

“You Feel So Out of Place”: Germantown’s J. Gordon Baugh and the 1913 Commemoration of the Emancipation Proclamation

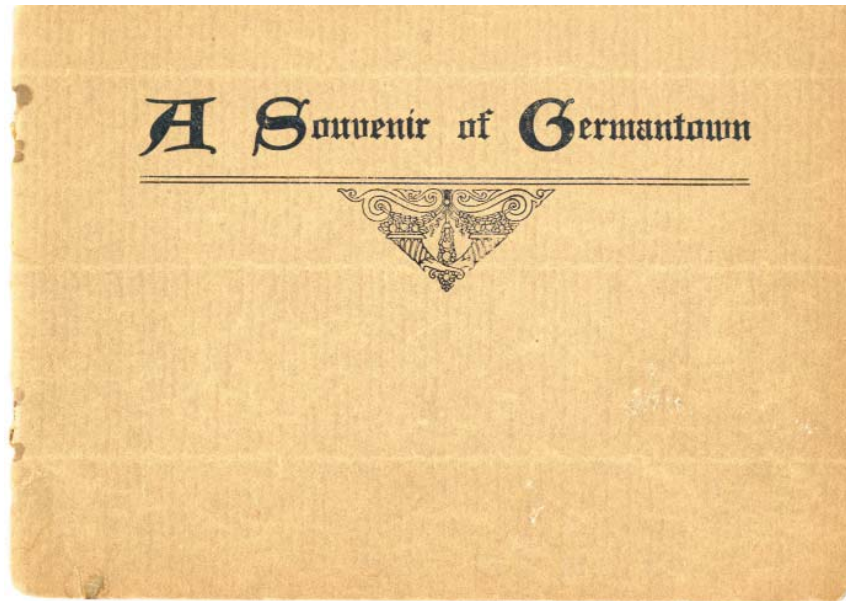
A FRAGILE ALBUM OF PHOTOGRAPHS made in 1913 by an African American resident of the Germantown section of Philadelphia may seem an unlikely addition to a collection of essays on the Emancipation Proclamation. Yet, J. Gordon Baugh Jr.’s *A Souvenir of Germantown Issued during the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation at Philadelphia, PA, September 1913* not only offers an illuminating glimpse of African American life in the half century after the Civil War—it explores the memories of emancipation.¹ In ways both commemorative and journalistic, the 1913 souvenir album gives valuable insight into a sector of Germantown’s community frequently left out of its well-documented historical memory—and, one might fairly extrapolate, an indication of blacks’ thinking about the meaning of emancipation in the early twentieth century.

Baugh’s *Souvenir of Germantown* surveys one neighborhood in one northern city, but his presentation of the everyday life of his community has implications for the ways historians view the political, social, economic, and heritage activities among African Americans at that time. Baugh’s description of the vibrant religious and educational institutions at work in Germantown reveals the kind of world blacks made in northern cities to support the influx of workers arriving from southern states during the “Great Migration” of the early 1900s. In the fifty years since 1863, Germantown’s African American population had grown from 150 to

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¹ J. Gordon Baugh Jr., *A Souvenir of Germantown Issued during the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation at Philadelphia, PA, September 1913* (Philadelphia, 1913), located in “African American Files,” at the Germantown Historical Society. A version annotated by Louise L. Strawbridge, with the assistance John E. Jones Jr., is reproduced in the *Germantown Crier* 36 (winter 1983–84).

