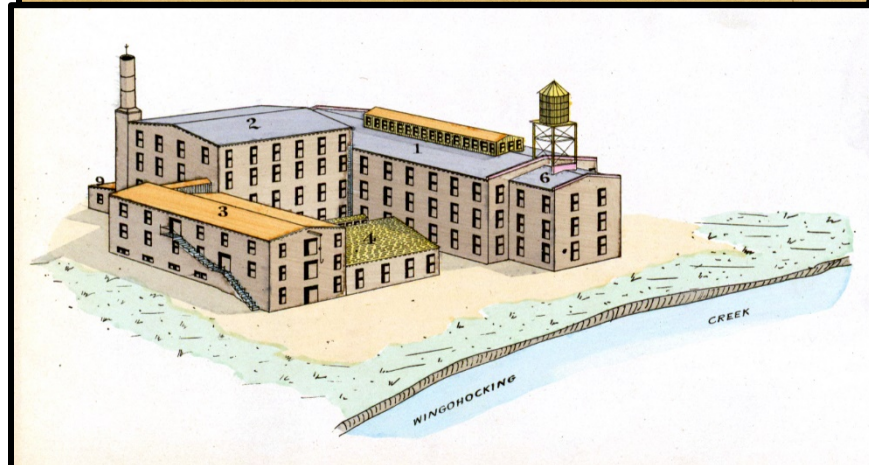
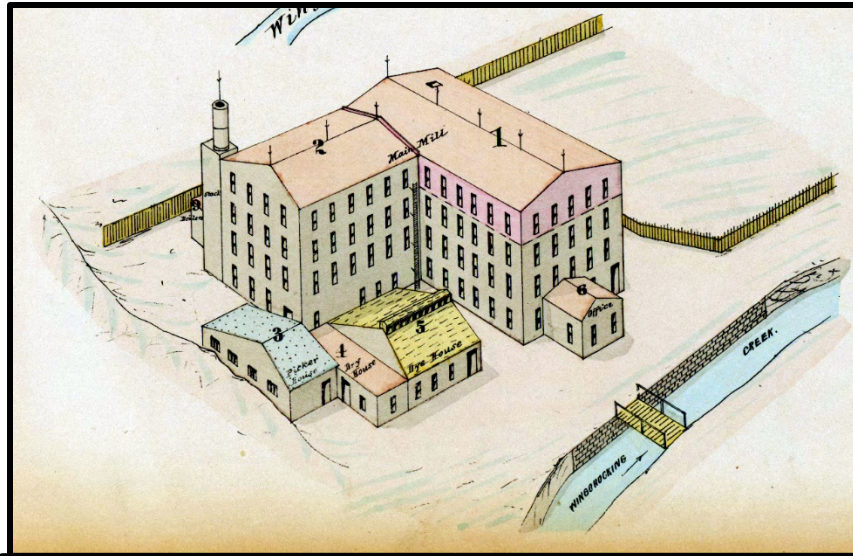


Figure 73. Top: Looking northeast in 1902 at the subject property showing the demolition of Building 3 next to the one-story Building 4 with Buildings 2, 1, and 6 in the background. Figure 74. Bottom: Looking northeast at the subject property showing the reconstruction of Building 3 in the foreground, and Building 2, 1, and 6 in the background. Source: Construction Photographs, Philadelphia Gas Company, City Archives of Philadelphia.



Figures 58, 60, and 65, Hexamer General Surveys, for the subject property in the following order: 1876, 1889, 1893. Source: Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network.

