GERMANTOWN CRIER





Dr. George Bensell, 1757-1827

This colored sketch (horse, brown, mane, black; wheel and trappings, red; gig body green, hood black) is thought to have been a "self-portrait" presented as a gesture of friendship to Charles Jones Wister, Sr.

IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH:

Some Highlights of Medical Practice in Germantown's Past

by Steven J. Peitzman, M.D. and Lisabeth M. Holloway

The thirteen Palatine families who settled Germantown in 1683 brought no physician with them. Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651-1719?), as their agent and "learned man," included in his commonplace books extracts from professional texts, lists of medicinal herbs and popular aphorisms which summarize their household medicine. One of these aphorisms reads, "The best physicians are Doctor Diet, Doctor Merriment and Doctor Quiet."

Germantown's first physician of note was Christopher Witt, 1675-1765, a varied and colorful personality. Born in England, he came to Germantown in 1704, to join the "Hermits of the Wissahickon," a little colony of mystics. His portrait of their leader, Johannes Kelpius, is thought to be the earliest oil painting produced in Pennsylvania. Witt practiced, astrology (he was called "Magus" or "Hexmeister"), which he regarded as adding to his medical skills a dimension superior to the common, or Vulgar, practice.

When the hermits dispersed, Witt moved into the village, to a small house with a large garden. Here, according to Harshberger, he established what was "probably the first botanical garden in America, antedating Bartram's celebrated garden by 20 years." He developed a close friendship with Bartram, and corresponded with Peter Collinson of London, who spoke warmly of him as a naturalist. During the winters, he built pipe organs, clocks — tower clocks and tall clocks — a microscope and a telescope, with the aid of his slave Robert, and several apprentices, including Christopher Saur, the printer. He

The Se May Inform cell whom it might Concern That M. John Kaighin of Halpfield in the Provence of well new Jerley, hath Lived with Me (here under named) a confiderable time, as a Dikeple, to Learn the Arts of Mysteries of Chymistry, Physick of the Strat Liences, whereby to make a more perfect Discovery of the Hidden causes of More Occult of uncommon Diseases, not so ensity to be discovered by the Valgar Practice. In all which he has been very Distingent of Studious, as well as in the Chaministeration of the Medecines, of in this various (refee; wherein his Judgment may be safely depended upoit all things. So for as he follows my Instructions. And Hope he may in all things answer the Considerate that may be reposed in him.

Germantown Febr: 20, 1758.

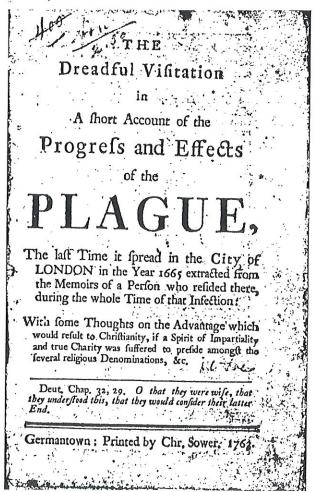
Reproduced from Packard's History of Medicine, v. I, p. 277.

*Based on a presentation delivered by the authors at the meeting of the American Association for the History of Medicine, May 3, 1987. As noted in Sources at the conclusion of this paper, the authors are heavily indebted to the work of I. Pearson Willits, M.D.. We have also drawn upon various papers written by one or both of us, some of which have appeared in the Crier.

granted a certificate to "Mr. John Kaighin of Hatnfield in the Province of West New Jersey," who "hath lived with me...a considerable time, as a Disciple, to Learn the Arts & Mysteries of Chymistry, Physick, & the Astral Sciences, whereby to make a more perfect discovery of the Hidden causes of more occult & uncommon Diseases, not so easily to be discovered by the Vulgar Practice."

Robert nursed him to the great age of 90, and at his death Witt left 60 pounds to the Pennsylvania Hospital. In spite of his English origins, his is a classic (and romantic) Germanic image. Even Benjamin Rush, 40 years after his death, spoke of him as "an old German physician," and incidentally attributed his longevity to his lifelong habit of sleeping in a warmed room. Local legends arose that his friendly spirits were seen dancing round his grave.

