

**The Commission for Historical and
Architectural Preservation**

**Landmark and Special List Designation Report
March 12, 2012**



Florence Crittenton Home

3110 Crittenton Place
Baltimore, Maryland

Significance Summary

This property was originally the home of David Carroll, the owner of the Mount Vernon Mills. It is one of only two mill owners' homes left in Hampden, constructed in several stages in the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1925, the building became Florence Crittenton Home, which had been established in Baltimore in 1895. It was part of the larger international umbrella of Florence Crittenton Mission, founded in 1883 during the social reform movement, which established a network of 76 homes in major U.S. cities and internationally to serve prostitutes and later unwed pregnant women. This building is eligible for landmark designation for its role in the history of Baltimore's mill towns and manufacturing, the social reform movement in Baltimore and the U.S. at large, its association with David Carroll, and for its architecture.

Property History

Florence Crittenton Home is located on a hill at 3110 Crittenton Place in Hampden, overlooking the former Mount Vernon mills, adjacent to the Jones Falls. The oldest portion of the stone building was originally the home of the David S. Carroll, owner and founder of the Mount Vernon Mills. It was likely constructed circa 1845, at the same time that Stone Hill, stone mill workers' housing was constructed by the Mount Vernon Company.¹ Both this building and the Stone Hill houses are constructed with the same granite, which was plentiful in the Jones Falls valley. Today, the property feels removed from the rest of the mill complex due to the encroachment of more recent development. But in 1896, the Mount Vernon Company's property was extensive, bound by Falls Road to the west, Mount Vernon Mill # 1 to the south, Stone Hill's eastern edge at Cedar Avenue, and what is today 33rd Street to the north.

The main stone house that was originally David Carroll's home faces south on a hill directly overlooking Mt. Vernon Mill No. 3 and Brick Hill, mill-worker housing dating to the 1880s. Further in the distance the houses of Stone Hill and the roof of Mt. Vernon Mill # 1 and 2 are visible. While the entire domain of the mill village isn't visible from the house, the house itself, like the "Big House" of a plantation, is visible from many more vantages within the village. This "panopticon" view, a simple way to enforce control of a population, was utilized in plantation landscapes, hospitals, prisons, and schools. David Carroll could manage his domain from the comfort of his large, grand home.

After David Carroll's death in 1881, the home stayed in the ownership of the Mount Vernon Company, and was likely inhabited by other executives in the company.² Following a labor strike in 1923, the Mount Vernon Mill Company was in decline. In 1925, the company sold off Clipper Mill and the majority of its workers housing.³ Carroll's mansion was also sold in 1925, to Florence Crittenton Home, a home for unwed mothers.⁴ The Mission constructed a large stone dormitory wing to the building to provide space for all of the women that it served.

In the early 1990s, the Home again required expansion, and several additions and alterations were made to the property. A large free-standing dormitory was added to the north and west boundaries of the property, utilizing state bonds bills and triggering an easement on the property by the Maryland Historical Trust.

The Florence Crittenton Home was active until 2010, when it was closed by the State of Maryland. The property is currently owned by Hamilton Bank, and a developer is in the process of closing on the property.

It is listed on the National Register as a contributing building to the Hampden National Register Historic District. The Maryland Historical Trust also holds a preservation easement on the property.

The legislation for designating this building as a Baltimore City Landmark is being sponsored by Councilwoman Mary Pat Clarke.

Contextual History

David Carroll and Mount Vernon Mills

Mount Vernon Mill No. 1 and No. 3 served as the headquarters for the Mount Vernon-Woodberry Mills, one of the world's largest manufacturer's of cotton duck. It played a significant role in Baltimore's textile industry for over 100 years, from 1847 until shutting down in 1972.