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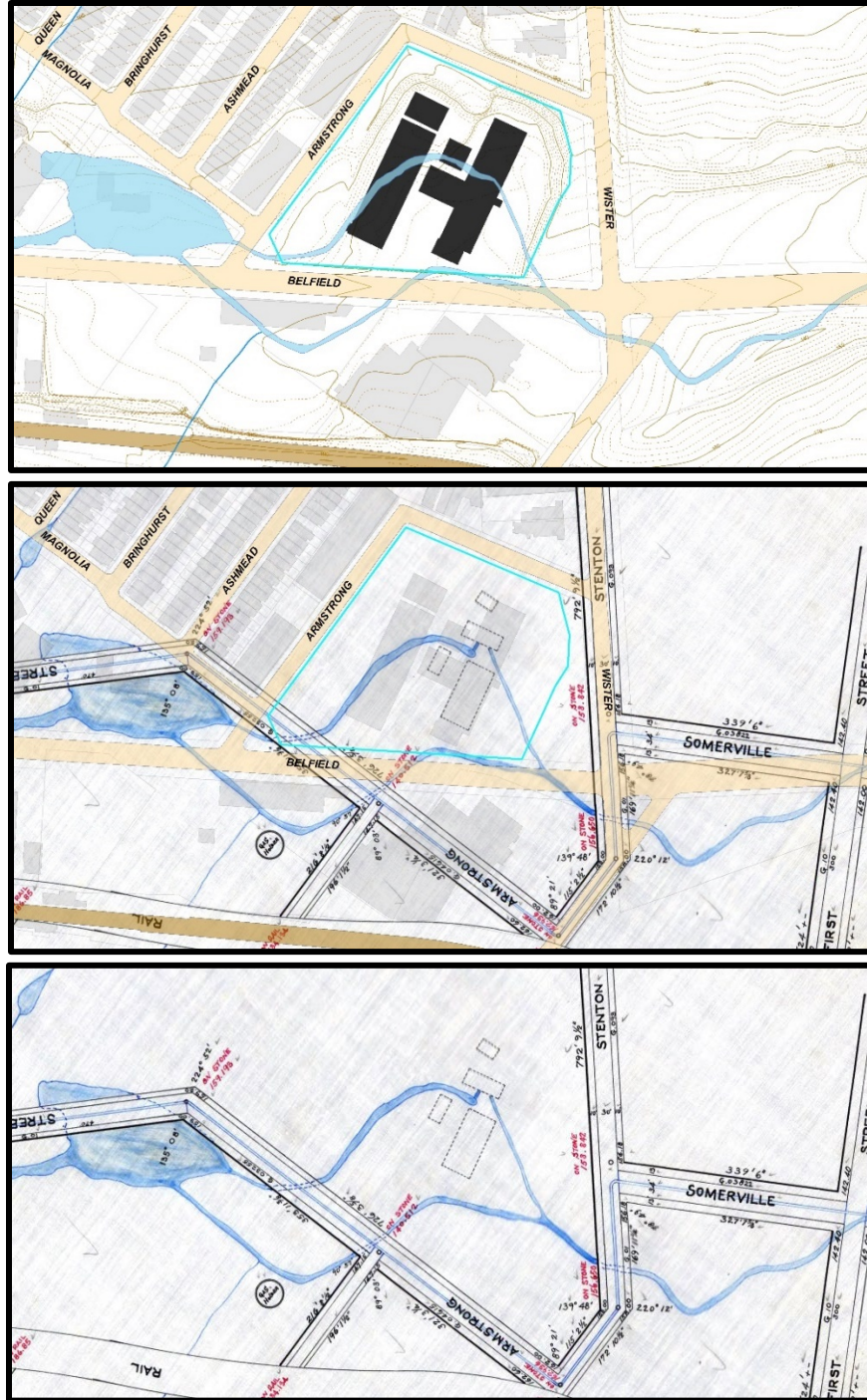


Figure 75. Top: 1861 City survey of the subject property during the Armstrong Glen Bank period which shows the approximate location of the Wingohocking Creek, Dannenhower’s mill pond, mill race and some the buildings at that time (not all buildings are included in the plan). Figure 76. Middle & Figure 77. Bottom: Georeferenced version of the same plan showing relation to current streets and buildings. Source: Jesse Lightfoot, “Plan of the Fifth Section...,” Philadelphia Streets Department, Survey and Designs Bureau.

