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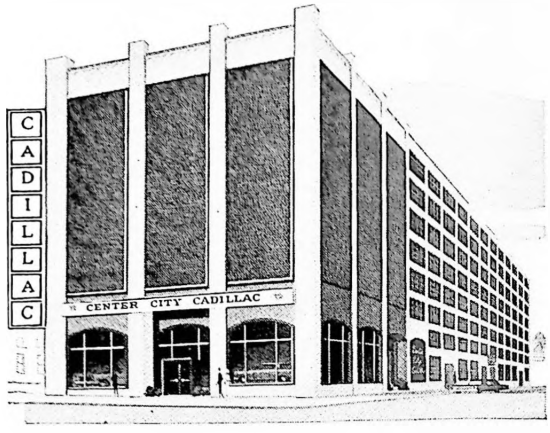
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PRISON ARCHITECTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By NEGLEY K. TEETERS

Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York*

In this, the first part of Dr. Teeter's article on prison architecture, you will find information on the origins and early history of prisons in many states. The second part of the article describes and discusses prison architecture with interesting details on Philadelphia institutions. It will appear in the Fall issue of *The Crier*.

*The author is Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Temple University, where he taught for nearly forty years. At present he is Visiting Professor at Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York.

Dr. Teeters is the author of several books dealing with criminal and correctional history of colonial times, and much of the material in this article has been taken from his works. In addition to those mentioned in the notes of this article, other major works of the writer include, "New Horizons in Criminology," "World Penal Systems," and "Penology from Panama to Cape Horn."

Dr. Teeters has been a member of the Pennsylvania Prison Society for many years, and he served as its president for eight years. He has also been a member of Governor Leader's Commission on Correctional Matters and of the two Commissions to Revise the Penal Code of the Commonwealth.

In December, 1963, Dr. Teeters was awarded the August Vollmer Plaque by the American Society of Criminology in recognition of his writings in the field of corrections.

WHAT a prison should be like, what its interior facilities should attempt to accomplish, and what the overall function of its very existence should be, have long been controversial matters. So long as we have criminals who prey upon the life, limb, and property of members of the public, it is probable that regularly-constituted authorities, as well as the public generally, will demand some kind of restraint for the dissident. It is quite likely that the prison will always be the visual implementation of that restraint. Fines, probation, admonition, and other worthy substitutes for imprisonment, there will always be, but their use, in the foreseeable future, will be little better than tokens of treatment for the offender.

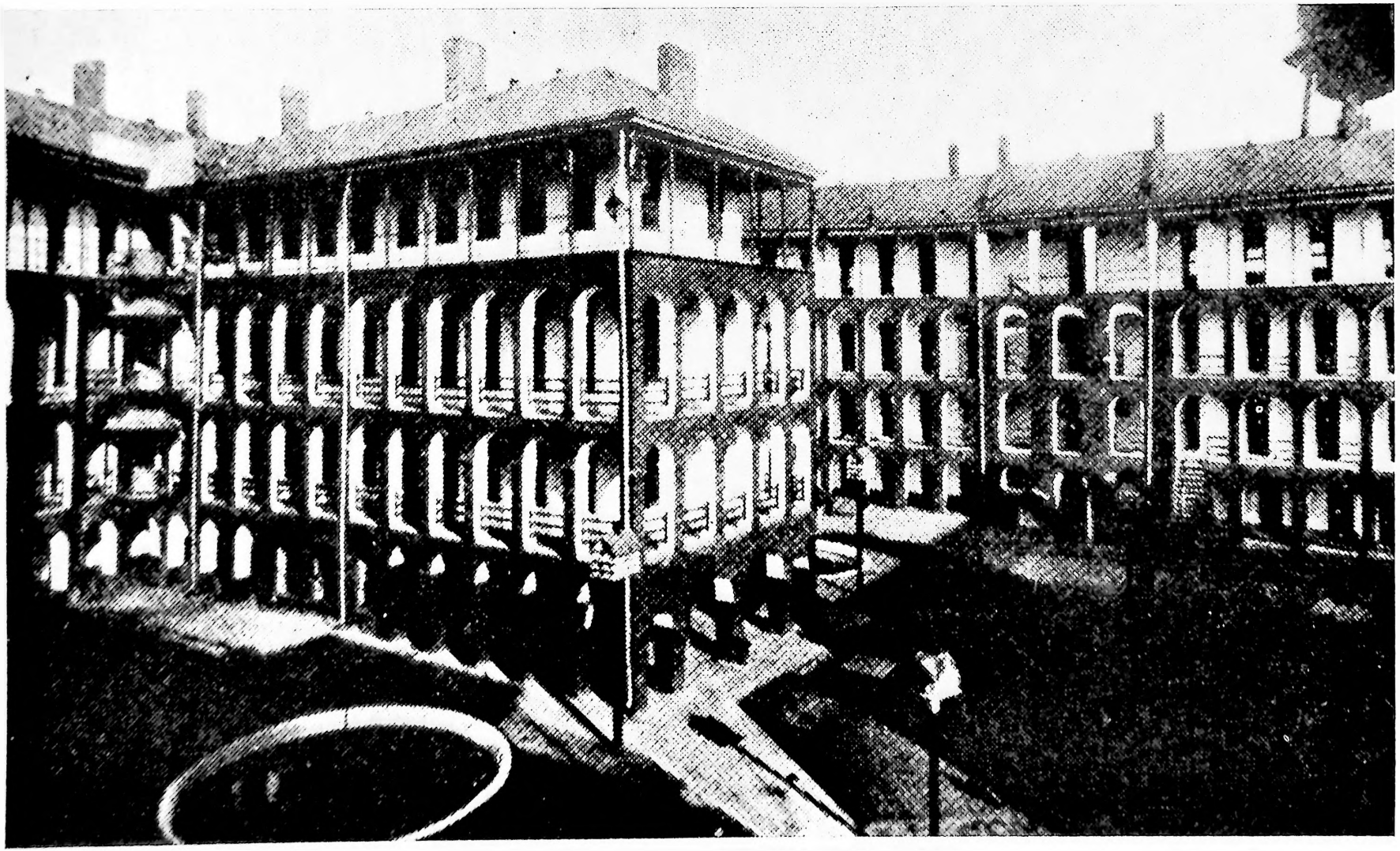
The contemporary scene has been left a legacy of many state and federal prisons, built from seventy-five to one hundred fifty years ago—structures that Howard Gill, astute contemporary correctional expert, refers to as "monolithic monstrosities"—but which are still doing business under extreme handicaps. One lesson we may learn from these piles of granite, iron and steel, is that we do not shackle oncoming generations with their counterparts we may erect today and tomorrow. However, it may be stated with some regret that thus far we do not seem to have learned much if we witness some state prisons that have been recently built or are contemplated, even in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The names of Haviland, Strickland, Latrobe, and Bullfinch stand out among the great architects of this country. Their non-prison achievements are their best-known legacies. But they were also pioneer prison architects. There are others who left their mark on prison construction. At least two, whose achievements also merge into other areas for which they are remembered rather than for their prisons, were Robert Smith (1722-1777) and Thomas Ustick Walter (1804-1887), both of Philadelphia. Smith, perhaps the most eminent architect of his day, designed the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia in 1773—the "first penitentiary in the world." He was a member of the Carpenters' Company and designed their famous building in 1771, one of the city's national shrines. Nassau Hall, first building of Princeton College, as well as Old Pine Street Third Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia, and, of course, Carpenters' Hall, still stand as monuments to his genius[1].