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J. Gordon Baugh Jr., *A Souvenir of Germantown Issued during the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation at Philadelphia, PA, September 1913* (Philadelphia, 1913), courtesy of the Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

nearly 5,000.² Baugh used photographs and captions to record the institutions and clubs that had emerged during this time to promote self-reliance in black communities, such as the Sunday school clubs of local churches, the Germantown Education Association, and the Wissahickon Boys Club. These community groups exemplified the sort of local efforts that ultimately became part of established national organizations such as the National Association of Colored Women or the YMCA. Baugh's depiction of Germantown associations reveals that what historian Stephanie Shaw argued specifically for black women was true for blacks in general, namely, that through clubs, blacks could continue the struggle

² On Germantown's changing population during this period, see Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton, NJ, 2004), 6 and 58–65. For an analysis of Germantown's African American community, see Robert F. Ulle, "Blacks in Germantown, Pa., 1683–1900" (unpublished manuscript, printed by the Germantown Mennonite Church Corporation, 1980), 8–9. For comparisons to other cities, see James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago, 1989); and Joe William Trotter Jr., ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class, and Gender* (Bloomington, IN, 1991).

to improve their personal lives and the general standard of life in their communities.³ Baugh's souvenir album memorializes individual clubs, churches, businesses, and education associations that, taken as a whole, suggest that fifty years after emancipation, a burgeoning community was in place for new arrivals to Germantown.⁴

While certainly not a political manifesto, *Souvenir of Germantown* includes nods to the ideas of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, whose supposed opposing political philosophies framed black activism and uplift in the period before World War I. Since Baugh prominently quotes Washington's writing in his album's sparse text, one can infer that he agreed with Washington's belief in self-reliance as a means for blacks to assimilate into an integrated community. Baugh makes no mention in his album of Washington's opponents, such as Du Bois or William M. Trotter, founders of the 1905 Niagara Movement, who advocated resistance and organization to combat segregation. Interestingly, however, Baugh organized the album's photos and text in ways that reflected the sociological analysis Du Bois set out in his study of Philadelphia's Seventh Ward in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), with sections devoted to the livelihood of Germantown according to its religious, economic, educational, and community institutions, right down to the amount of taxes paid by African Americans.⁵ The images Baugh selected showed that in everyday life, Washington's view often coexisted with Du Bois's.

Like many African American leaders in 1913, Washington and Du Bois participated in formal public events commemorating the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. Congress failed to approve funds for a national commemoration in 1913, opening up a variety of public, and often contested, celebrations. Washington gave an address in Virginia, and Du Bois took part in events in Chicago and New York City.⁶

³ Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," *Journal of Women's History* 3, no. 2 (1991): 10–20. See also Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb* (1933; repr., New York, 1996).

⁴ For a discussion of how vernacular buildings served as redemptive spaces and helped cultivate volunteerism in northern cities during this period, see Daphne Spain, *How Women Saved the City* (Minneapolis, MN, 2001), 63–122.

⁵ See W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899; repr., Philadelphia, 1995). Also, see the introduction by Michael B. Katz and Thomas J. Sugrue to *W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and the City: "The Philadelphia Negro" and Its Legacy*, edited by Michael B. Katz and Thomas J. Sugrue (Philadelphia, 1998).

⁶ Booker T. Washington, speech before the Negro Organization Society, Richmond, VA, Nov. 7, 1913, published as "Negro Progress in Virginia," *Southern Workman* 43 (Jan. 1914): 39–43, also

Richmond and other southern cities had commemorations, some of which reflected divisions in society at large and in the black community in particular.⁷ The order of programs, organization of parades, and particular speakers chosen or snubbed for public events were revealing of racial, class, and gender stratification.⁸ Baugh's contribution was to forego the commemoration itself, opting instead to record black life as it existed fifty years after emancipation.