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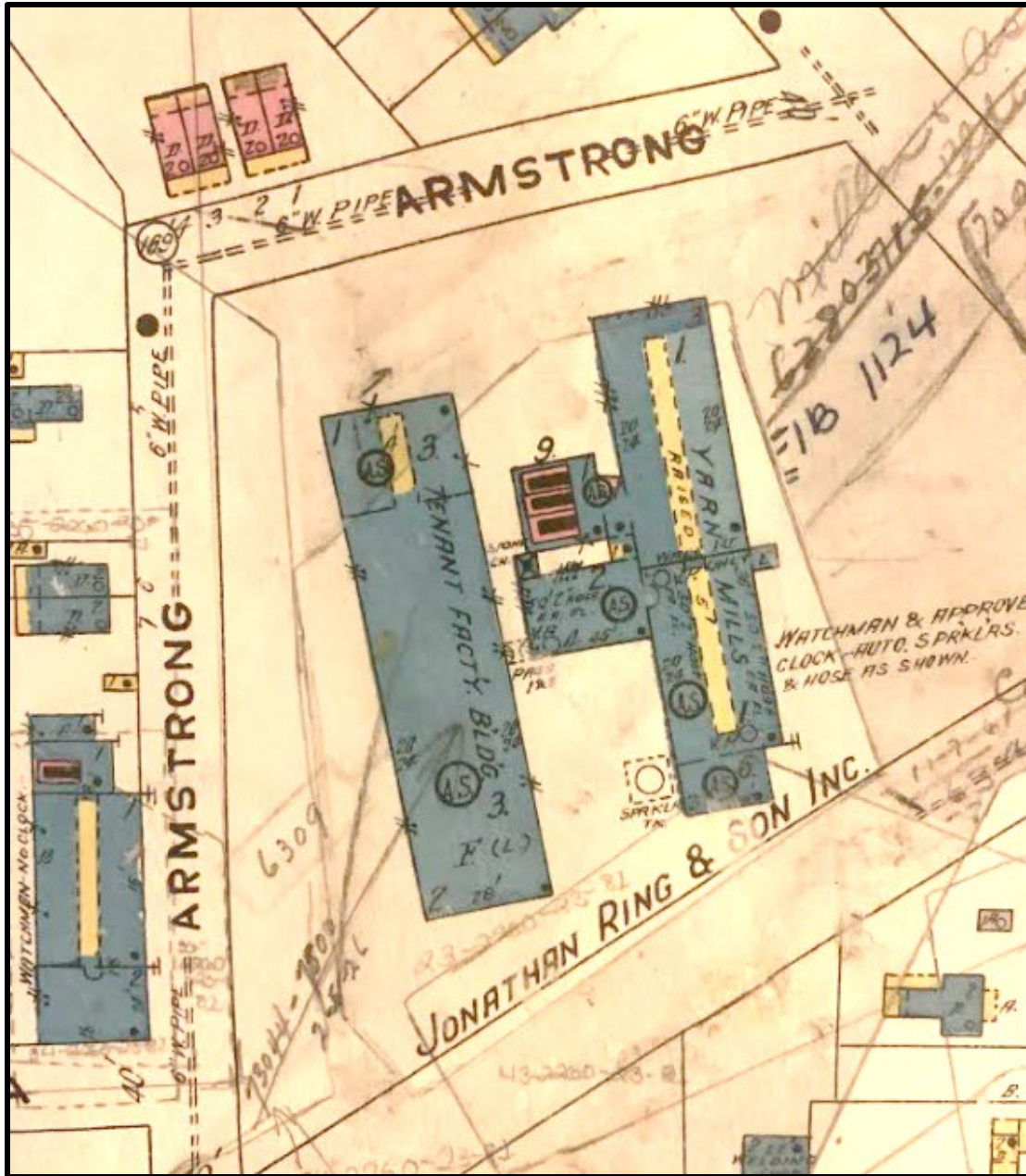


Figure 78. The subject property between 1924 and 1938, during the tenancy of Jonathan Ring & Son, Inc. Source: Map Company. Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, 1924 (updated through 1938).