Several German medical works were issued from the Saur press before the Revolution, as well as broadsides advertising drugs for sale at their shop, some specifically to physicians. Medical advice was contained in Saur's almanacs. Receipts for remedies are found in Germantown domestic manuscripts, and family letters describe sicknesses. Much "doctoring" was done at home, as nowadays.



This 16-page pamphlet is an abridgement of Journal of the Plague-Year, attributed to Daniel Defoe. Title-page of the Society's copy.

The Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777, left an unknown number of British wounded, cared for by their own surgeons. Several houses and larger buildings are known to have been pressed into service as temporary hospitals. The retreating Americans took most of their wounded with them, leaving the more seriously injured at churches, school-houses and farms to the north and west, and sending the rest on by wagon to Bethlehem. Those who died here were buried under British supervision, the graves being generally unmarked.

The great medical event of the late 1700's and early 1800's in Philadelphia was of course the recurrent epidemics of yellow fever. Germantown, at a distance of six miles from the center of the disaster, was not directly affected. A very few yellow fever victims died here, but the disease did not spread, and this fortunate circumstance brought

Germantown into wider public attention.

In the late summer of 1793, during the first epidemic, President Washington became anxious about the conduct, or non-conduct, of national affairs in the nearly deserted city of Philadelphia. He came from Mount Vernon to Germantown, renting the house of Colonel Isaac Franks for several weeks till the frost wiped out the disease and it was safe to return to the city. The following summer, he and Mrs. Washington spent a longer period in the same house. Jefferson and Randolph and others of the government also rented rooms in the village, and the State government came here. Public attention was thus called to the supposed healthfulness of Germantown, and for some years afterwards boarding schools in the city advertised that they spent the summers in this salutary place. Some city people took vacation lodgings here. Two medical families were of consequence in Germantown from mid-18th century to mid-19th: the Bensells, called Benzelius in their native Sweden, and the Bettons, from Jamaica, who may have been of French origin. As Christopher Witt exemplified the Germanic medical traditions of the 17th and early 18th centuries in Germantown, so the Bensells and Bettons represented mid-18th to mid-19th century professional medicine. Charles Bensell (1725-1795) was born and died in Germantown, and is said to have been the only physician in the place for some years. Two sons succeeded him in practice, Charles, who died young, as did several other doctors in the town, and George (1757-1827). George Bensell was a gentleman of culture, "highly intelligent, genial and agreeable," given to exchanging poetry and sketches with his friends, a Director of the Germantown Bank, and a trustee of the Germantown Academy.

Dr. Samuel Betton, Sr., retired to his native Jamaica and died there, leaving Samuel, Jr., MD U Pa. 1808, the family practice in Germantown. He in turn passed it on to his son, Thomas Forrest Betton, MD U Pa 1832. The two latter Bettons were early collectors of antique medical books. In 1856, Thomas presented to the College of Physicians 1,265 17th and 18th century works, including some 50 classic volumes in natural history. Thomas served at Cuyler Hospital in Germantown during the Civil War. Between the temporary hospitals of the Revolution and the Civil War, only the Almshouse provided institutional medical care in Germantown. The Almshouse population averaged about twenty aged or indigent residents of the township. (Non-residents, especially unmarried pregnant women, were literally dumped outside the borough limits by the thrifty Overseers of the Poor; and neighboring boroughs returned the favor in kind.)

The Almshouse was medically staffed on a contract basis by bid, the physician being expected to furnish his own medicines. In 1825, Theodore Ashmead, MD U Pa 1822, won the contract at a bid of \$28; and again in 1826, at \$24; but in 1828 Dr. William Runkle took it away at a bid of \$18. In 1832, the cholera year, Dr. Runkle was in office. He objected to caring for the cholera patients as not in his contract, but, since the number was small, he later withdrew his objection. (One reason for the small number was that the Almshouse authorities excluded laborers on the railroad who contracted the disease. The railroad then built them a small structure along the right of way. Who took care of them, and with what result, is not known to us.) After the epidemic was over, the town apothecary presented a bill of \$11.23 for cholera medicines, which Doctor Runkle at first refused to pay. His wife died two years later, of cholera, and he himself died in 1836, at an early age.