Thomas Walter is best remembered penologically for his creation of old Moyamensing County Prison at Philadelphia, built in 1835 and only recently razed[2]. Walter started his career as a bricklayer but, through courses taken at the Franklin Institute in his native city, he became proficient as an architect. He is also known for his design of Girard College and some work executed on the National Capitol at Washington.

Before discussing the works of Haviland and Strickland, two other prominent, early, prison architects, a few words should be dedicated to others, many of whom are remote and obscure but who, in a less universal way, have left their mark on their state prisons.

The material in this article is largely fragmentary; however some of it, aside from that associated with



COURTYARD OF ORIGINAL VIRGINIA STATE PRISON

Pennsylvania, is not too well known in correctional circles. Sources of information are recorded in the footnotes and the writer herewith expresses acknowledgement and thanks for the courtesies and data received to help make this article possible.

VIRGINIA: Built in 1800 at the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson and designed by the famous architect, Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820). It follows to a modified degree the ill-fated *Panopticon* or "Inspection House" establishment, brain-child of the doughty Jeremy Bentham, controversial British political-economist. We shall have more to say about this "rat-cage" design later.

As early as 1786 Jefferson had been toying with the idea of a state prison in which a system of "solitary confinement," very much in the minds of prison reformers at the time, could be engrafted. We read from his writings as follows:

> With respect to the plan of a prison . . . I had heard of a benevolent society in England which had been indulged by the government, in an experiment of labor, in solitary confinement, on some of their criminals, which experiment had succeeded beyond expectation.[3] The same idea had been suggested in France, and an architect at Lyons[4] had proposed a plan of a well-contrived edefice, on the principle of solitary confinement. I procured a copy and, as it was too large for our purpose, I drew one on a scale less extensive, but susceptible of additions as they would be wanted. This I sent to the directors, instead of a common prison, in the hope that it would suggest the idea of labor in solitary confinement, instead of that on public works, which we had adopted in our Revised Code.
>
> Its principle, accordingly, but not its exact form, was adopted by Latrobe in carrying the plan into execution, by the erection of what is now called the Penitentiary,[5] built under his direction. In the meantime, the public opinion was ripening, by time, by reflection, and by the example of Pennsylvania, where labor on the highways had been tried, without approbation, from 1787 to '89, and had been followed by their penitentiary system on the principle of confinement and labor, which was proceeding auspiciously.[6]

Latrobe, perhaps the best-known architect of his generation, was responsible for a number of public buildings in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, and Washington. He planned and set up the first water supply system for the city of Philadelphia and had a large share in designing the National Capitol building in Washington.

His state prison for Virginia, located at Richmond, possessed a unique form. The original building was semicircular and the rooms, accommodating from two to twelve inmates, opened directly upon an inner courtyard. Aaron Burr was detained in this prison during his trial in 1807. Later, individual cells were constructed.

KENTUCKY: The erection of two structures in this state in its early days leads to some confusion. First there was a "Public Jail," constructed by an act of Assembly, December 20, 1794. Payments were made for this "public jail" to Samuel Bell "as by the contract with Harry Innes," amounting in all to $1,590 for its completion. However, "Col. Richard Taylor was contractor for the first Kentucky Penitentiary," according to the "Report on the History and Management of the Kentucky Penitentiary, From Its Origin in 1798 to March 1, 1860," written by William C. Snead: Public Documents, III, 1859-60. Kentucky's first prison was erected at Frankfort[7].

MASSACHUSETTS: The Bay State had a sort of prison as early as 1785, on Castle Island in Boston Harbor, from which prisoners were able to escape almost at will by swimming to the mainland[8]. In 1805 the Commonwealth erected a massive structure at Lynd's Point, Charlestown. Its architect was the famous Charles Bullfinch (1763-1844) who also designed the Beacon Hill Monument and the west approaches and porticos of the Capitol in Washington. He was appointed architect for Washington in 1818.

The old Charlestown prison was a forbidding structure patterned after an earlier prison in New York City, known as Newgate, which stood in Greenwich Village and was erected in 1797. The main characteristics of the Massachusetts prison were its roomy cells which were just the opposite of the narrow cells that were later to become so prevalent in prison construction. Two or even more prisoners were housed in each cell. The Charlestown prison, in its later years, was the butt of ridicule and disgust since its dark and unfriendly walls and interior were so outmoded. Numerous efforts were made to abandon and destroy the structure but it was not until February 23, 1956, that the last prisoners were transferred to the new prison at south Walpole, opened November 28, 1955[9]. Like all Prisons, the Charlestown Bastille housed many notorious and/or famous prisoners. Among them were Niccola Sacco, shoemaker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, anarchists of the 1920's who were convicted of the murder of a paymaster at South Braintree. No case in this country precipitated so much controversy and doubt as theirs. Many works, *pro* and *con*, flowed from the press written by many distinguished persons, including Felix Frankfurter. The men were kept in the death house for seven years, much of the time in isolation and almost incommunicado. They were executed, despite much much national and international protest, on August 23, 1927[10]. This case is one that should never be forgotten by Americans.

VERMONT: It is not known definitely who the architect of the Vermont state prison actually was although it seems to have been Gamaliel Painter, master carpenter and "artificer." Storrs Lee has written a biography of Painter but does not mention his connection with the building of the prison. In the records of the Governor and Council of the state (Vol. V, page 14) we find Painter sending a communication "covering two proposals for building a State's prison" which was in 1804.

The prison is located at Windsor and is listed as being opened in 1809. Records of payment and other data are lost due to a fire in 1857[11]. It must have been, and still is, a highly secure establishment since the first inmate to successfully escape was the notorious George Abbott, *alias* Frank Almy, who made it in the early 1880's. His career (which ended by hanging in the New Hampshire prison on May 16, 1892, for the murder of his sweetheart, Christie Warden of Hanover) is "immortalized" by the well-known writer of murder stories, Stewart H. Holbrook, in his book *Murder Out Yonder*[12].

The original prison contained some thirty-five rooms or cells, each holding several inmates as was the custom at the time. In the Walnut Street jail at Philadelphia these were referred to as "night rooms." In 1831 a cell block was constructed with cells three feet, four inches wide, six feet, ten inches long, and six feet, six inches high. Heavy wooden doors were closed over the cells in each of which was constructed a nine-inch aperture through which feeble shafts of light might penetrate. Horrible tales concerning this early prison at Windsor survive. They were written by an intelligent prisoner named John Reynolds; "sufficiently logical and intellectual not to distort and rejoice in unreality."[13]

Reynolds described the balls of frost he scraped from the walls of his cell. Prisoners were obliged to keep walking in order to prevent freezing. One small piece of bread and a pail of water was the daily diet. Cold and undernourishment were the lot of all. He states that "one prisoner with frozen ears and shivering limbs, exhausted by the very exercise necessary to prevent freezing, was dying in solitary confinement for want of sleep." He states bitterly that the "coldest part of the prison in winter had not a spark of fire in any of the halls."