David Carroll and Horatio Nelson Gambrill purchased several mill complexes along the Jones Falls beginning in the 1830s. In 1846, they purchased the Laurel Mill, a grist mill, along with six stone and six frame houses.⁵ Laurel Mill was renamed Mount Vernon Mill #1, and repurposed into a textile mill that produced cotton duck.⁶ The Mt. Vernon Manufacturing Company was created in 1847, with Captain William Kennedy as President and David Carroll as Superintendent.⁷ The company quickly constructed a mill village, complete with a company store, church, and housing for workers and their families. In many ways, this community was very similar in scope and design to mill villages in New England.⁸ In fact, the nearby village of Woodberry was referred to as the "Lowell of Maryland" in 1873 by George Washington Howard in *The Monumental City*, and David Carroll was also one of the men responsible for Woodberry's early development.⁹ In 1853, Mount Vernon Mill # 2 – later renamed #3 – was built, doubling the company's output of cotton duck.¹⁰

By 1872, the village of Mount Vernon had a population of 700-800 people, "125 dwellings, a handsome church, extensive store, etc." set upon sixty acres.¹¹ The former Mount Vernon Methodist Episcopal Church, located at the southwest corner of 33rd and Chestnut Avenue was a gift from David Carroll to his employees in 1879, located on Mount Vernon Company land just northeast of his stone home.¹² David Carroll established a practice of paternalism to his workers, creating the social and physical structure of the mill town that existed through the early 20th century, wherein everything

that a worker needed in life was fulfilled by the company. This practice promoted loyalty among the workers, because the workers and their families relied so fully upon the company. His obituary credited him with giving “special care to providing for the personal comfort and moral and intellectual welfare of all of his operatives.”¹³

Celebrated as a “pioneer manufacturer,” David Carroll played a crucial role for starting and overseeing the cotton duck industry which was such an important part of Baltimore’s manufacturing heritage for over 100 years. He died in 1881.¹⁴ In 1873, he was featured in *The Monumental City*, described as being “surrounded by evidence of his success, [he] may look with satisfaction towards the great city, which is fast encroaching on his domains, and know that the half century of his active life, has contributed no inconsiderable part in making it what it is, and that he has an inheritance in its future, to whatever proportions and grandeur it may grow.”¹⁵

In 1923, the demands of the Mount Vernon Mills management regarding an increase in hours without a comparable raise in wages led to a workers’ strike that lasted over six weeks.¹⁶ Management broke the strike, but the strike was the death knell for the company. In 1925 in an act of retaliation, the company sold off the majority of the company housing, where workers had previously lived for free as part of the paternalistic company-town system.¹⁷ The Carroll house was also sold, to Florence Crittenton Home, a home for unwed mothers.

Florence Crittenton Home

Baltimore’s Florence Crittenton Home was part of an international network of homes established by the Florence Crittenton Mission beginning in the late 19th century. Mr. Charles Crittenton was the wealthy owner of a wholesale drug company in New York City in the late 19th century. The death of his four-year-old daughter, Florence, of scarlet fever at the age of four, led him to change his life.¹⁸ He became an evangelist and established the first Mission in 1883 in New York City to offer prostitutes or girls “leading lives of shame” a place to reform themselves.¹⁹ He named the organization after his daughter, and went on to establish Florence Crittenton Homes across the nation. By the time of his death in 1909, he had helped establish 76 homes in the US, China, Japan, and France, and left millions of dollars to the National Florence Crittenton Mission.²⁰

Baltimore’s Florence Crittenton Home opened in December 1895 in the former parsonage of the High Street Methodist Church in what is now Little Italy, and was the twenty-second Crittenton Home established nationally.²¹ Its original name was “Florence Crittenton Mission for Fallen Women”, which included prostitutes, the homeless, and unwed mothers.²² The Home was funded by Baltimore churches and Mr. Crittenton himself, who donated \$1,000. The fund-raising efforts were led by Mrs. Charlton Edholm of Chicago, with the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union.²³ The Home didn’t have an endowment, and instead relied on donations and fund-raisers. These took the form of Donation Days, parlor sales, musical performances, and other fund-raisers.²⁴

While the home in Baltimore was independently run from the larger National Mission, it was still very engaged with the national movement. Charles Crittenton himself and Dr.