The unique perspective found in this thirty-page album and booklet derives from the fact that J. Gordon Baugh Jr. was not a scientist, scholar, or public official; he was a printer who worked in a camera and printing shop behind his house on Duval Street, on the cusp between Germantown and what is now Mt. Airy.⁹ Out of his one-room shop, he operated Baugh Press with his brother, Philander Baugh (the two of them also published music), until two years before his death in 1946. As a businessman, his emphasis was on self-reliance and self-worth, a theme he carried over to *Souvenir of Germantown's* references to blacks' investments, the value of their property, and understanding of their heritage. Baugh's souvenir album also presented a history that centered on black achievement and promise. In a community that remembers American history and takes pride in how well it preserves itself, Baugh created a space for newly migrated blacks by placing them in Germantown's history—with a chronology beginning, not with the founding of Germantown in 1683, but with the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

available online at <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/WasProg.html>. On Du Bois and his participation in 1913 commemorations, see Craig Michael Stutman, *Reconstruction in the Mind of W. E. B. Du Bois: Myth, Memory, and the Meaning of American Democracy* (Philadelphia, 2008), 215–18.

⁷ See, for instance, Kathleen Ann Clark, *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration and Political Culture in the South, 1863–1913* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005); and Joshua Berrett, "The Golden Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation," *Black Perspective in Music* 16 (1988): 63–80.

⁸ Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808–1915* (Amherst, MA, 2003); William H. Wiggins Jr., *O Freedom! African American Emancipation Celebrations* (Knoxville, TN, 1987); and William H. Wiggins Jr. and Douglas DeNatale, eds., *Jubilation! African American Celebrations in the Southeast* (Columbia, SC, 1993). On the racial tension in Philadelphia's 1913 events, see Charlene Mires, "Race, Place, and the Pennsylvania Emancipation Exposition of 1913," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 128 (2004): 257–78.

⁹ The German Township includes the communities now known as Germantown, Mt. Airy, and Chestnut Hill. Baugh Press was located on Jefferson (now Cherokee) Street on the 6300 block until 1944. See Gloria Davis Goode, *African American Heritage Guide to Philadelphia's Historic Northwest* (Philadelphia, 2007).

Souvenir of Germantown opens with a poem, "Song of the Times," written in the style of a Negro spiritual. Presented in African American dialect, it contains the verse, "They say bein' po's no sin, and povahty no disgrace / But Lawd it's inconvenient, you feel so out of place."¹⁰ The poem's author is listed as "W. A. W. Baugh," likely a family member; it is possible that the booklet served as a personal testament to J. Gordon Baugh Jr.'s own heritage and how far his family had come in a few generations.

The album's next page quotes the last lines of Booker T. Washington's 1904 book, *Working with the Hands*, in which the author addresses the importance of education and opportunity for African Americans:

All the Negro race asks is that the door which rewards industry, thrift, intelligence, and character be left as wide open for him as for the foreigner who constantly comes to our country. More than this, he has no right to request. Less than this, a Republic has no right to vouchsafe.¹¹

The album therefore calls on the personal and folksy as well as on the documentary to show that people of African descent had made good on the promise offered other immigrants that one might realize success in America.

Baugh's own words set out the mission of his commemorative offering:

This year being the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, and in view of the fact that it is being celebrated in various ways, we deem it an opportune time to present this booklet, showing in some degree what has been done in Germantown.

It would be impossible to obtain every fact that may be of interest, and to give a picture of every house occupied by our people would make too large a book, the cost of which would also be too much for the purpose.

We have, therefore, endeavored to select those places that would tend to show the greatest progress, comparing same with a few of the earliest localities, without any preference or partiality.¹²

Houses were not the only items left out of Baugh's descriptions of blacks' economic impact in the neighborhood. Unlike Du Bois, who meticulously

¹⁰ Baugh, *Souvenir of Germantown*, 1.

¹¹ Booker T. Washington, *Working with the Hands: Being a Sequel to "Up from Slavery" Covering the Author's Experiences in Industrial Training at Tuskegee* (New York, 1904), 246.

¹² Baugh, *Souvenir of Germantown*, 2.

showed the enrollments of students at schools for blacks, Baugh offered general estimates in his captions.¹³ Evidence of crimes or contemporary indicators of poverty were also missing. While his images and the associated captions may have shown “in some degree what has been done” by Germantown’s African Americans, Baugh selected images to make a case that was largely positive and emphasized with pride what the community had worked together to achieve.