NEW HAMPSHIRE: The prison was built at Concord, the State's capitol, in 1812, by Stuart J. Park. He was probably more a builder than an architect. From a New Hampshire source we find the following: "Park's parents were natives of Scotland and came to this country in 1767. His father was a stone mason and the first here who practiced splitting stone with a wedge. Stuart Park was the overseer or contractor of the following structures: A jail at Portland in 1798, a jail at Northampton, Mass. in 1801, the state prison at Charlestown, Mass. in 1803, the prison at Windsor, Vermont, in 1808, the State Prison at Concord, 1810, the Middlesex Locks and Canal, 1813, the Boston Mill Dam, 1820, the Charlestown Dry Dock, 1825, and the Lowell Railroad in 1835."[14]

It is believed that the prison had been patterned after the Philadelphia Walnut Street Jail with large night rooms serving as sleeping quarters for the inmates. These rooms in the Vermont prison housed from two to six and were early condemned by the energetic and historically famous warden, Moses Pillsbury, who was a firm believer in separate confinement. It was his contention that "plots were hatched in night rooms and he frequently overhead whole histories of villainy in listening to the conversations of convicts at night." In 1893 the prison adopted the Auburn type of construction (described later) when a new cell block of three stories was erected.

MARYLAND: Mr. James Curran, former superintendant of the state prisons, is the source for the following: The prison, located on East Madison Avenue, Baltimore, was begun in 1804 and finished in 1811. Its cost was $144,000 and its architect Daniel Conn. No other data are available to the writer.

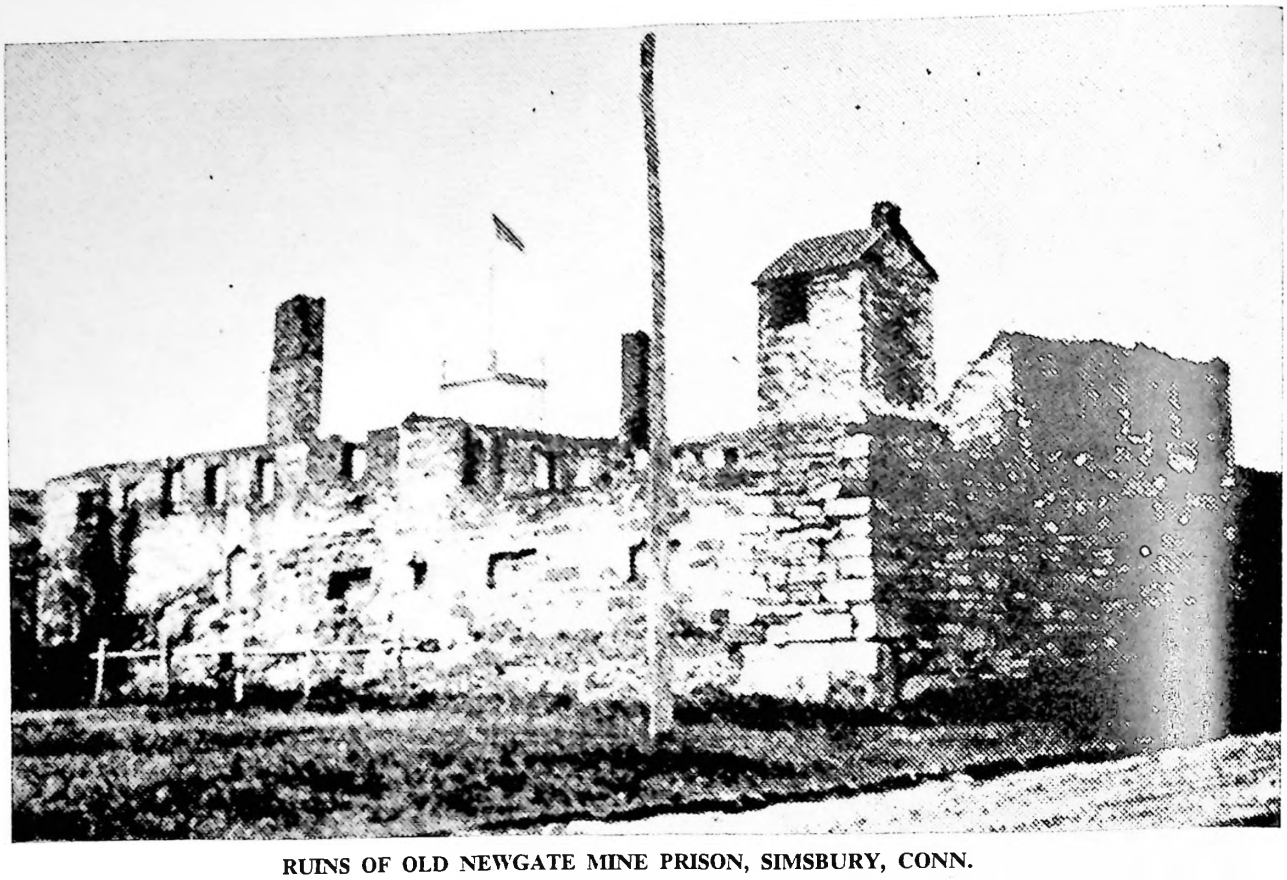
OHIO: The first state prison was built at Columbus in 1813. It was erected under the supervision of William Ludlow, State director of Public Buildings. In a letter to the writer from the reference librarian of the state library we note the following perplexity—something found all too frequently in running down items of historic interest and merit: "This raises a question as to whether Ludlow, in supervising the building, might have used another person's plans; we have used other material available on the penitentiary and consulted two other libraries without finding any mention of an architect or any name other than Ludlow's."[15]

Few prisons have been shackled with so much unfavorable publicity through the years. It was the scene of a holocaust in 1930 that took the lives of 300 inmates[16]. Through the years stories of fantastic punishments that were peculiar to its management have come to the attention of the public. One of the most bizarre was a cage in which was restrained an obviously deranged murderer by the name of Ira Maralatt. This was back in the 1890's when the prison had in its population the great story writer, O'Henry (Sidney Porter). Maralatt was put on exhibition by the warden and the general public paraded past this tragic figure in his cage at twenty-five cents per head. The train robber turned evangelist, Al Jennings, states in his book, *Through the Shadows With O'Henry*, that the famous short story writer often was called upon to sponge off the unfortunate Maralatt after he was administered a flogging, of which there were many[17].

Another punishment was known as the *humming bird*, a most ingenious device. Perhaps its main characteristics were the elements of uncertainty and surprise. A prisoner would be stripped and blindfolded and an electric battery applied to different parts of the body—just where the next shock would be could not be anticipated[18].

MAINE: A legislative act was passed February 1, 1823, which provided for the erection of a state prison. A commission was appointed, one member of which was Dr. Daniel D. Rose, who later was appointed agent with the duty of superintending the erection of the establishment. A site was selected at Thomaston because it was "halfway between Kittery and Eastport."

There is no record as to who designed the prison but it may be implied that Rose directed its construction which proved to be, penologically and architecturally,



RUINS OF OLD NEWGATE MINE PRISON, SIMSBURY, CONN.

the most fantastic institution of its kind ever erected in this country. This is because the prison cells were, in reality, holes in the ground. The only entrance to these cells was from the top in the form of a "two-foot square aperture so that a ladder could be inserted by which the prisoner could descend to his subterranean abode." Each cell was supplied with a hammock and a Bible. One commentator referred to these cells as "jugs." Rose became the prison's first warden. The prisoners were brought to the surface each morning and put to work quarrying stone of which there was an abundance on the site[19].