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Civil War Hospitals. In the summer of 1863, as Lee's men moved toward Pennsylvania, Philadelphia made preparation for armed invasion. When the invasion came, it consisted of the wounded from Gettysburg, brought here by train, often without medical attention since the rough first-aid of the battlefield. Casualties of the Virginia campaigns also arrived, often by Sanitary Commission steamers. Pennsylvania was one of the states which had petitioned to care for its own casualties, who were brought here to recuperate. Total numbers of wounded cared for in Philadelphia, including some Confederates, are estimated at 157,000 throughout the war. The city had at war's end, 24 military hospitals, with a capacity of 14,500 beds. Civilian contract physicians supplemented the Army surgeons.

Germantown had turned its Town Hall into an Army hospital, named Cuyler, and built pavilions around it, to accommodate 630 beds. Cuyler was staffed almost entirely by Germantown physicians, most of whom were graduates of Pennsylvania or Jefferson. Homeopaths or other medical heretics were absolutely excluded. What are now called social and support services were provided by churches and citizens of the town. To some extent, these volunteers counteracted the sins of omission and commission of the paid nursing attendants, who were constantly under

reproof for drunkenness and misbehavior.

About two miles away, Mower Hospital, the second largest of Philadelphia's military hospitals, accommodated something over 3,000 casualties, especially after Gettysburg. Several civilian physicians from the area, mostly Quakers, rounded up squads of volunteer nurses, and went to Gettysburg, where the wounded and dying lay on the battlefield as long as two days before receiving attention.

One Germantown lady wrote her experiences as one of these volunteer nurses.

Before the Civil War, Germantown's physicians were remembered as much, or more, for their personalities and their community standing as for their medical services. Afterwards, the health care delivery system, to anticipate a phrase, began to change, slowly at first, moving toward a less individualistic, more institutionalized, more standardized form.

The 1860's: Drs. Rhoads and Wister. In the growing Germantown of this decade, the two most popular doctors were James E. Rhoads and Owen Jones Wister, vintage Philadelphia names both and both graduates of the University of Pennsylvania's medical school. They illustrate something of medical practice in an emerging suburb and mill town.

Rhoads (1828-1895) since 1854 had established himself well, attracting especially Quaker patients. On November 22, 1860, he wrote to his wife, who was out of town: "[I am] busy busy as ever ... old John Wister sent for me [later I] was called to see Amos Cope and did not reach home til nearly 12 midnight." Two days later: "Busy all day ... living in office and dining room." Elsewhere, Rhoads refers to the summer as the "very busy season." Weakening under the "over-whelming amount of labor my practice devolves upon me," he decided to take a partner, a former co-resident at Pennsylvania Hospital:

I hardly suppose [he wrote several days later] that any offer I can make could induce Dr. [James] Darrach to join me at the cost of leaving all his present associations and pursuits and really working hard as we suburban Doctors must if we earn our bread.



James E. Rhoads, 1828-1895

By 1862 Rhoads' health had broken and he gave up practice for Quaker pursuits. He devoted the post-Civil War years to relief and missionary work for freed blacks and Indians. Later he would be the first president of Bryn Mawr College.

Owen Jones Wister (1825-1896), the father of the novelist, set up practice in his native Germantown about

1852, and like Rhoads became steadily well patronized. In March of 1866 Wister wrote (at 11 o'clock at night) to his absent wife that he had a sore throat, but had been out all day seeing patients — thirty in all; and there was still a chance of spending the night away from home, "between a case of smallpox and one of obstetrics." A letter of 1867 reports getting home late at night after "forty visits at great distances. I am very well, but naturally used up for the present, as this is about the pace for the last one week."



Owen Jones Wister, 1825-1896

Wister, like Rhoads, "burned out": his wife recalled later that one day in 1868 "he made them [rounds] for the last time for years. He came in at evening and found he could not write a prescription; his nervous system had gone to pieces." Wister enjoyed several years of travel, then returned to a more limited practice in Branchtown (a neighborhood well northof his home). "Germantown was too full of painful associations; his patients chafed under his refusal to see them."