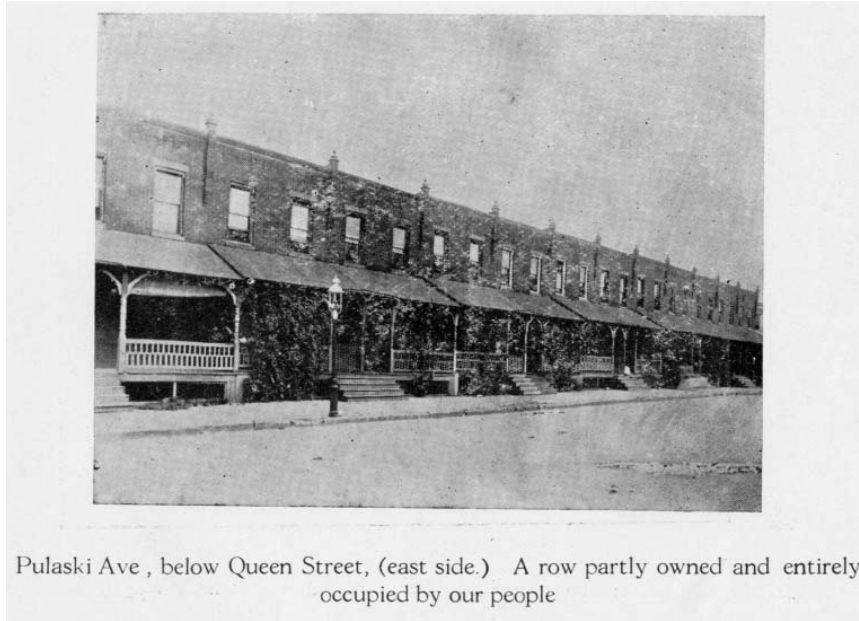
As a small businessman, Baugh would have fit into the category established by Du Bois as the “best class of Negroes, though sometimes forgotten or ignored.”¹⁴ We do not know whether Baugh was familiar with Du Bois’s scholarly work, but, like Du Bois, he emphasized the role of education and volunteer associations in creating opportunities for blacks in the city. Du Bois used interviews, economic statistics, and descriptions of languid conditions to argue the second-class status of blacks. Pauperism, he pointed out, was easier to spot than investment. Du Bois considered some types of businesses, such as barbers, laundry services, and chauffeurs, inherently negative because they kept African Americans in servile employment. Baugh, in contrast, pointed with great pride to people who held these very jobs; from his perspective as a businessman, they were successful as revenue-generating contributors to the community. He also highlighted the teachers, caterers, and other professionals who in Du Bois’s terminology constituted “the aristocracy of Negroes.”¹⁵

Where Du Bois, the scholarly sociologist, wrote of “the whole race,” Baugh, the businessman, described “our people,” often in neighborly ways. The images in *Souvenir of Germantown* take one through the neighborhood’s primarily African American sections: Pulaskitown, Duval, and the Green Street commercial district. Businesses are identified with titles such as “Office of Our Real Estate” and “Our Antique Dealer.” Captions on photos of other shops note which ones were built or owned by “colored contractors.” Among them is an image of John Trower’s catering business, one of the most successful African American businesses in the city. A photo of William Byrd’s quarry shows Byrd posing with shovel

¹³ For instance, Du Bois lists enrollment in all Philadelphia schools serving blacks, including two in Germantown, Hill and Coulter schools (“84 boys and 89 girls; 45 boys, 39 girls all colored,” respectively). See Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, chap. 8.

¹⁴ Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 7. Du Bois also explored this topic further in “The Talented Tenth,” chap. 2 in *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of To-day* (New York, 1903).

¹⁵ Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 7.