Other early prisons about which we have some data are the first New Jersey institution, built at Lamberton (a part of Trenton) in 1797, the Connecticut state prison at Wethersfield, erected in 1827, the Rhode Island prison, erected in 1834, and the Missouri prison, opened in 1836. A few words from available sources are in order. According to Harry Elmer Barnes' survey of New Jersey's early prison system: "Jonathan Doan, on March 1, 1797, was commissioned by the legislature to purchase from Peter Hunt a tract of six and one-half acres in the town of Lamberton as a site for a new state prison."[20] Over the door of the main building were engraved these words: "Labor, Silence, Penitence," and, "That those who are feared for their crimes may learn to fear the laws and be useful." This building still stands and serves as the residence of the warden. It is probably accurate to state that this building, still regarded as quite a handsome structure, is the oldest remaining edifice once used as a state prison. This prison was abandoned in 1836 to be replaced by the present structure, designed by the famous architect, John Haviland. Barnes writes of the facade of this prison and its builder: "When Haviland was employed as head architect—even the medieval castle architecture (for which he was notorious as well as famous) had become too light and airy to suit his taste and he based this structure upon the design of an Egyptian temple."[21] That prison is today a gloomy, outmoded and totally unsuitable place in which to house human beings, but the sovereign state of New Jersey finds it difficult to come through with enough finances to erect a modern penal establishment.

CONNECTICUT: This state's first prison was, in reality, a copper mine that had been in operation many years at East Granby (Simsbury). As early as 1703, there was mining, but in 1773, it was acquired by the state to incarcerate prisoners. Tories were sent there after the beginning of the Revolution; Washington, himself, sent a number of them from Cambridge in 1775, describing them as "flagrant and atrocious villains." In 1790 this underground mine became the state's prison. Occupations introduced were the manufacture of nails, barrels, shoes, wagons, and farming. In later years the treadmill was used to grind corn (1824). An historian of this prison, Richard H. Phelps, stated that the treadmill was dreaded the most and "the most stubborn were put to this employment." He added that "in extreme cases the *lady birds* (female prisoners) were put 'on the

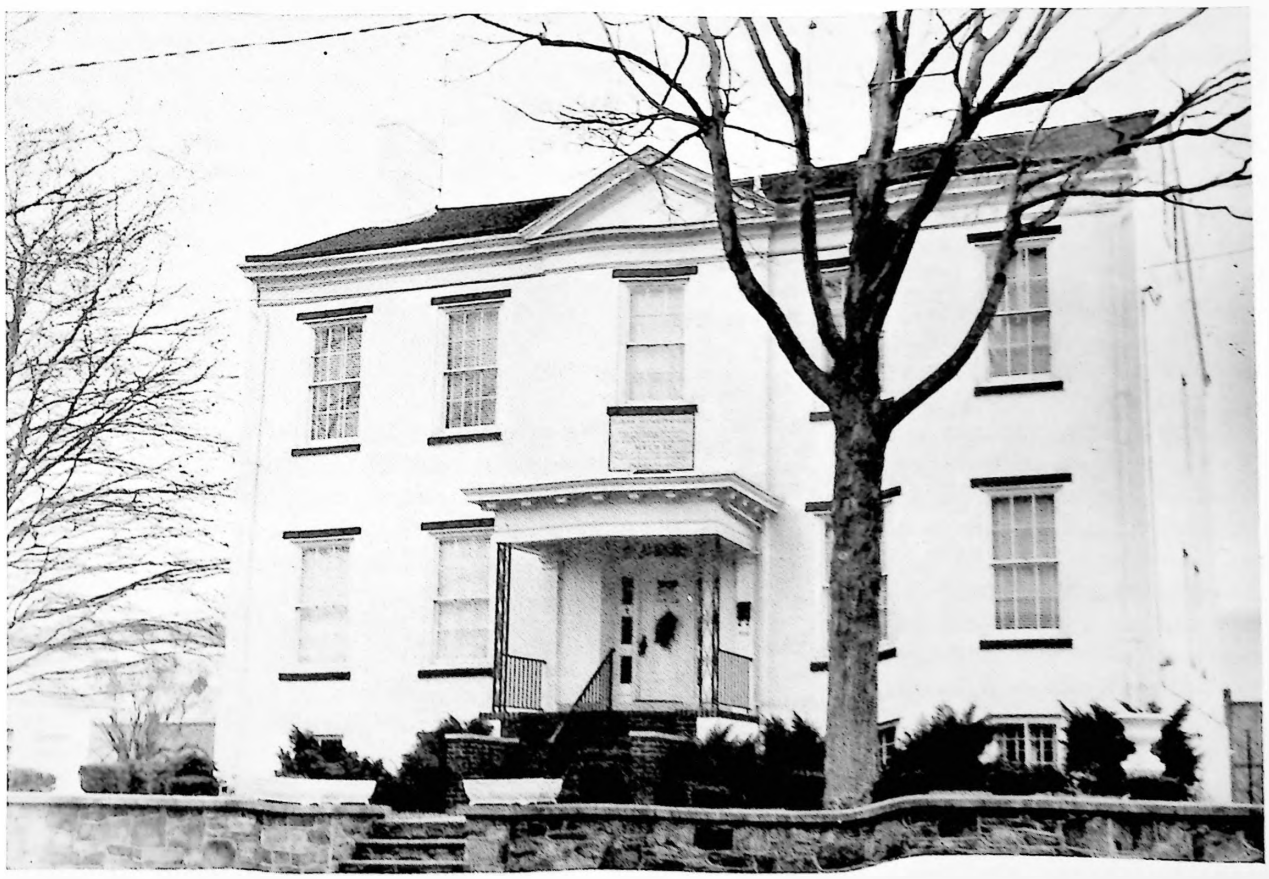
wheel' among the men as punishment."[22] The unique feature of this harrowing prison was its underground dormitory. A passage from the surface of the ground to the bottom of the mine was traversed by a long ladder. Hewn out of solid rock, passages, in two of which were wells of water, wound their way in various directions. On the sides and in niches of the cavern, platforms were built on which the prisoners slept. Their beds were boards covered with straw. At dawn, the men were brought to the surface and taken to the shops, chained together.

This cave prison was abandoned in favor of the new prison opened at Wethersfield in 1827. Phelps, who was enthusiastic about the new prison, went into a panegyric by stating: "Each convict enjoys the blessings of punishment, a separate cell at night, and no one is allowed during the day to look at any visitor, or to catch the eye of his fellow, but all are intent upon the business before them."[23]

The new Wethersfield prison is famous, primarily, for its two outstanding wardens, the Pillsburys, father and son. Moses, the father, was warden at the New Hampshire prison and when he assumed charge at the Connecticut institution, he brought with him his nineteen-year-old son, Amos. The latter man continued as warden until 1845. Phelps says of the young man, "Having made Wethersfield prison superior to any other in the country, he next turned his attention to improvement of the county jails."

The Wethersfield prison had no architect. It just grew. The legislature, meeting in May of 1826, in the city of New Haven, appointed three commissioners to purchase a "lot of land situated in Wethersfield, offered to the state by the heirs of Justus Riley—not exceeding the sum of Five Hundred Dollars, for the site of New Gate Prison." The Commissioners appointed James Dodd to act under their advice and to supervise the erection of the institution. Various contractors were commissioned to furnish materials and to erect buildings. Locks for the cells were made by the prisoners at the Simsbury mine-prison on a pattern furnished "by the politeness of Mr. Lynds—Agent and keeper of the prison at Sing Sing." We shall have more to say about Mr. Lynds later.[24]

The new prison absorbed the inmates from the Simsbury prison in October, 1827. It cost approximately $30,000. This is amazing when it is compared with the cost of the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, which we shall discuss below, opened in 1829. That



NEW JERSEY'S FIRST PRISON

establishment, which took twelve years to build, cost over seven hundred thousand dollars.