Until recently, doctoring was centered in the home, and thirty or forty house calls would have tired a man and his horses (Wister needed three for his outdoor visiting). While Rhoads and Wister may have both suffered from an excess of dedication and popularity, in part their "suburban" setting must have been a factor in their breakdowns. Germantown had grown by the 1860's, but it lacked the row-house density of the central city, so a sizeable practice by necessity was spread out, along Main Street, up and down the cross streets, and into neighboring Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill.

Rhoads and Wister were two of the three physicians who joined some of Germantown's other prominent citizens to found the Germantown Dispensary, which began operations in 1864, renting a floor of a building on Germantown Avenue near Armat Street (still standing as 5603/05). As the Germantown Dispensary and Hospital from 1870, it was one of the few early Philadelphia hospitals founded as a community effort, not derived from a religious denomination. Its growth forms an essential part of the

story of medicine in Germantown, and readers may refer to the recent history by Mark Frazier Lloyd (A History of Caring for the Sick Since 1863: The Germantown Hospital and Medical Center, published by the Hospital in 1981).

Germantown's Medical "Three D's" and the Germantown Medical Club. The withdrawal in the 1860's of Rhoads and Wister opened the field, and by 1868 there were just over 20 regular practitioners in Germantown. Emerging as the successors to Rhoads and Wister were Germantown's medical "Three D's": James Darrach (1828-1923), Robert N.Downs (1830-1920), and William Rush Dunton (1831-1911). The three had worked together at Cuyler Civil War hospital, and chose to stay on. Born within a few years of one another, Darrach, Downs, and Dunton shared a robust longevity: each practiced for at least fifty years in Germantown. For a very long time, the established residents — and often newcomers too — called one of the three D's to their home when illness arose. Darrach, the partner lured to Germantown by Rhoads, took over many of Wister's patients as well. It was said that Darrach required six horses to complete his rounds; Wister had tired out only three in his day!

The D's and other regular doctors of Germantown in the 19th century were both part of their larger communities, civic and medical, and one unto themselves. Several were fellows of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia and members of the county and state medical societies. Many served at the Dispensary and Hospital, or at other charitable neighborhood institutions. In 1879 they formed the Germantown Medical Club, its objects being "the circulation of books and journals and the holding of monthly meetings for the reading of papers on medical subjects, and discussion of same." From their practice they presented cases of "urethral hemorrhage" (R. M. Deaver), "paralysis" (Dr. Lovejoy), "wound of heart" (A. F. Mueller),

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Visiting list of Josephus Cornelius Gilbert, 1832-1895. Page for the first week of May, 1887.

"premature birth of twins" (W. Darrach), persistent headache following the passage of renal calculi" (R. Bolling), and "Fallopian pregnancy" (W. R. Dunton). In 1881 the Club bought a microscope, and the minutes record that in December Drs. Darrach, Potter and Garrett "exhibited under the microscope some specimens of interstitial nephritis." So these were serious local doctors, swapping cases once a month, gazing into a newly-bought microscope, no doubt sharing some sherry, and gravely considering and voting upon new members. One Spring day in 1899 some of the members of the Germantown Medical Club posed for a photographic portrait at the Germantown Cricket Club.

Germantown Medicine in the 1880's. Not every doctor could get into the Germantown Medical Club—it accepted regularly trained, white, male physicians. But the medical profession of the district was becoming more varied. We may choose 1887 to accent, but also broaden the portrait, to include other sorts of doctors and some

patients.

The Medical Directory of Philadelphia for 1887 showed in Germantown 29 regular physicians, and 11 homeopathic, a high ratio of new to old school adherents. Over one-third of these had graduated medical school within ten years of their 1887 listing: clearly many young practitioners saw the community as a favorable place to begin practice. Most of the "regular" physicians, young or old, were products of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine. Directories of the 1880's showed no Botanic, Eclectic, Electropathic, or Magnetic physicians in the neighborhood. In 1881 a Mrs. L. Idell of Germantown was "Proprietress of Dr. Upperman's Herb Medicines." One Christian Kinzel of Germantown appeared in 1884 under "Cuppers and Leechers." One can presume that the district offered as well some quacks and many other sorts of marginal practitioners.