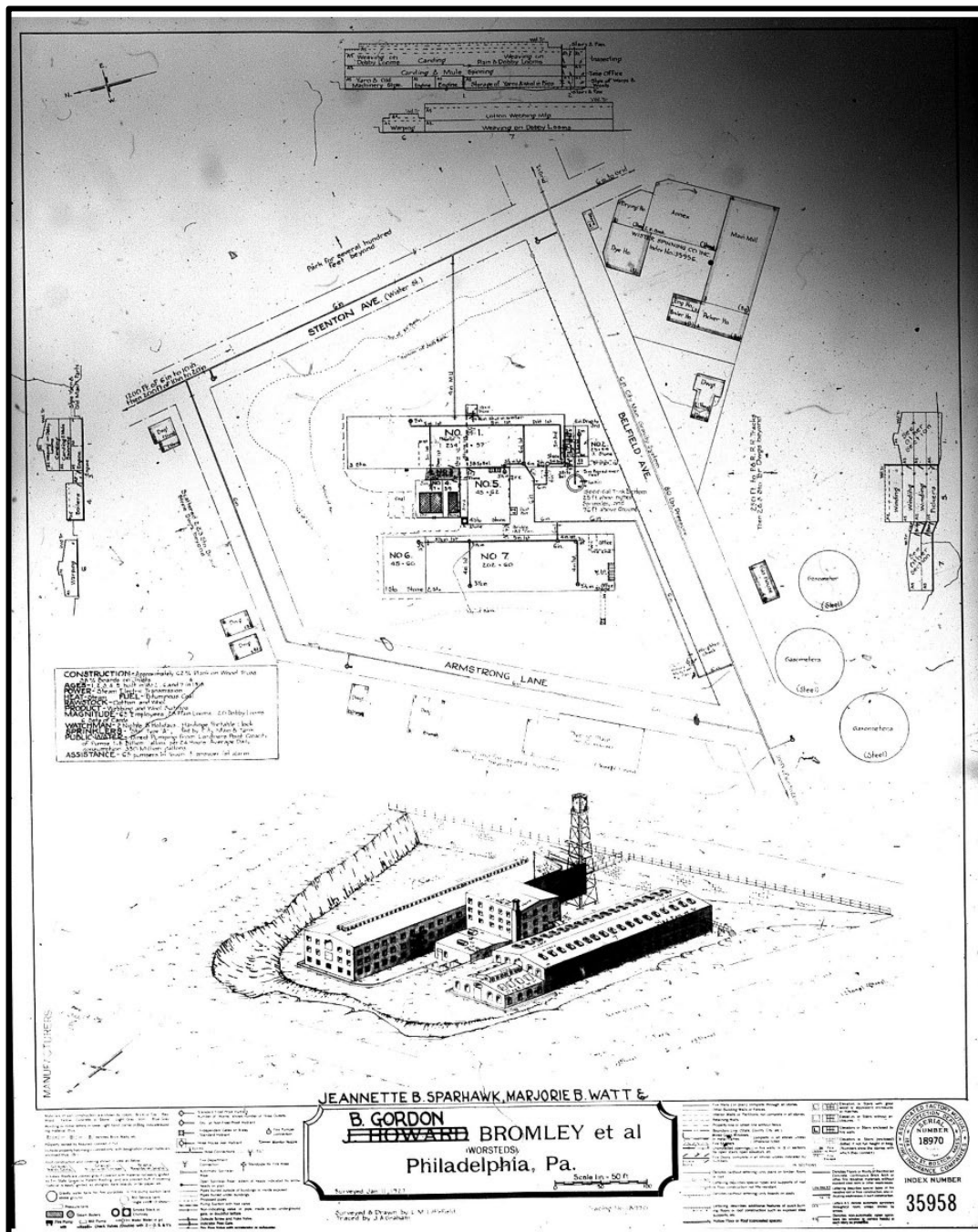
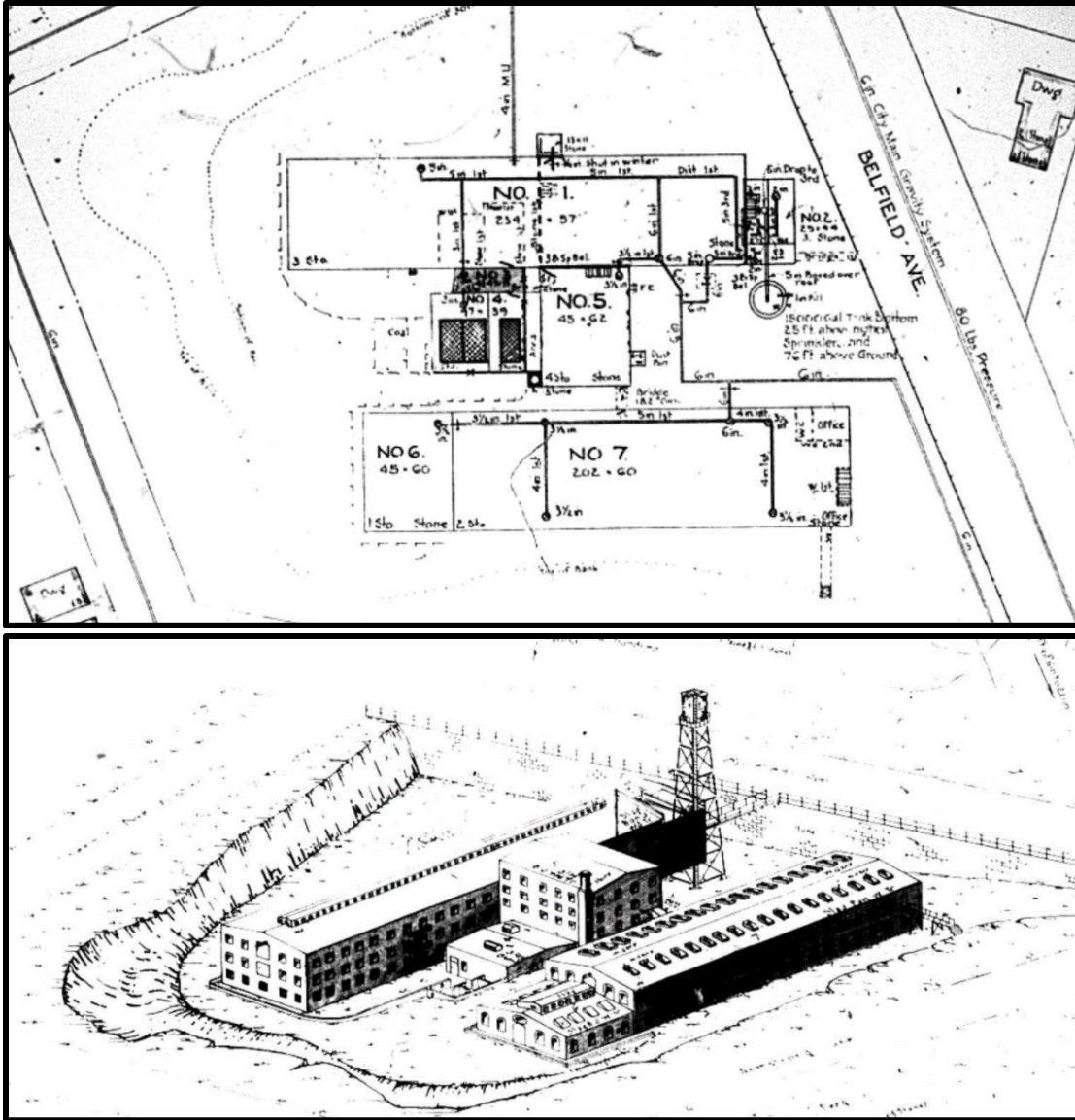