One quaint bit of lore comes down to us from the Wethersfield prison. The female prisoners sang the following hymn each evening at "prayers":

> The way of wickedness is hard;
> Its bitter fruits we know;
> Shame in this world is its reward,
> And in the future, Wo!

This famous prison with its equally famous early wardens, is no more. It has been torn down and the state maintains a new institution at Somers. Amos Pilsbury was successful for several years in making his prison pay for itself. He is also given credit for the first use of prisoners as "trusties," that is, on merit (presumably) he gave some inmates little jobs of trust, such as running errands up into town. One story, perhaps apocryphal, should be told here. A prisoner named Scott, a desperate fellow, serving a fifteen-year stretch, refused to work. In order to avoid all labor he cut one of his hands nearly off. His wound attended to, he found himself in less than an hour turning a large crank with one hand. For this he swore he would murder Warden Pilsbury at the first opportunity. Soon thereafter the prison barber became ill and Scott was directed to take his place. Pilsbury wandered into the shop and sat down, directing Scott to shave him. From that time on, it is said, Scott became a model prisoner. However, this story is also told of another warden, Elmer Lynds of Auburn and Sing Sing. (see below) It could be applied to both men as they were alike, strong and resolute disciplinarians.

RHODE ISLAND: An early prison was located on swampy land beside a former tidal basin near what is now downtown Providence. After considerable debate, the "freemen" of the state voted in favor of a new prison in 1834, but it was not until November, 1838, that the first prisoner was admitted. The granite building, costing $51,501, measured 48 ft. by 93 ft., of two stories, with outside cell arrangement, twenty cells on each level. The prison was based on the Pennsylvania System, which we shall describe in our next section. A 15-foot wall surrounded the enclosure. Harry Elmer Barnes stated that John Haviland designed this prison, but there does not seem to be any evidence of this. Actually, no mention is made of an architect in the available material dealing with the erection of this institution.

A new prison for the State was erected in 1876 at Cranston, south of Providence. This prison was modeled after the Auburn System which shall be described later. The area post office is known as Howard. The site of the original prison became that of the Rhode Island College of Education for many years. It is still used for state purposes.

MISSOURI: This state's first prison, located at Jefferson City, was authorized by the 1832-33 legislature. It was designed by John Haviland and was opened to its first prisoner on March 8, 1836. He was Wilson Bidson of Greene County. He had been sentenced to serve two years and forty-five days for grand larceny. According to records, it covered an area of 200 feet by 45 feet. The roof was of sheet lead or copper. The prison consisted of three, two-story, brick cell blocks disposed at right angles about an octagonal, central observatory, separated from the ends of the blocks by a few feet. There were forty cells in each block. The design apparently resembled the little county prisons that were erected in England during the early part of the nineteenth century with which Haviland was familiar. One source states that the prison was made of brick but a news account in a December, 1834, paper quoted from a speech by Governor Dunklin in which he stated that the prison "was pleasing to the people of Jefferson City as it was of fine building stone quarried from the nearby bluff, resembling more a fleecy cloud than a gloomy prison."

The legislature initially appropriated $25,000 for the structure but it is not known by this writer what the final cost actually was. The contractor failed to finish the job within the given time and the legislature of 1835 authorized James Dunnica, the commissioner, to complete the building. The system in vogue was based upon "the ideas of punishment and revenue." Punishments were harsh and brutal, according to the 1853 Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Inspectors. During the early period it is recorded that there were riots, due to the harsh regime and the lack of edible food.

The Missouri archives do not have a photograph of this first prison but a likeness of it appears in Edouard Ducpetiaux, *Des progres de l'etat actuel de la reforme penitentiare,* Vol. III, plate 97. Ducpetiaux, one-time political prisoner in his native Belgium, later became head of his country's prison system.

This first Missouri prison was demolished in 1864 and the present plant was completed in 1870.[27]

EARLY NOTIONS OF THE PURPOSES OF IMPRISONMENT

A former British Commissioner of Prisons, the astute and alert Alexander Paterson, once wryly remarked, "The prison is a monastery in which the inmates do not choose to be monks." Certainly the prisons of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were designed not unlike monasteries. They also functioned similar to monastic cloisters. Actually they were, and still are in some jurisdictions, called *penitentiaries.* Another prison administrator, also British, Major Arthur Griffiths, wrote a two-volume work, quite aptly sub-titled *Secrets of the Prison House.* This was in 1894. One hundred years earlier, the great Philadelphia physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Rush, presented his views of imprisonment as follows:

> Let the avenue to this house (the proposed prison) be rendered difficult and gloomy by mountains and morasses. Let the doors be of iron and let the grating occasioned by opening and shutting them be increased by an echo from a neighboring mountain that shall extend and continue a sound that shall deeply pierce the soul. Let a guard con-

> stantly attend at a gate that shall lead to this place of punishment, to prevent strangers from entering it. Let all the officers of the house be strictly forbidden to discover any signs of mirth, or even levity, in the presence of the criminals. To increase the horror of this abode of discipline and misery, let it be called by some name that shall import its design[27].

Rush called his phantom prison a "house of repentance." While this distinguished man suggested many ideas and concepts closely associated today with progressive corrections, such as, indeterminate sentence, classification of prisoners, a regime of productive prison labor, largely through the development of agriculture and manufacturing, the rudiments of the modern presentence clinics, as well as social case work (he even urged that sentencing judges should visit their sentenced criminals "once or twice a year). He envisioned the prison as a drab, severe, and lonely "receptacle" for purposes of repentance of the wrong-doer.

Another distinguished colonial humanitarian wrote feelingly about the treatment of hardened offenders who, rather than to be executed, should be subjected to the rigors of solitary and unmitigating lonely confinement. This was Edward Livingston, author of the famous "System of the Penal Law for the State of Louisiana," which, ironically, was rejected because it was considered too mild. The following, he contended, should be inscribed on every murderer's cell:

> In this cell is confined, to pass his life in solitude and sorrow, ——, convicted of the murder of ——. His drink is water, mingled with his tears; he is dead to the world; this cell is his grave; his existence is prolonged that he may remember his crime and repent it, and that the continuance of his punishment may deter others from the indulgence of hatred, avarice, sensuality, and the passions which led to the crime which he has committed. When the Almighty, in his due time, shall exercise toward him that dispensation which he himself arrogantly and wickedly usurped towards another, his body is to be dissected, and his soul will abide that judgment which Divine Justice shall decree[28].

Dr. Daniel D. Rose, the apparent designer of the first Maine prison, one of the oldest prisons with its underground "jug" cells, held penological views that follow in the same tradition as those mentioned above. He wrote:

> State prisons should be so constructed that even their aspect might be terrific, and appear as they should be, dark and comfortless abodes of guilt and wretchedness. No mode or degree of punishment which ever has been made or which ever can be adopted is in its nature so well adapted to purposes of preventing crime and reforming the criminal, as close confinement in a silent or solitary cell, in which, cut off from all hope of relief during the term for which he shall have been sentenced, the convict shall be furnished with a hammock on which he may sleep, a block of wood on which he may sit, and with such coarse, though wholesome food as may be best suited to a person in a situation designed for grief and penitence; and shall be favored with so much light from the firmament as may enable him to read the New Testament, which shall be given to him as his sole companion and guide to a better life. There his vices and crimes shall become personified, and appear to his frightened imagination as the cotenants of his dark and dismal cell. They will surround him as so many hideous spectres, and overwhelm him with horror and remorse. (From the minority report of the "Commissioners on the Removal of the Maine State Prison," August, 1891.)