But the modern medical world was approaching Germantown. In 1887, three doctors included a Bell telephone number in their listing. Six of the 40 or so physicians listed a specialty, such as "spinal and nervous disease," "chronic diseases," and "ear, throat and lungs."

Several were surgeons.

At least one woman doctor of some note practiced in central Germantown from 1882 to 1885. She was Mary Willits (1855-1902), an 1881 honors graduate of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, and the first woman voted into the Philadelphia County Medical Society. Nothing is known of Dr. Willits' few years in Germantown; later, she practiced downtown, then joined the staff of Norristown State Hospital. (One Harriet L. Hopkins, [d. 1912], an 1869 graduate of the Woman's Medical College, is shown residing at 4461 Germantown Avenue in the early 1880's, but seems to have practiced mainly at a center city office.)

By the 1890's, a small black community existed in Germantown in the segment called "Pulaskitown." William H. Warrick (1867-1940), an 1891 black graduate of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, have flourished at 31 Harvey Street from about 1895. A later successful black physician was Charles P. Stubbs (1880-1935), whose office was at 218 West Coulter. Stubbs was a 1911 graduate of the Medico-Chirurgical College, an extinct but respectable medical school of Philadelphia that was more open to blacks and Jews than were Pennsylvania

Homeopathy, devised by Samuel Hahnemann in the early 19th century, is a therapeutic system based on the theory that "like cures like," and that suitable remedies are most effective when given in extremely diluted amounts. The system gained widespread popularity and competed successfully with "orthodox" medicine in late 19th-century America. Homeopathy was introduced into Germantown by one George Elliger (1802-1878) in the middle 1840's. The Germantown homeopaths in the later 19th century display how homeopathy was both an alternative medical system and a parallel profession. In 1879, the year in which the regulars founded the Germantown Medical Club, the eight or so neighborhood Hahnemannians formed the Homeopathic Medical Club of Germantown. Similarly, a Germantown Homeopathic Dispensary was established in 1869. Socially, the established homeopathic doctors of Germantown were in the main stream: some had offices (like the regulars) on Germantown Avenue, and several were listed in Boyd's Blue Book for Philadelphia. Prominent Germantown homeopathic doctors of the later 19th century included John Malin, William Malin, Daniel Karsner, Mahlon M. Walker, and William Tomlinson.

During the 19th century, medical care in Germantown had achieved a rich diversity — practitioners of old Quaker lineage, young recent graduates, a few women and blacks, homeopaths, free dispensaires and hospitals, druggists' proprietary medicines, and probably other sorts of healers who have left no trace. This diversity reflected perfectly the diversity of the community: suburb and manufacturing district, home to black and white, prosperous and impoverished, ancient families and callow immigrants.

In May of 1881 a patient with pulmonary complaints appeared for a consultation with elite Germantown physician, writer and educator Henry Hartshorne (1823-1897), by then partly retired from practice in order to devote more time to Quaker activities. Hartshorne's note to the "referring" physician describes how percussion and auscultation yielded a differential diagnosis of "chronic pneumonia" versus "cirrhosis of the lung." Hartshorne prescribed a trip to Florida, aromatic sulphuric acid ten drops thrice daily in water, fewer cigars, less alcohol, "open air as much as possible," and flannels to protect the chest. In other letters Hartshorne comments on patients with morphine addiction and alcoholism.

The Germantown Historical Society owns a set of visiting-list books of J. C. Gilbert, a physician of nearby Chestnut Hill. These are a fascinating source that would be even better if Gilbert had followed the directions and listed his patients' findings and diagnosis where instead he listed his charges. At any rate, we can learn something of his practice. On Sunday, May 1, 1887, Gilbert listed 120 patients, of whom he saw as many as 40 in one day, throughout Chestnut Hill, Mount Airy, and Germantown. A few he attended daily, others every other day, and often he saw several members of one family. Geriatrics was an important part of his practice: he lists many patients such as "Old Mrs. Hansberry" or "Old Mrs. Macfarlane." Ministering to the other extreme of life, Gilbert performed 55 deliveries from January to June of 1887. He recorded parents' names and fathers' occupations: his practice comprised carpenters, merchants, gardeners, laborers, masons, farmers, salesmen, policemen, plumbers, and manufacturers. The surnames suggest diverse ethnic backgrounds.