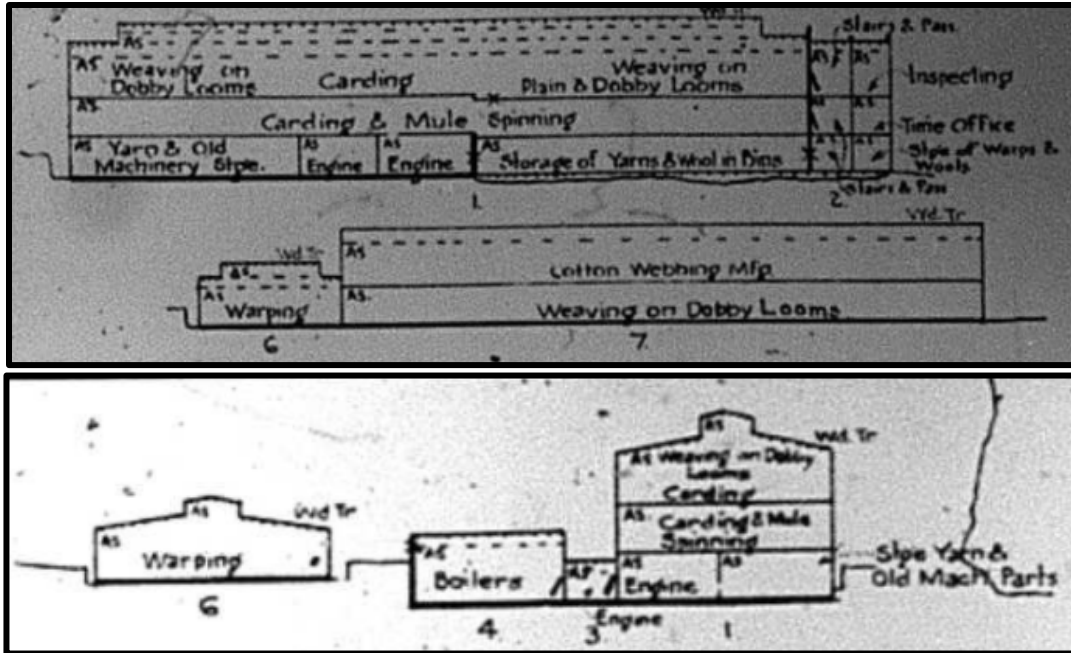