There is nothing radical in the statement that prisons are not built to house wild animals. Rather they are maintained to retain, supervise, and, perhaps, segregate human beings. Treatment and salvage are hopeful objectives. It is axiomatic that the architecture of a structure, whether it be a private dwelling or a public edifice, should be conceived and erected with human beings in mind. Contrary to public opinion, a prison is not a warehouse in which to store inert objects. Rather it is a kind of domicile erected for the purpose of housing men and women.

NOTES

[11] For early days of the Walnut Street Jail, see Negley Teeters, *The Cradle of the Penitentiary,* Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1955.

[2] The women's apartment, separated from the prison proper, was designed by Walter along Egyptian lines with massive columns dominating the facade. When the prison was torn down these columns were taken to Washington and now rest in the Smithsonian Institute.

[3] There can be little doubt that Jefferson was referring to the work of Sir Thomas Beevor in his jail in Wymondham, Norfolk County, erected in 1785 on the principle of solitary confinement with labor by the prisoner in his cell. Sir Thomas was enthusiastic about the results of the experiment and had written that the regime was more effective "than whipping" and to be sure that "reformation may be chiefly expected." For details see Teeters, *They Were in Prison,* Philadelphia, Winston, 1937, 32-3; for more details see Teeters, "Goal at Wymondham, Norfolk," *Prison World,* March-April, 1950, p. 22 f.

[4] Pierre Gabriel Bugniet who, in 1785, designed the Roanne prison at Lyons. He died in 1806.

[5] The word *penitentiary* was probably first used to designate a prison by the great prison reformer, John Howard (1726-1790).

[6] "The Writing of Thomas Jefferson, Memorial Edition," Washington, D. C., 1903, I, 69-70. For an analysis of this prison in its early days, see an unpublished Master's thesis by Mary Agnes Grant, *History of the State Penitentiary of Virginia,* William and Mary College, 1936.

[7] Data supplied by the Kentucky Historical Society in a letter dated November 13, 1959.

[8] See Edwin Powers, *Crime and Punishment in Early Massachusetts,* 1620-1692, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, 241-2.

[9] The only published history of this prison, and then covering only the early days to *circa* 1868, is by a former warden, Gideon Haynes, *Pictures of Prison Life,* 1869.; see also Powers, op. cit., pp. 243 ff.

[10] See Pennsylvania's Supreme Court Justice, the late Michael Musmanno, *After Twelve Years,* Knopf, 1939. Musmanno, in a memorial speech, wrote concerning the last days of these tragic men:

> Each was placed in solitary confinement in a cell isolated from the rest of the world. The door to the cell was not an iron grating, but a thick, oaken slab. The walls were solid, light-proof, and sound-proof. The ceiling was low, the temperature was 90 degrees. The air was stifling. On July 10, Vanzetti wrote: "Just think of it! They have persecuted us to death for seven years. Now they feel positive that we will be executed on August 10, after midnight, and yet they

have transferred us here, just to deprive us for a month, of a little fresh air and sunlight, of some visits; just to inflict on us thirty days more of solitary confinement, at the hottest of the summer, in a low, smoky, dreadful place before they burn us to death. And this is enlightened America!"

[11] Source: State Librarian, Montpelier.

[12] MacMillan, 1941, in chapter entitled "The Crime of the Vale of Tempe," a locale in Hanover near the Dartmouth College campus.

[13] Reynolds is liberally quoted in Orlando F. Lewis, *The Development of American Prisons and Customs, 1776-1845,* Albany, N. Y., 1922, p. 154.

[14] Nathaniel Bouton, "The History of Concord from its first Grant in 1725 to the Organization of the City Government in 1853," published by Banning W. Sanborn, 1856; Concord, p. 365.

[15] From Jacob H. Studer, "Columbus, Ohio, Its History, Resources, and Progress," Columbus: 1873.

[16] For an account of this fire, see James M. Winning, *Behind These Walls,* MacMillan, 1933.

[17] H. K. Fly, 1912; a good description (perhaps not too accurate) of the Ohio Prison at the turn of the century.

[18] Charles L. Clarke and Earle E. Eubank, *Lockstep and Corridor,* University of Cincinnati Press, 1927, 70. Clarke was an inmate and Eubank was a sociologist.

[19] Teeters, "Early Days of the Maine State Prison at Thomason," *J. of Crim. Law, Crimin. & Police Sc.,* 38, No. 2 (July-August, 1947) 104-18.

[20] *Report of the Prison Inquiry Commission,* Dwight Morrow Commission, Trenton: 1917, 59.

[21] Barnes, *The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania,* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927, 143.

[22] "Newgate of Connecticut: Its Origin and Early History," American Publishing Co., 1876, (with an introduction by Clarence W. Seymour, 1927 edition) see p. 68.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 88.

[24] For material on the Wethersfield prison see "Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature—to build a New State Prison," Hartford, 1827. Courtesy of Mrs. Janet H. Axman, Head, History & Geneology, State Library of Connecticut, Hartford.

[25] The Pilsbury yarn comes from Zebulon Brockway, *Fifty Years of Prison Service,* New York: Charities Publication, 1912, 35: as applied to Capt. Lynds, see F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation,* Crowell, 1895, 149.

[26] Material supplied, courtesy Prof. Ralph England, University of Rhode Island, from a Master's thesis by Richard A. Greene, entitled "Rhode Island Prisons, 1638-1948." The citation from Barnes is from his *Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania,* (see f.n. 21, *supra*) p. 141, f.n. 237. It has long been assumed that Haviland designed this prison along with the prisons at Philadelphia, Allegheny, and Trenton, New Jersey.

[27] The writer is indebted to Dr. Norman Johnston, Department of Sociology, Beaver College. Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Elizabeth Comfort, reference librarian, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, for material dealing with the Missouri state prison.

[27] *An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments Upon Criminals and Upon Society,* 1787; A paper read at the home of Benjamin Franklin on March 9 of that year. It was designed as a protest against the operation of a law passed September 15, 1786, known as the "wheelbarrow law," which called for placing felons on the streets and public highways in ignominious and degrading dress to scrape and dig streets and cellars. The act was repealed on April 5, 1790, and the first penitentiary created for the Commonwealth.

[28] Quoted by Wines, *op. cit.,* (f.n. 25), 145n.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

Thursday, October 16, 1969, 8:15 P.M.

Trinity Lutheran Church. Germantown Ave. and Queen Lane, Germantown

Speaker: Mr. Robert T. Trump

Subject: "Philadelphia Furniture of the Federalist Period."

Mr. Trump is a dealer in fine, antique American furniture and works of art. He is an authority on furniture of the federalist period.

Sunday, November 2, 1969, 3:00 to 6:00 P.M.

Germantown Y.W.C.A., 5820 Germantown Ave.

ART EXHIBIT of paintings and sculpture by women of the Germantown-Chestnut Hill area. Presentation of Jury Awards. Tea will be served. This is the first event of a week of activities planned for the 100th Anniversary Program of the Young Women's Christian Association of Germantown.