Kate Weller Barrett, the President of the national Florence Crittenton Mission visited Baltimore, lectured and raised funds for Baltimore's Home.²⁵ In 1907, Baltimore hosted the annual conference of the National Florence Crittenton Mission, attended by delegates from across the US and addressed by Mayor Mahool and Assistant State's Attorney Eugene O'Dunne.²⁶

These homes played a crucial role in the social reform movement that was active at the turn of the 20th century. Prostitution was viewed as a social ill that needed remedy, and a big step toward that goal was to make it possible for prostitutes to make an "honest living".²⁷ These "fallen women" faced enormous social stigma that made it very difficult for them to find work other than prostitution. Crittenton Home offered them training in various domestic skills and then placed them as domestic workers in private homes with "Christian families, where they may be watched and encouraged."²⁸ While this view is today largely seen as paternalistic, in its day, it was actually more enlightened than other views of prostitutes as inherently prone to vice.²⁹ Originally the Mission was faith-based and had a strong emphasis on religious training and conversions, which was viewed as intrinsic to reforming the women.³⁰ The Mission viewed prostitutes as a "vast army of unfortunate females" that needed rescue.³¹

The Florence Crittenton Home moved to 837 Hollins Street in 1900.³² Its former location in Little Italy became a synagogue, and today, the site is a parking lot.³³

By the 1910s, the focus of the national Florence Crittenton Mission and the Baltimore branch had narrowed, focusing on unmarried pregnant women. According to author Ann Fessler, this focus was due to their lack of success reforming prostitutes.³⁴ Ann Fessler also states that the religious women who ran the homes also took a kind view to unmarried pregnant women, seeing themselves "as sympathetic sisters who were there for women who had no other place to turn," women who had been "seduced and abandoned."³⁵ The women were encouraged to keep their babies, as the Mission then believed that motherhood "would increase a woman's chances of living a good and proper life," and during this time, "babies were not separated from their mothers except under extreme circumstances..."³⁶ The women were taught domestic skills, "thus preparing each one to make a livelihood for herself and child when they go out from our home, and many of them are doing this nobly."³⁷ However, some young women who tried to find work after leaving Crittenton Home were stigmatized, and refused work.³⁸

In the early 20th century, "foundling" babies were a common occurrence, left on doorsteps or in gutters. The babies were brought to the Home. In 1915, it established a nursery for foundlings because they had so many, and hired a nurse for their care.³⁹ In 1916 a law was established that mother must keep her child for 6 months after birth. This law decreased the number of doorstep babies, but Crittenton still received unwanted babies.⁴⁰ By 1934, there was only one doorstep baby case.⁴¹

In 1923, the Home was filled past capacity and in need of expanded quarters.⁴² Called a "Harbor of Refuge", in its previous year the Home served 103 young women, 93 infants, including 14 foundlings, and also occasionally served as a detention house for women

who were held as witnesses in legal cases.⁴³ It also served as an alternative to jail for non-violent women who were arrested.⁴⁴ As the director of the Home stated, “We cannot afford to turn from our door for lack of room girls who come seeking protection and a chance to reform their lives.”⁴⁵ The Florence Crittenton Mission received no endowment, nor charged the women for their care.

In order to better serve the young women and infants in the Home’s care, they sought new quarters. They first tried to establish a new Home on Auchentoroly Terrace, but were unsuccessful.⁴⁶ In 1925, the Florence Crittenton Mission purchased the stone mansion that was formerly the home of Mount Vernon Mills owner David Carroll in Hampden.

Crittenton Home saw a number of changes in its work during its 85-year tenure in Hampden. During World War II, the Home in Hampden served its highest numbers of young women.⁴⁷ This trend was reflected nation-wide, and caused a dramatic change in policy at Florence Crittenton Mission and other homes for unwed mothers. This change was also caused largely by the rise in the professionalization of social work. As author Ann Fessler states, “While their religious predecessors had generally attributed out-of-wedlock pregnancy to the social circumstances of the women’s lives and the outside social forces, the new breed of social worker focused on the women themselves. Over many years, they posited a number of theories about why single women became pregnant, all of which were predicated on the problems inherent in the women themselves.”⁴⁸

After the dramatic spike of out-of-wedlock pregnancies during and following WWII, social workers had to revise their stereotypes to account for the increase in unwed pregnancies of middle-class girls and women. A Crittenton social worker wrote that “Immigration, low mentality, and hyper sexuality can no longer be comfortably applied when the phenomenon has invaded our own social class-when the unwed mother must be classified to include the nice girl next door, the physician’s or pastor’s daughter.”⁴⁹ These middle-class unwed pregnant women were classified as neurotic, having a subconscious desire to become pregnant. This diagnosis of neurosis meant that they were seen as unfit parents.⁵⁰ In 1947, the National Florence Crittenton Mission “abandoned its policy of keeping mother and child together.”⁵¹ Girls were encouraged to put their babies up for adoption, where their babies could have “better lives” in a two-parent home.