The working poor or unemployed sought care at the free Germantown Dispensary or Hospital. On the 11th of June of 1880, the Federal census-taker called upon the little hospital on Penn Street, and counted the staff and patients. Resident physician W. Evans Casselberry, matron Mary E. Booth, two nurses (one male and one female) and three servants had charge of 19 patients that day. Only five were native-born, the rest mostly Irish immigrants. The oldest was 64, the youngest 14, but most were in their 20's to 40's. There were several domestics, gardeners, laborers, one housewife, one wool-sorter, one wheelwright, one candymaker, one "scholar" and one tramp. About half were recuperating from accidents, while the others had arthritis, gastritis, nervous debility, phthisis, paralysis, Bright's disease, typhoid fever, dyspepsia, or malaria.

The annual report of the Germantown Dispensary and Hospital for the year 1886 shows, as such reports always do, that the frequent outpatient complaints were stomach upsets, bronchitis, constipation, worms, nerves, colds and sore throats, and rheumatism. Medical inpatients that year most often suffered from typhoid, pneumonia, acute rheumatism, or angina. The surgical tabulations reveal the source of accidents, so we can learn that - not surprisingly — the mills, quarries, and railroads of Germantown, which fed its prosperity, also fed its hospital. The largest single sources of trauma cases were Midvale Steel and the two railroads. The annual reports also show that these companies and the larger textile factories made substantial contributions to the hospital, as did their employees separately. So the Hospital functioned indeed as a community enterprise.

Our flagrantly incomplete medical story of Germantown began with the household medicine of its first immigrants in 1683. A century later, in the yellow fever epidemics of the 1790's, the town was seen as a health resort, indeed, briefly, the "summer capital." We can conclude with 1918, and gripping headlines from Germantown newspaper clippings, telling of another epidemic: "INFLUENZA WORKS FEARFUL HAVOC," "GRUESOME SCENES IN CEMETERIES." "EPIDEMIC SEVERE IN ORPHANS" HOME," "DEATH TAKES MEN WELL KNOWN IN GERMANTOWN." Here is a story yet to be fully told. We can scarcely imagine the terror among the people, the anguish and frustration of the local doctors and nurses. By 1918, Germantown was fully part of Philadelphia, and a small unit of the modern world: there was no escaping the influenza. Yet the reader of those old accounts senses that the horror and the resolve were yet experienced as a neighborhood, a special community, with a rich past and a long future.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1918

INFLUENZA WORKS FEARFUL HAVOC

Long Death List Includes the Names of Many Well Known Germantown People.

RELIEF EFFORTS STARTED

So numerous were deaths from influenza and pneumonia in Germantown the past week that all undertaking establishments were overwhelmed. Scarcity of caskets and workers in many instances necessitated long delay in holding funerals.

The total number of deaths from all causes of which the Independent Cartetto has information occuring the past work in Germanusco, Kount at 17 the Chestnut Hill is 108. Of this number eightly-three are announced to be due to influenza or pneumonis. The largest

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SOURCES

I. Pearson Willits, M.D., a physician and antiquarian of Germantown, delivered an address entitled "The Early Physicians of Germantown," (published by the Site and Relic Society in 1909) which has been a principal source for the early part of this paper. His scrapbook of notices of physicians provides basic biographical data. Further information has been derived from the sources listed below.

Christopher Witt appears in Kelly & Burrage, Dictionary of American Medical Biography, New York, 1928. He also appears in Francis R. Packard, History of Medicine in the United States (New York, 1931), pp. 274, 277.

The casualties of the Battle of Germantown are reviewed in "The Unknown Soldiers' of the Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777." Crier 34(4):83, Fall, 1982.

This account of Germantown's medical participation in the Civil War is summarized from "The Summer of '63 and the Aftermath of Gettysburg," by L. M. Holloway and S. J. Peitzman, M.D. in *Crier* 30(4):81-84, Winter, 1978.