The Fall issue of THE CRIER will give further details.

Thursday, November 20, 1969, 8:15 P.M.

Aulenbach House, 29 W. Tulpehocken St., Germantown.

Speaker: (to be announced)

Subject: "The Philadelphia Bicentennial."

THE SOUL OF A SCHOOL
The Story of Lankenau

By WILTON D. ERNST

Dr. Ernst is Chaplain of the Lankenau School, Director of Public Relations, Chairman of the Development Committee and Teacher of Bible Studies.

THE LANKENAU SCHOOL in historic Germantown is an institution that treasures its traditions. It knows that not all that is new will survive and not all that is old is dead. On the other hand it knows that much that is new is worth trying. Both old and new are combined in a delightful mix that expresses the soul of the school for each child who enters its doors.

Lankenau was not always an independent school. It began as a wing of the Mary J. Drexel Home and Motherhouse of Deaconesses in 1890. John D. Lankenau, who might be considered the patron saint of the school, was the president of the Mary J. Drexel Board at that time. He was deeply involved in the German Hospital (the name was changed in 1917 to Lankenau Hospital) and in the group of Deaconesses who supervised and supplied the nursing services. But now it appeared to him and to the other members of the Board ". . . that the teaching Deaconess has just as important a position in this country as that of the nursing Sisters; and being so persuaded, we have permitted the plan to ripen, towards the development of which the publication of this Prospectus is the first step."[1]

The school arose in response to need. In a day when female education was a rarity, the Prospectus flung its challenge athwart the limited horizons of the times . . . and indeed, of all times!

> To the welfare of a nation its wives and mothers are of the greatest importance. It is they who stamp character upon the home and family, who exercise upon the rising generation the earliest and most lasting influence.
> Nor is it less important to the prosperity of the Church that it should have wives and mothers worthy of the name. In most cases it depends really upon them, whether men have a proper zeal and appreciation of Churchly life, or not; and whether their children grow up steadfast in their fidelity to the church, or indifferent to it. No teacher or pastor can afterwards retrieve what the mother has neglected.
>
> * * *
>
> Now, in the name of God, we propose to make a beginning.

[1] "Prospectus of the School for Girls in the Deaconess House of Philadelphia" in *The Messenger* from the Philadelphia Motherhouse of Deaconesses, Rector A. Cordes, Editor and Publisher, Vol. 1, 1890, p. 82.

But Lankenau was a cautious and practical business man as well as a Christian iidealist: the school was to be opened only if a certain prescribed number of students was enrolled. Evidently the number was reached for on September 16, 1890, the School for Girls of the Mary J. Drexel Home came to birth with thirty-three pupils accommodated on the fourth floor of the Mary J. Drexel Home. This number grew to forty-four before the year was ended. Nineteen were boarding students; twenty-one were day students. The Deaconess Board of the Lutheran Church supervised and inspired the whole program. Rector (Pastor) A. Cordes served as the first Principal; Sister Emilie Schwartz had charge of the actual administration as "Deaconess in charge." The terms for boarding scholars were set at $200 yearly; for this they received "board and washing, tuition, and use of the library, school stationery and medical attention in slight illness. The terms for day-scholars are $75 yearly, which includes dinner as above stated." By 1891 the $75 had been raised to $100.

While many shared the responsibility for the beginning of the school, chief recognition must go to John Diedrich Lankenau. It was his vision, enthusiasm and influence which gathered together the wishes, hopes and dreams of others into a successful pattern for action. Born on March 18, 1817, the son of a well-to-do importer in Bremen, Germany, he had come to Philadelphia in 1836. Entering the export-import business, his keen acumen brought success and prosperity. In 1846 he became the partner of Francis Drexel. In November of that year he was invited to a party at Drexel's home. It was a stormy night and he was the only guest to arrive. Drexel asked his daughter, Mary Joanna, to entertain the young man. Two years later, on October 9, 1848, she became his bride. But sadness became his shadow as he lost a son in birth on June 30, 1849; then his beloved wife on May 27, 1873; his son Frank, Feb. 23, 1877; and finally his daughter, Elise Catherine, on April 22, 1882. It was with his own keen sense of loss and suffering that he turned his creative talents to the hospital which had been begun in November, 1886, as "The German Hospital" and which, after 1917 was to carry his name. To ensure the necessary dedicated nursing services, he made arrangements to bring seven deacon-

esses from Germany. They arrived on June 19, 1882. To accommodate them and provide for an expanded deaconess program, he erected, in loving memory of his wife, the Mary J. Drexel Home and Philadelphia Motherhouse of Deaconesses at 21st and Girard Avenue.

The stature of this generous and public-spirited Lutheran can be seen in the tribute carried by the Philadelphia Public Ledger[1] at the time of Lankenau's death, August 30, 1901:

[1] Now known as the Philadelphia Inquirer.

> Philadelphia has had no finer type of citizen than John D. Lankenau, who has just passed away. He was a successful merchant of the old school, but was not wholly absorbed in business cares, finding time to attend to the affairs of charitable institutions and to public affairs. His wife, to whom he was greatly devoted, had the utmost sympathy with the poor and unfortunate, and Mr. Lankenau perpetuated her memory by caring for them. His own life was filled with sorrow, but he found consolation in doing good in the name of those he had loved and lost. The German Hospital owes to him, if not its existence, at least its extension, and for the last thirty years its means of support. The personal attention he gave to the German Hospital was almost as valuable as his munificent gifts of money. Hospital and Home were made memorials of his wife and daughter, and his one great pleasure has been in doing good in their name. The nobility of his life was reflected in his countenance. A benign face, touched with sadness, pictured the kindly soul which animated. John D. Lankenau conquered his own sorrows by alleviating the sorrows of others; a man of noble disposition, who steadfastly set aside self and thought only of the good he might do to suffering humanity.

How shall we describe those early days of the school? "Those were the days of the 'gay nineties' when people who could afford it sent their daughters not so much to college as to finishing schools which bore the now outmoded title of 'Female Seminary'." Gay Nineties? Perhaps 'gay' would not be quite the right word to picture the students. Happy? for the most part. Disciplined? hard-working? This surely. The forty-four girls who composed the first classes probably felt like pioneers. Higher education for young ladies in boarding school was a fairly new venture. They probably arrived by horse and buggy. It was a time when Benjamin Harrison was in the White House. The telephone had not come into common use. Electricity was just beginning to take over from the gas lamp. The Edison Gramaphone, complete with horn and revolving cylinders, occupied a prominent place in every affluent parlor. Ships, even battleships, were still moving under wind-power.

How was the school girl of 1890 dressed?