The 1960s and 1970s were a time of great social change, and Crittenton Home in Hampden once again changed its services and policies. As the stigma of unmarried motherhood declined and access to birth control and legal abortion increased, the organization served fewer young women in a residential capacity. In the 1960s, schools were established for expectant teens, including Laurence G. Paquin Junior-Senior High School for Expectant Teenagers, established in 1966 in Baltimore City.⁵² Crittenton expanded its services to address other issues facing these young women, and in 1969, the name was changed to Florence Crittenton Services to more accurately reflect the organization’s function. In 1971, the organization served over 1,300 young women, including 141 young women in the residential care program.⁵³ In the early 1970s, Crittenton offered a day-care program for unmarried mothers, programs to prepare girls

who were keeping their babies, and counseling on birth control.⁵⁴ It also expanded its assistance to troubled non-pregnant girls, most of whom were survivors of physical or sexual abuse.

Between 1964 and 1977, it has changed from a “hideout for white, middle-class girls” to an organization that cares for young women from all socio-economic levels and races.⁵⁵ Florence Crittenton Home only served white women before integrating in 1964.

By the early 1990s, the organization was plagued with troubles. It largely served young women who had suffered sexual and physical abuse. The 32-bed facility was seriously under-utilized, the organization was struggling financially, and the Maryland Department of Human Resources had temporarily stopped placing girls there. A new two million dollar dormitory funded in part with state bond money was seen as a way to stabilize the organization and develop new programs.⁵⁶ In 1994, it was described exclusively as a home for sexually and physically abused girls in foster care.⁵⁷

After 115 years of serving thousands of women and infants in Baltimore, Florence Crittenton Home was closed by the State of Maryland in 2010. Born of the social reform movement, this institution has a long legacy of helping women and children that were scorned by society and had few options. While the policies of the Home changed over more than a century to meet social changes, the Home eventually no longer fulfilled its original mission because society has become more inclusive and open, and women’s rights have expanded so profoundly.

Architectural Description

There are several buildings located on the property, but not all of them are contributing to this designation. The circa 1994 free-standing dormitory and 1 story eastern addition to the historic stone building do not contribute to this designation.

The two story, three bay stone residence with a porch is the oldest portion of the house that was inhabited by David Carroll. There have been multiple additions to the building over the centuries, including several additions to the rear of the building, constructed of stone and brick. The large two story six bay stone addition to the west was added to the building following 1925, to serve as dormitories for Florence Crittenton Home. This addition is architecturally sympathetic to the original building. There is also an historic stone ancillary building on the property, likely a spring or ice house.

Community Support

See attached letters.

Staff Recommendations

The property meets CHAP Landmark Designation Standards:

B. A Baltimore City Landmark may be a site, structure, landscape, building (or portion thereof), place, work of art, or other object which:

1. Is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of Baltimore history;
2. Is associated with the lives of persons significant in Baltimore's past
3. Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represents the work of a master, or that possesses high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

This property was originally the home of David Carroll, the owner of the Mount Vernon Mills. It is one of only two mill owners' homes left in Hampden, constructed in several stages in the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1925, the building became Florence Crittenton Home, which had been established in Baltimore in 1895. It was part of the larger international umbrella of Florence Crittenton Mission, founded in 1883 during the social reform movement, which established a network of 76 homes in major U.S. cities and internationally to serve prostitutes and later unwed pregnant women. This building is eligible for landmark designation for its role in the history of Baltimore's mill towns and manufacturing, the social reform movement in Baltimore and the U.S. at large, its association with David Carroll, and for its architecture.