Courtesy of the Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

in hand as if to honor the owner-worker as he helped to build this emerging community. Album pages describe the offices of black doctors and dentists and list their names. Whether referring to Robinson's Restaurant or the truck operated by a laundry service, Baugh used the first person plural more often than not. A photograph of rowhouses on Pulaski Street below Queen Street (east side), for instance, bears the caption: "A row partly owned and entirely occupied by our people."¹⁶

Intriguingly, Baugh's collection of photographs provides hints regarding physical segregation in Germantown. The neighborhood, though diverse, saw blacks and whites living near one another but with clearly understood, if not well-marked, divisions. Baugh presented Germantown as if this thriving neighborhood was integrated. Throughout its history, and particularly in a community whose memory included multiple festivals run by competing ethnic groups, often in the same week, the neighborhood's residents had little ethic of living and working together.¹⁷

¹⁶ Baugh, *Souvenir of Germantown*, 13–16.

¹⁷ In a memorable quote from the head of the Germantown business association in 1923, "There are too many groups and too little coordination." The numerous and complicated factors that extended



Enon Tabernacle Baptist Church, West Coulter Street.
Organized 1879. Valuation of real estate (including Church, Home Missionary Building and house on west side, adjoining) \$15,900.00

Courtesy of the Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

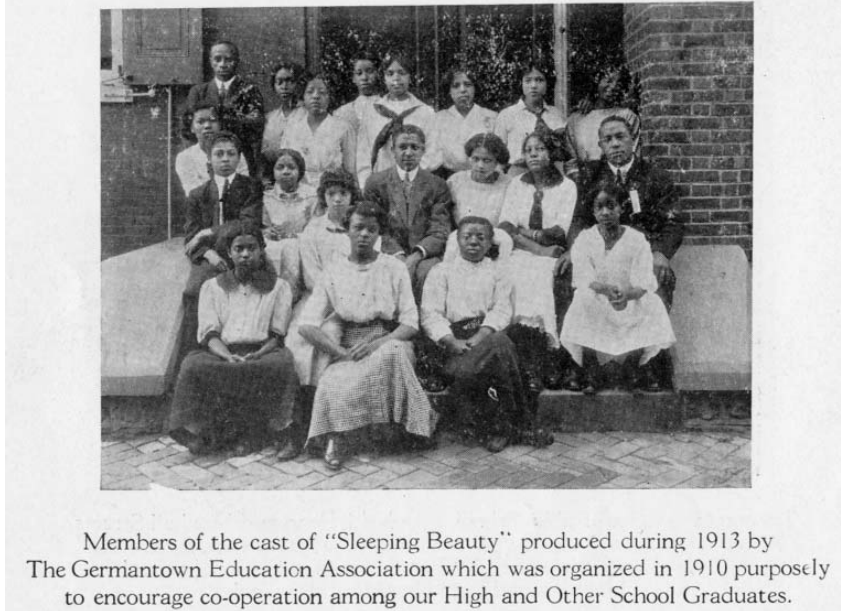
Germantown's settlement houses and relief agencies, established since the 1880s, served mainly Irish and Italian immigrants, not blacks.¹⁸ The photographs and captions reinforce the message of Baugh's canvass that the everyday achievements of his people were integral to Germantown's progress, even though they were in some ways kept separate from it.

Baugh highlighted housing, churches, schools, and neighborhood associations, including boys' and girls' clubs, in his album. He listed the churches first, organized by location and denomination and often identifying the pastor. Interestingly, as Du Bois had done in his study, Baugh noted the year of founding as well as the real estate value of each recorded church. Janes Methodist Episcopal Church, for example, was founded in 1872, with a "valuation of property \$15,000."¹⁹ He then similarly com-

beyond race are explored in David W. Young, "The Battles of Germantown: Preservation and Memory in America's Most Historic Neighborhood in the Twentieth Century" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2009), 60–61 and 148–52.

¹⁸ Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 61.

¹⁹ Baugh, *Souvenir of Germantown*, 15–16, 20–22. While Baugh listed individual church property values one by one, Du Bois listed the aggregate value in the Seventh Ward. See Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 221; and Katz and Sugrue, *W.E. B. Du Bois, Race, and the City*, 9.