Figure 79. 1927 site survey by the Manufacturer's Mutual. Source: Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance Company industrial site surveys, 1894-1954.

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Excerpts from Figure 79, the floor plan of each building as well as a bird's eye view. Source: Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance Company industrial site surveys, 1894-1954.



Excerpts from Figure 79, manufacturing uses of the various structures in 1927. Top: Building 1 and 6 (at top) and Building 3 (at bottom). Bottom: Building 9 (at center) and Building 2 (on right). Source: Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance Company industrial site surveys, 1894-1954.

In 1902, Building 3 was partly demolished and replaced by a largely new two-story stone mill building. The new version of Building 3 was completed in 1903.<sup>83</sup> Benjamin W. Greer removed the Bellevue Worsted Mills from the subject property to a larger plant in 1917.<sup>84</sup> Soon after, the Bromleys let the subject property to Jonathan Ring & Son, Inc., well-established manufacturers of yarn, who occupied Buildings 1, 2, 7, 8, and 9.<sup>85</sup> Building 3 was a tenanted factory building, likely containing much smaller entities, which was a very common function of mill complexes, especially textile. Building 4 was demolished between 1903 and the 1920s. By 1927, Building 1 included engine rooms and storage for yarn and wool in bins on the first floor; carding and mule spinning on the second floor; and weaving on Dobby Looms, as well as carding on the third floor. Building 6 included the time and inspecting offices. Building 3 included weaving on Dobby Looms on the first floor and cotton webbing manufacturing on the second floor, as well as warping in a rear one-story addition at the north. Building 2 contained an engine room and storage on the ground floor; carding and mule spinning on the second floor; and weaving on Dobby Looms, as well as carding, on the third floor.<sup>86</sup> It appears that Ring’s yarn mills operated on the site until about 1938.<sup>87</sup> By the 1940s, the subject property was leased to the J.D.

<sup>83</sup> A building permit has not yet been located for this building. It appears in the property atlases between 1901 and 1911. The demolition is document in the Philadelphia Gas Works Photographs, CAP.

<sup>84</sup> “Manufacturing in Pennsylvania,” *The Textile American*, April 1917, 11.

<sup>85</sup> “1 Killed, 18 Injured In Trucks’ Crash,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 29 June 1921, 2.

<sup>86</sup> 1927 Manufacturer’s Mutual Survey.

<sup>87</sup> Sanborn Map Company. Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, 1924 (updated through 1938), Courtesy J.M. Duffin.

Murphy Woolen Mills and Cloth Mfg. The Bromley heirs let the mill to various woolen and yarn manufactures through 1969.

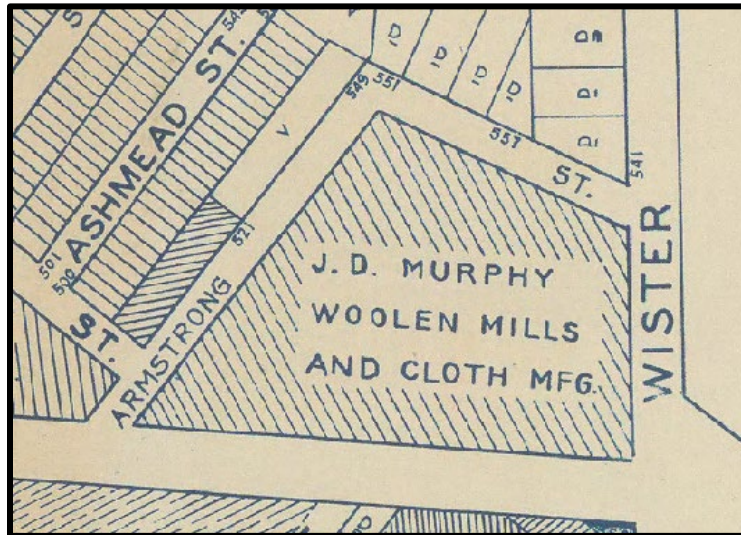


Figure 80. 1942 Land Use Maps, Works Progress Administration. Source: Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network.

163 years of textile manufacturing at the subject property came to an end in 1969 when the Bromley heirs sold the property to the Dittmar and Penn Corporation.<sup>88</sup> This did not, however, end the industrial use of the property. Dittmar and Penn was a Philadelphia surgical instruments company who moved to this location to expand their business. They manufactured surgical instruments here for both domestic and foreign markets until 1983 when they moved to Cheltenham. The founder of the company, Carrell G. Ziegler, donated the subject property to LaSalle University in 1983.<sup>89</sup>

## CONCLUSION

1984 marked the end of nearly 250 years of industrial use for the subject property. It is unique not only because of the long history of this use but also in that it has managed to survive over 280 years with elements of the buildings and grounds still intact. The site represents many signature, key aspects of Germantown's economic and, specifically, industrial heritage first as a paper mill, later a grist mill, one of the first textile mills in the area, and an important example of the growth of yarn manufacturing in Germantown after the Civil War. Its location on the Wingohocking Creek is a feature of the site that is preserved to this very day with the original ground level of the creek valley.