The letters of Rhoads to his wife are part of extensive correspondence of the Rhoads family at the Quaker Collections, Haverford College. A short sketch of Rhoads' life appears in the Dictionary of American Biography. For the life of Owen Jones Wister, see Sarah Butler Wister, Owen Jones Wister, October 5, 1825 - February 24, 1896 (Philadelphia, 1896; pamphlet); Fanny Kemble Wister, ed., That I May Tell You: Journals and Letters of the Owen Wister Family (Wayne, Pa., 1979); S. Weir Mitchell, "Memoir of Owen Jones Wister, M.D.," Trans. Stud. College of Physicians Phila., Ser. III, 18:xliii, 1897. The letters cited are in the extensive Wister papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

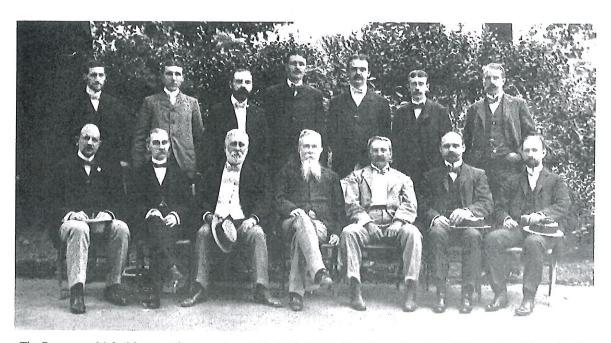
For the "Three D's" see S. J. Peitzman and L. M. Holloway, "Dr. Darrach, Dr. Downs, and Dr. Dunton: Germantown's Civil War Doctors Who Stayed 50 Years," Crier 32:13, Spring, 1979. Manuscript minute-books of the Germantown Medical Club are at the Germantown Historical Society Library.

Germantown physicians of the late 1880's are listed in

The Medical Directory of Philadelphia and the Southern Half of New Jersey (Philadelphia, Blakiston, 1887). The authors also consulted similar directories for 1868, 1874, 1881, 1884, and also Boyd's Philadelphia Directory for 1874 and 1881. For the life of Mary Willits see Steven J. Peitzman, "The Quiet Life of a Philadelphia Medical Woman: Mary Willits, M.D. (1855-1902)," J. Amer. Women's Med. Assoc. 34:443, 1979. Little information is available on Germantown's early black doctors. Warrick practiced many years and was on the staff of Mercy Hospital; his son and grandson both received medical degrees from the University of Pennsylvania. Stubbs was born in Stanfordville, Georgia and studied at Middlebury College in Vermont before medical school, according to the 1911 yearbook of the Medico-Chirurgical College of Philadelphia.

For homeopathy in Germantown see: Naaman H. Keyser, "The First Homeopathic Physician in Germantown and One of His First Patients," Germantown: Journal of the Site and Relic Society, October 15, 1920 (No. 13); letter from George L. Clay to M. Mahlon Walker, 26 January 187? about homeopathy, at GHS Library; items on Germantown Homeopathic Medical Club in Hahnemannian Monthly, February, 1871, pp. 345-346. Henry Hartshorne's papers (and others of the family are at the Quaker Collections, Haverford College; the cited letter is to Dr. G. W. C. James, 11 May 1881. James Darrach contributed a "Biographical Sketch" of Hartshorne to the Trans. Studies College Physicians Phila., Ser. III, 19:lxv, 1897. The Gilbert series of visiting lists span 1856 to 1891.

The ward count by a census taker at Germantown Hospital is from the Tenth U.S. Census, 1880, Philadelphia, Ward 22, microfilm edition. Information for the year 1886 is from Seventeenth Annual Report of the Managers of the Germantown Dispensary and Hospital, Being the Twenty-Third of the Dispensary (Philadelphia: 1887). The annual reports provide the best available information on diseases and complaints among Germantowners (at least the poorer ones) of the 19th century.



The Germantown Medical Society at the Germantown Cricket Club, 1899 Left to right, standing: Alvah M. Davis, John R. Forst, Isaac Pearson Willits, Robert L. Pitfield, Alexis Dupont Smith, John A. Hearst, Norton Downs. Seated: Charles Claxton, Richard W. Deaver, Jacob R. Shellenberger, Robert N. Downs, Sr., Auguste F. Mueller, George A. Cameron, Walter H. Kremer. Photograph by J. Mitchell Elliot.