Courtesy of the Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

memorated Germantown's schools. Photographs capturing the neighborhood's social and education clubs, such as the Wissahickon Boys Club and Germantown Education Association, show children in dress for plays and presentations. On the whole, the album shows burgeoning community-based groups, the kinds highlighted by Du Bois, which helped black people prepare newcomers and young people with vocational training, educational opportunities, and social skills.

Two images from the album illuminate the idea of blacks working together in voluntary associations. One photograph focuses on a Wissahickon Boys Club teacher working at basket making with seven boys of the club. The organization, founded in 1885, exemplified the sort of institution that Du Bois encouraged for its assistance to black community youth education.²⁰ A second image of sixteen children and four teachers includes the caption, "Members of the cast of 'Sleeping Beauty' produced during 1913 by the Germantown Education Association in 1910 purposely to encourage co-operation among our High and Other

²⁰ Though she goes unnamed in Baugh's album, the teacher was Olivia Yancy Taylor, who in the 1920s became the first director of the black branch of Germantown's YWCA.

School Graduates.”²¹ Baugh emphasized cooperation between organizations much as Du Bois stressed the importance of the associations themselves.²²

Throughout his commemorative album, Baugh presented a sense of community solidarity. The influx of people from different states during the Great Migration heightened the collective need for a sense of place that might help newcomers develop a sense of community in their new surroundings. As Robert Gregg shows in his study of African American churches in Philadelphia, one way that migrants to Philadelphia established their own identity solidarity was to create new and separate congregations, self-dividing a racial group by class, region of origin, or denomination.²³ Baugh’s survey, however, shows black churches as part of a larger whole, so that the variety of churches became an anchor for all blacks in Germantown. Like its other black institutions, Germantown’s black churches helped ground new arrivals in a community that made possible their progress.

Souvenir of Germantown is more reportorial than analytical, a portrait or snapshot more than a sociological survey. Where Du Bois interviewed thousands of African Americans and described the terrible condition of black families and record of minority businesses in his study published in 1899, Baugh pointed to the quality, breadth, and investment of Germantown’s black professional and economic efforts. Where Du Bois saw pauperism, Baugh boasted that beggars were practically nonexistent in his neighborhood. Where Du Bois chronicled problems with the goal of enlisting Progressive Era support for remedies, Baugh saw evidence of support to be celebrated, as in the example of almshouses and settlement associations.²⁴ While at once typical of traditional guidebooks to Germantown that celebrated the neighborhood with fondness for its past, Baugh’s album suggests that the present, at least for his people at that time, revealed a narrative of progress.

²¹ Baugh, *Souvenir of Germantown*, 14–15.

²² Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 13.

²³ Robert Gregg, *Sparks from the Anvil of Oppression: Philadelphia’s African Methodists and Southern Migrants, 1890–1940* (Philadelphia, 1993), 14–25; Baugh’s survey, however, shows ninety churches and three mosques line an eight-and-a-half-mile stretch of Germantown Avenue, at a rate of over ten places of worship per mile. Katie Day, *Prelude to Struggle: African American Clergy and Community Organizing for Economic Development in the 1990s* (New York, 2002); .

²⁴ Katz and Sugrue, *W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and the City*, 9–13.