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<sup>88</sup> Deed: Stanley A. Rogers and Olivia Sparhawk Rogers, his wife; Mary Bromley Sparhawk, single woman; and Marjorie Bromley Watt, single woman, to Dittmar and Penn Corporation, for \$117,000, 21 February 1969, PDBk J.R.S., No. 352, p. 520, CAP.

<sup>89</sup> Deed: Dittmar and Penn Corporation to LaSalle College in the City of Philadelphia, for \$1, 20 December 1983, PDBk E.F.P., No. 923, p. 32, CAP; "Firm Leaving Phila. Gives Site to La Salle," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 7 February 1984, 48.

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Figure 81. Formerly at the west corner of Olney and Belfield Avenues, this is Harper's Hollow (demolished) in 1915, showing the remains of Thorp's Mill on left and dwellings of that community on right. Source: Shoemaker Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

**CRITERION J: "THE HOLLOW"—AN INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE OF GERMANTOWN**

Known at one time as "Sleepy Hollow," the physical terrain and setting of the subject property comprises a rare surviving historic landscape and place in the larger context of a highly urbanized built environment. While often associated with and/or surviving in rural outposts devoid of urbanity, the concept of a "hollow," perhaps most commonly associated today with industrial activities in West Virginia, was a landscape known in Philadelphia, especially at Germantown and its immediate environs. While it may seem obvious, it is important to state that a "hollow" is essentially a cavity or "a depressed or low part of a surface," such as "a small valley or basin" that often surrounds a waterway and/or body of water. Due to the associated power source required for industry in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was in such landscapes that settlers, small producers, entrepreneurs, and industrialists set up mills and other manufacturing operations. The subject property is one of the few surviving and intact specimen of that once commonly known landscape, speaking to the cultural, economic, and social heritage of the community.

Along with the subject property, several other industrial complexes occupied so-called hollows or glens or even small valleys along creeks and tributes such as the Wingohocking. These landscapes included the Germantown Yarn Mill (Figure 85) that stood on the west side of the Wingohocking Creek at East Wister Street; Harper's Hollow (Figure 81) in East Germantown on Thorp's Lane; the famous old Robert's Mill (Figure 82) on Church Lane (formerly Mill Street); Scatcherd's Mill on East Cheltenham Avenue above Morton Street; the Wakefield Mills at Fisher's Hollow (Figures 53, 87, 88, 89, and 90) on Fisher's Lane (now East Logan Street near Belfield Avenue); the Wingohocking Hosiery Mills (Figure 86) on

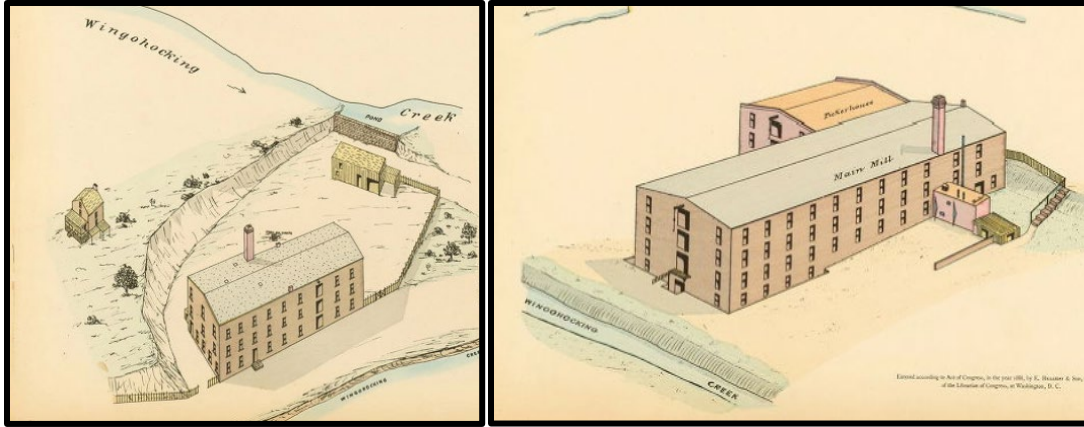
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the Wingohocking Creek at East Penn Street; Wister's Print Works in East Germantown; etc. Other hollows included Frog Hollow (Figure 84) and Happy Hollow, which were once quarries.