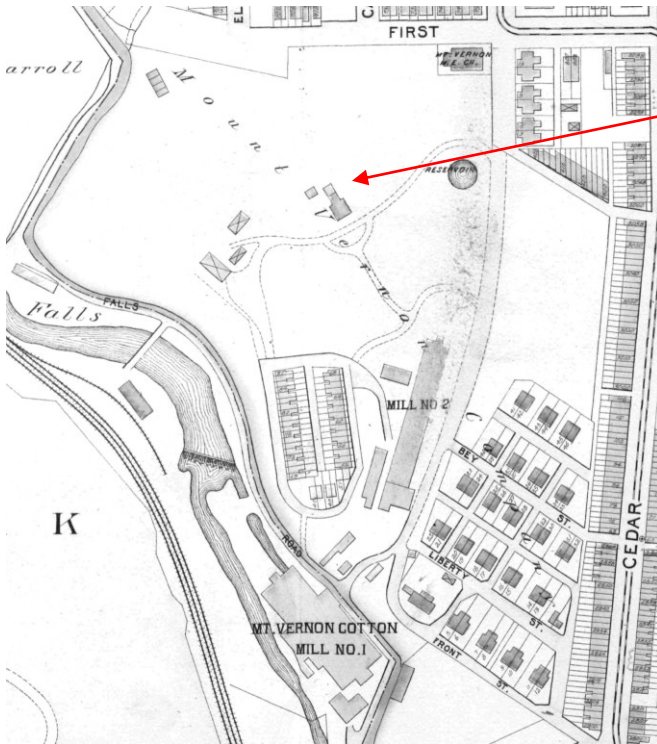
Locator Map



Historic Maps

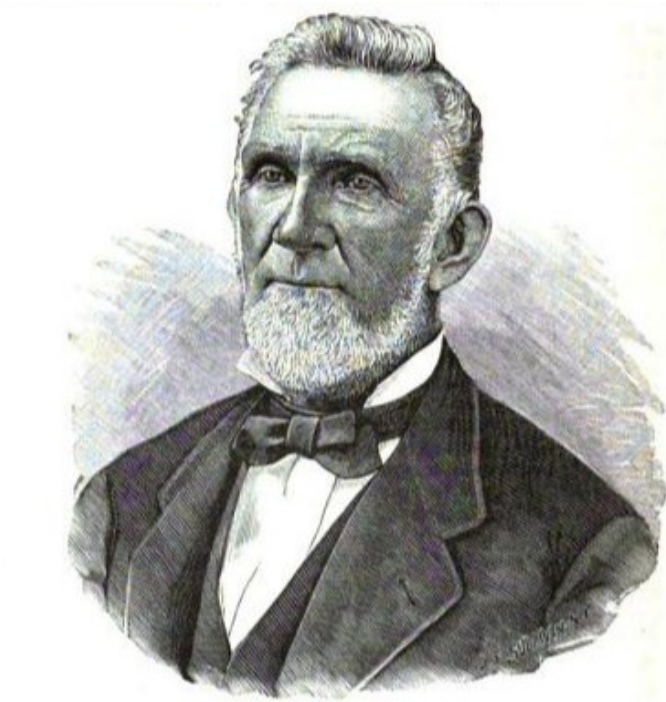


1876 map of the Mount Vernon Company. In *City Atlas of Baltimore, Maryland and Environs* (Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins, 1876), Vol. 1, Plate R, pg. 68-69.



Map depicting the building as part of "Mount Vernon", with the mills located to the south. In *Atlas of the City of Baltimore, Maryland* (Philadelphia: G.W. Bromley & Co, 1896), Plate 17.

Images



David Carroll

Sketch of David Carroll, from George Washington Howard's *The Monumental City: Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore: J.D. Ehlers & Co, 1873), pg. 668. Available as a Google Book.

Photos









¹ “Stone Hill Historic District”, B-1319, National Register of Historic Places, 2001, Section 8, pgs. 1-2.

² “Death of a Pioneer Manufacturer--Interesting Sketch of a Busy Life”, *The Sun (1837-1987)*; Aug 1, 1881; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. 1

³ D. Randall Beirne “Hampden-Woodberry: The Mill Village in an Urban Setting” *Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 77, No. 1, Spring 1982*, pg. 18; “Stone Hill Historic District”, Section 8, Page 5;

⁴ Mount Vernon-Woodberry Mills Incorporated, Inc. and the Mount Vernon Land Company to The Florence Crittenton Mission of Baltimore City. Deed. 1925. Baltimore City Superior Court (Land Records) Liber 4457, Folio 309.

⁵ “Stone Hill Historic District”, Section 8, page 2.