Even with its similarities and overlap with other commemorative works of the time, Baugh's souvenir album remains unique as a small, commemorative offering. It does not quote the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation directly. Unlike sermons from the church community marking the fiftieth anniversary, *Souvenir of Germantown* does not look backward at the sins of slavery but forward to a future of achievement.²⁵ It does not mention any leaders or abolitionists who worked to end slavery. Instead, it celebrates blacks at work and in social settings who were making lives from the freedom they had gained. With his album, Baugh added a new source documenting one marginalized racial group in a neighborhood where Germans and English actively remembered the importance of their own ancestors, along with the many religious groups who claimed Germantown as a heritage site in their place in America.²⁶

Meanwhile, Baugh's personal captions and descriptions of "our people" clearly draw on the highly personal, local flavor of historical memory that John Fanning Watson employed in his *Annals*, the wide-ranging and often inaccurate (as well as bigoted) memory pieces about colonial and revolutionary history in Philadelphia and Germantown.²⁷ Baugh placed the community squarely within Germantown's sense of itself. His album includes a brief summary of Germantown's general history, touching on Pastorius's initial settlement in 1683, Rittenhouse's 1690 paper mill, and the role of Germantown in printing the first Bible, in the American Revolution, and in the nation's early government under George Washington, who stayed at the Deshler Morris House during the 1793 yellow fever epidemic. Baugh also noted that even after Germantown was incorporated into the city of Philadelphia in 1854 it kept some of its own institutions, particularly ones that served the African American community—for example, an almshouse, a branch tax house, and separate elementary schools for blacks. Baugh's use of photographs and captions, built on the antiquarian use of testimonies, annals, or idealized illustra-

²⁵ See for instance, "A New Emancipation," in *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* 29, no. 3 (1913): 260–62.

²⁶ Works about German history in Pennsylvania marked the anniversaries of the early 1900s. The first was a genealogical study by Samuel W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1898). The second was a professionally researched book by a university German professor, Marion Dexter Lerner, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, Founder of Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1908), for which Pennypacker wrote the preface.

²⁷ Susan Stabile, *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, NY, 2004), 4. See also Deborah D. Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell: John Fanning Watson," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (1974): 3–49.

tions from the olden days, resembles Watson's unfinished 1859 brochure, a booklet for which Frederick DeBourg Richards was commissioned to photograph images of sites in the neighborhood. Baugh's album distinguishes buildings with some connection to black history from those that were owned by blacks.

Stenton, the 1730 Logan house, for instance, features prominently in *Souvenir of Germantown* because legend had it that an enslaved servant named Dinah had saved the house from being burned by the British during the 1777 Battle of Germantown. The story was repeated for years, and in Baugh's telling, Stenton was the place saved by "the old colored woman left in charge." Likewise, a drawing of the Thones Kunders house shows the building in which the 1688 Germantown antislavery protest was drafted by four early Germantowners. The remainder of the album is part description and part affirmation of the good citizenship of Germantown's growing African American community. The sites of black history are identified, including some with more traditional colonial history, but the buildings actually depicted are primarily nineteenth- or early twentieth-century structures such as the first black-owned home or an early black church. For example, an image of Penn and Newhall Streets is prominently shown on the grounds that it was the "center of Negro population 30 years ago."²⁸

Baugh's album was thus a version of the traditional memory infrastructure—Germantown's colonial and revolutionary markers, museums, and monuments—but one in which the past became a platform for a different narrative, one emphasizing progress over nostalgia. Rather than preserving and commemorating the past for its own sake, Baugh's souvenir book was a guidebook for what freedom looked like.

In the last section of the book, Baugh used lists and examples vigorously. The last few pages of the album explain his reasons for doing so:

The Negro population is made up largely of people from Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware and some may be here from several other states. Coming as most of them did, without money, friends, or anything to depend on except menial labor and no one to fire their ambition their progress is good. It is only within the past fifteen years that the necessity for owning real estate has been forced upon them. It must not be forgotten that every family paying rent, pays the taxes indirectly.²⁹

²⁸ Baugh, *Souvenir of Germantown*, 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

Even the churches, including the many storefront churches, were presented to illustrate not just the diversity of faiths but the investments of taxpayers; “Eleven churches, estimated value \$180,000: (five Baptist, three Methodist, one Episcopalian, one Catholic, one Presbyterian),” Baugh recorded.