Figure 82. Top: Looking southeast, Robert's Mill, built in stages, on Church Lane (formerly Mill Street) was one of the oldest in Pennsylvania. It too was set within a creek valley, along a tributary of the Wingohocking. Source: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Figure 83. Bottom left: A small mill or dwelling at Kitchen's Hollow in 1889 near Germantown. Source: The Germantown Historical Society. Figure 84. Bottom right: An old industrial and/or domestic structures at Frog Hollow. Source: Frog Hollow from Edge of Rodger's Woods (undated) by Herbert Pullinger via the Woodmere Art Museum.

While some of these individual landscapes are documented by their once-familiar monikers, others have no doubt been lost to time. In fact, the subject property's identity as Sleepy Hollow has long since been lost to history, though the name appears on a photograph taken by C.J. Wister in 1858. Other less fortunate industrial outposts are lost to memory and history alike. Nevertheless, the siting was these mill sites was once a requirement in the pre-industrial era.



Both located along the Wingohocking near the subject property, the mills shown above are located in the immediate creek valley. Figure 85. Left: This 1875 Hexamer General Survey of the Germantown Yarn Mill shows that it was built within a hollow along the Wingohocking Creek near the subject property. Figure 86. Right: This 1887 Hexamer General Survey of Louis Shoefield’s Yarn Mill illustrates that the building was also located in the creek valley not far from the subject property, the building itself rising from low ground with rising land at the rise. Source: Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network.

Preserved in part as a city-owned park at 5850 Ogontz Avenue in the East Germantown (formerly Bristol Township) section of Northwest Philadelphia, Harper’s Hollow (Figure 81) was a quintessential landscape, where the rural environs of the area met with early industrial enterprise. The sylvan and undulating creek valley that comprised the mill site included several creeks (i.e. Harper’s Creek), a mill pond, a mill race, waterfalls, dwellings, and, naturally, industrial buildings that included ancient mill. Once home to the Weber and Thorp Mills, the larger landscape of Harper’s Hollow was largely leveled in the first years of the twentieth century for “improvements” that included a sewer system and a trolley line.<sup>90</sup>

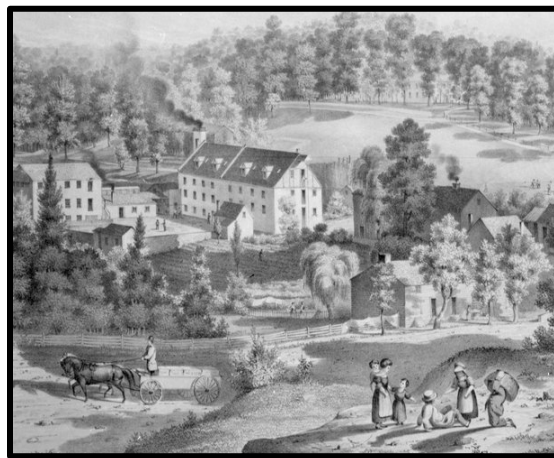


Figure 87. The Wakefield Manufacturing Company at Fisher’s Hollow. Source: World Digital Library.

<sup>90</sup> “Picturesque Philadelphia Must Give Way To Modern Improvements,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 June 1900, 48.

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Figure 88. Top: “The Old Power Mill” at Fisher’s Hollow. Source: The Germantown Historical Society. Figure 89. Bottom left: An old building of Fisher’s Hollow, showing the rising landscape in the background. Source: Photograph taken by John G. Bullock in 1913, via the Library Company of Philadelphia. Figure 90. Bottom right: Wakefield Mills at Fisher’s Hollow. Source: Photograph taken by John G. Bullock in 1913, via the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Another exemplar, Fisher’s Hollow was located closer to Germantown, near the subject property, at the present-day juncture of East Logan Street (formerly Fisher’s Lane) and Belfield Avenue. Here the Fisher family established one of the early textile mills of the region, which by the late nineteenth century contained numerous buildings both industrial and domestic. One structure was even said to have served as a “Powder Mill” in the American Revolution. Utilizing at least one earlier building, the Fishers established the Wakefield Mills on that site by 1820. The firm was later renamed the Wakefield Manufacturing Company. Aside from one building, the roadway, and possibly some natural features, this landscape too was obliterated under the guise of progress.

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This nomination was completed by the Keeping Society of Philadelphia with Oscar Beisert, Architectural Historian and Historic Preservationist, as the primary author with assistance from J.M. Duffin, Archivist and Historian, and Kelly E. Wiles, Architectural Historian.

The following sites were used to create the nomination:

Ancestry.com

Germantown Historical Society

Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Newspapers.com

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