⁶ James G. Bullock “A Brief History of textile manufacturing mills along the Jones Falls” in *Hampden-Woodberry* (Hampden-Woodberry Community Council, n.d.).

⁷ George Washington Howard, *The Monumental City: It's Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore: J. D. Ehlers and Co., 1873), pg. 668. Available as a Google Book.

⁸ “Stone Hill Historic District”, Section 8, Page 1.

⁹ George Washington Howard, pg. 667.

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- ¹⁰ “The Industrial Interests: Baltimore Manufactories--A Tour Among the Cotton Mills” Reported for the Baltimore Sun, *The Sun (1837-1987)*; Aug 8, 1872; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. 1
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- ¹⁴ “Death of a Pioneer Manufacturer--Interesting Sketch of a Busy Life
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- ¹⁷ “Stone Hill Historic District,” Section 8, Page 5.
- ¹⁸ Ernest Imhoff, “Crittenton celebrates a century of caring; Program assists troubled adolescent girls” *The Sun*, [Baltimore, Md] 25 Jan 1996: 3B.; “Crittenton Home Marks Its Founding: Girls Cared For In Past To Be ...”, *The Sun (1837-1986)*; May 21, 1933; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. SA7
- ¹⁹ “Homes for Outcasts: Mr. Charles N. Crittenton, Founder of a Worthy ...” *The Sun (1837-1986)*; Nov 21, 1896; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987) pg. 10; James C. Bertram “Man In The Street: Charles Crittenton,” *The Sun (1837-1986)*; Apr 5, 1953; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. SM18
- ²⁰ “Millions for Mission: Will Of Charles N. Crittenton Filed For Probate”, *The Sun (1837-1986)*; Dec 15, 1909; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. 11; “Dies On 100th Birthday”, *The Sun (1837-1986)*; Nov 17, 1909; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. 2
- ²¹ “A House of Rescue: Florence Crittenton Mission Opened at High Street Church,” *The Sun (1837-1986)*; Dec 17, 1895; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. 10
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- ²³ “Working for Women: Practical Result of Mrs. Edholm’s Effort, in This City,” *The Sun (1837-1987)*; Dec 9, 1895; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. 10;
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- ⁴⁵ “Frocks and Frills,” *The Sun (1837-1986)*; May 27, 1915; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. 7
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- ⁵⁰ Ann Fessler, pg. 148.
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- ⁵⁵ “Departing Crittenton head fears rise in neglected children,” *The Sun (1837-1986)*; May 26, 1977; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987), pg. C12
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- ⁵⁷ Patrick Gilbert “Worker from Crittenton disappears after errand”, *The Sun*, [Baltimore, Md] 09 Jan 1994: 1B.

From: Sharon Price (The Elm) [theelmsharon@yahoo.com]
Sent: Saturday, February 16, 2013 12:09 PM
To: Schiszik, Lauren
Subject: CrittendenHome

Dear Kathleen,

I live directly across from the Crittenden property and in fact, I am the only residential neighbor on the Elm Avenue side, as I live in what was once the horse's stable to Mt. Vernon Mill. I have worked with both John Brooks and another party interested in the property to try to find a use that would not ruin its historic significance or intrude on the neighborhood in an incompatible way.

Years ago, when fighting the billboards on 83,a CHAP representative told me that it considered this area to be "the most intact mill village in the nation". I believe there is a report stating this. There are many reasons why the Crittenden property should remain as it is, but I will merely cite that its historical significance as the original home of the founder of this village is enough of a reason to rate any protection that CHAP can give.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sharon Price

3100 Elm Avenue

410-889-3288

From: Ginny Overturf [ginnyo808@yahoo.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2013 8:56 PM
To: Schiszik, Lauren
Subject: Support for City Council Bill 12-0165

February 21, 2013

Dear Ms. Kotarba,

My family has lived on W. 32nd Street for forty-six years. We are writing in support of City Council Bill 12-0165: Landmark & Special List Designation of the CRITTENTON buildings and property by the Baltimore City Historical and Architectural Preservation. Our concern, is the congestion it would bring. There is already construction of condominiums at the bottom of Chestnut Avenue. We would like to keep the nature of our neighborhood intact.

Marilyn Overturf and David Overturf

808 W. 32nd Street