As if to bolster Germantown’s Twenty-Second Ward in contrast to Du Bois’s Seventh Ward, Baugh’s Germantown African American community could boast

four physicians, two trained nurses, one dentist, one real estate agent, one contractor, three paperhangers, three upholsterers, one cabinetmaker, three printers, twelve dressmakers, six hairdressers, one milliner, one tailor, 3 laundries, 5 barber shops, 3 restaurants, 12 landscape gardeners, 4 boot-black stands, one butter and eggs dealers, 3 caterers, 3 coal and ice companies, 3 grocery stores, 2 garages, 4 expressmen, 18 school teachers, 2 post office employees, one custom house employee, 2 policemen, one retired policeman, 2 janitors of apartment houses, 3 branch offices of undertakers and embalmers, one orchestra, 3 inventors, 3 second hand dealers, one dramatic organization.³⁰

Nowhere is Baugh’s laudatory presentation more evident than in the explanations of tax investment:

Total assessed valuation of taxable property in the Twenty-second ward is \$87,077,345.00. The branch tax office estimates that the Negro pays taxes on an assessed valuation of \$120,000. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the market value is at least \$160,000, and it probably cost him more to obtain it.³¹

The meaning was clear: Germantown was a place where “our people” had built a community. As such, it was a magnet for freedom and progress. Its churches, schools, institutions, and associations had proved over fifty years since the Emancipation Proclamation that there was a place where a black migrant moving to Philadelphia would not “feel so out of place.”

Baugh’s essay concludes argumentatively, giving the summary of investment and occupations indicated while admitting that much had been left out. As Baugh noted:

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

Owing to the difficulty in compiling these statistics there are probably some commendable occupations overlooked. If so, it was not intentional. There are quite a large number of chauffeurs, seamstresses and men and women engaged in doing work in all the ordinary walks of life that any other race is doing. The Delmar, Coulter Inn and Cresheim Arms are hostelryes giving employment to a large number of our people; also Elder's Mill, Woods and Logan, comfortable manufacturers, and the Midvale Steel Works employs a large force of our men, some highly skilled mechanics at good wages.³²

The final sentence of the album explains that what Baugh left out probably would make an even stronger case for how well Germantown's African Americans had applied themselves: "While there may be a number who won't work, the percentage is hardly greater than among other races, and a Negro beggar is seldom, if ever, seen on the streets."³³ Certainly, such paupers existed and probably deserved more mention, but Baugh's purpose was noting progress, not recording poverty.

The residential neighborhoods and business districts depicted in Baugh's album were isolated sections apart from the mainstream community and even separated from one another. There was not one unified black community, but, rather, pockets of several different ones. One would not know from Baugh's album that the black residential sections were only a block away from white streets, a pattern of segregation common in Philadelphia throughout the nineteenth century. The number of churches described suggests a concentrated community of believers with a variety of different congregations, all well established in valuable properties, but without context it is not clear that some of these congregations met in isolated storefronts in a black section of the community and were next door to established white churches. The dispersal of black residents and institutions made the idea of one black community complicated. This was not unlike the message of Germantown's Founders' Week or the many celebratory pamphlets published by the established Site and Relic Society, which trumpeted what had been done by a particular group of people—so much so that each descendent group had separate celebrations. Baugh similarly promoted a specific group, presenting its places of pride, its contributions, and its heritage.

³² Ibid., 24.

³³ Ibid., 21.

Baugh's souvenir album is a remarkable source for historians of the period after emancipation, documenting how people like Baugh helped build a new foundation for the heritage of a people finding their way in a new city. It shows that at least from 1863 on, blacks had a place in the historical narrative of Germantown and, by extension, that of Philadelphia and America. Showing Germantown's blacks in ways that underscored the district's pride of place in American history, Baugh's *Souvenir of Germantown* provided a framework for a new narrative of the neighborhood's public memory—one that emphasized progress and hope for the future over nostalgia and the authority of the past.

Cliveden

DAVID W. YOUNG