> She was well covered from tip to toe, and looking very dignified. Hair arranged high on her head, leg-o-mutton sleeves well stiffened with crinoline, a white shirtwaist with a boned collar that reached to the ears; skirts, of course, hid the ankles and they were so long that an advertisement of the time announced: 'A boon for women' a device to hold the skirts up in muddy weather. She was dressed thus for special occasions. In school her hair was done in long braids with bright ribbons tied at the terminals. She wore heavy black ribbed stockings, and high buttoned shoes.[1]



MARY J. DREXEL HOME

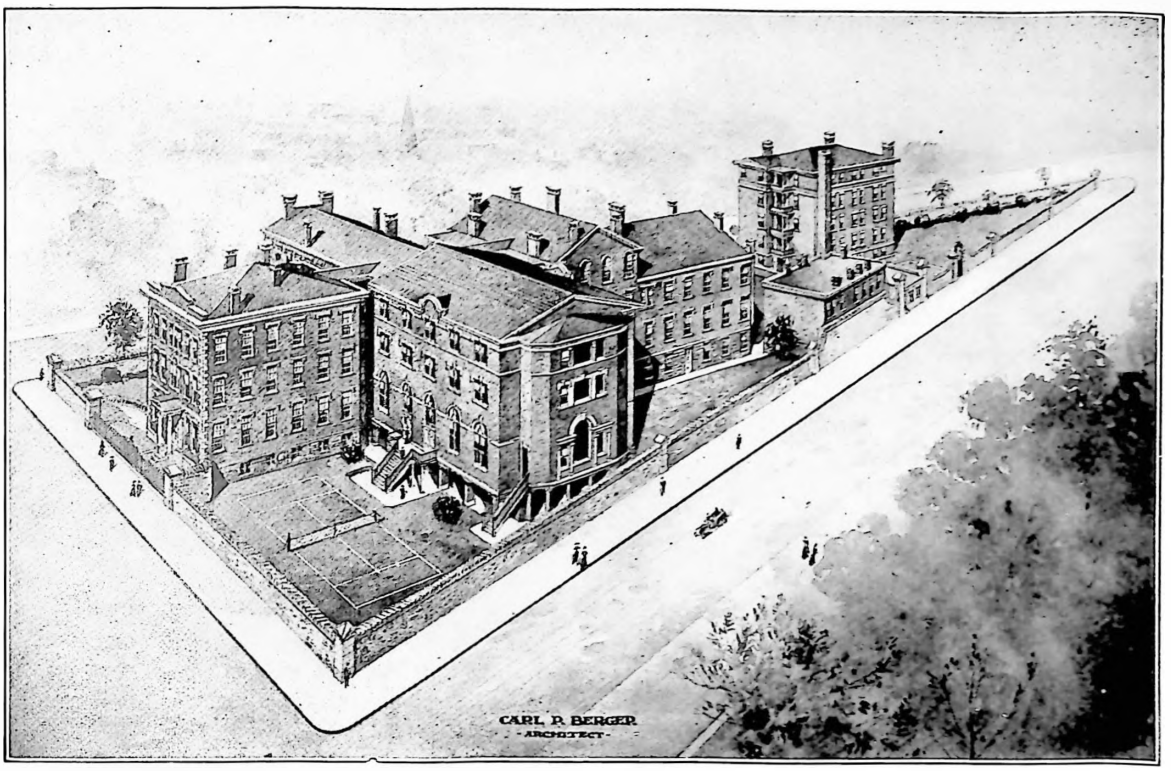
Intimate scenes of boarding life were presented in that same report:

> Pupils of this period recall lovingly the many happy simple pleasures of these days: 'Schattenbilder' (ghost stories) in the evening in which 'Strubel Peter' (sloppy Peter) and 'Schornsteinfeger' (Chimney Sweep) were favorites, with Sister Julie reading the dialogue . . . By far the most exciting event of this period took place one dark, wintry morning when one of the girls awoke with a start, looked at the hall clock and thought it was 5 minutes past 8. She related her fears to Fraulein Marie who had 'Aufsicht' (charge). She said frantically, 'Schell, doch' (Ring! then). This conscientious but sleepy young miss did most vigorously pound the bell. The School body soon congregated, climaxed by the arrival of Frau Oberin von Orsten in very informal attire laboriously ascending the stairs with the aid of her cane. 'Wo brennts denn Kinder, Wo brennts?' (Where's the fire?) she called breathlessly. The young bell-ringer was given a demonstration on the clock to prove that the time was not 5 minutes past 8 but 20 minutes to 1! and those who were not too excited returned to their beds and sleep.

The school, which had begun with two classes in 1890, grew to eight by 1900. Fifteen girls were gradu-

[1] Report of Alumna, Gertrude Heins Orr (1903-1907) at reunion of Alumnae Association, 1940, p. 1.

The *Bulletin* of the year 1892-93 lists the following articles students should bring: Plainly made woolen and wash dresses (no silk dresses), plainly made hats, 1 winter-coat, 1 fall-coat, a Mackintosh, 3 colored and 3 white aprons, to be purchased at the school, 6 collars or plain neck-wear, 2 colored flannel skirts, 2 dark petticoats, 4 under vests, 3 night gowns, 6 pair drawers, 6 pair stockings, 1½ dozen pocket-handkerchiefs, ½ dozen table napkins, 2 pair walking boots, 1 pair house shoes, 1 pair bedroom slippers, 1 pair rubbers, 1 umbrella, a workbox with all the necessary furnishings, combs, (tooth, hair, finger) clothes- and shoe-brushes; sponges or washrags, a Bible, 1 writing-case, 1 pencase . . . Pupils are requested not to bring any jewelry.



LANKENAU SCHOOL
Triangle of Old School Located at 2100 S. College Ave., Phila.

ated in this period. This number increased to twenty-seven by 1905. In ten classes the enrollment now stood at 65. Sister Margaret Schueder, who had come as a student in 1892, and Sister Lydia Strempfer, another former student, had joined the teaching staff. To encourage the use of the foreign languages studied in class, there were German days and French days, and, later, Spanish days when the table conversation must be only in those languages.

It was fitting that the students should be deeply grounded in the faith: it was only by faith that the school survived its birth pangs and its growing pains. Money was notoriously scarce. John D. Lankenau had supported the school with his time and resources; however it was only one of his many charitable concerns. Curiously—and unfortunately—when he died in 1901, no bequest to the school was found in his rather bountiful will. The students tried to help with the fund-raising. The Mite Society hoarded tin foil, newspapers and magazines. These they sold at a profit; great was the feeling of achievement when $1,875 was ultimately realized. Indeed it was a great sum for that day and made a splendid contribution toward the electrical fixtures and hardware in the new school across the street from the Mary J. Drexel Home.

Meantime the automobile had come on the American scene. The Wright brothers had made their first airplane flight at Kitty Hawk. The first silent movies—crude and limited but exciting—had opened a new door into the world of entertainment. Perhaps the school girls were not at this point too affected by these stirrings in the outside world.

The school succeeded so well that it outgrew its crowded quarters in the Motherhouse. In 1910 it moved to its own home, with spacious grounds and buildings, across the street on the triangular plot of ground bounded by Girard Avenue, South College Avenue, Poplar Street from 22nd to 24th Street. Here it became known by a new name, The Lankenau School for Girls. The building was formally dedicated on February 7, 1911.

The move to the new location solved the space problem. However the financial shortages and rising costs continued to harass the institution. One of the school reports from the Household Department expressed the dilemma:

> Gradually it became more difficult to find house workers; wages were constantly soaring higher. The three and four dollar a week kitchen maid became a thing of the past. Meals too had to be improved upon as to cooking, a greater variety, and a possibility of serving desserts more often.

Identifying these events with the national scene, we note that it was in 1906 that San Francisco suffered its massive earthquake and resultant fire—the most violent earthquake the U.S.A. had ever known, a catastrophe which lasted for three days in its violence. In a happier vein, the nation rejoiced in 1908 in the completion of



JOHN D. LANKENAU
Founder of the School
(d. 1901)

The Panama Canal. In 1909 Commodore Robert E. Peary planted the American flag at the North Pole. The First World War, 1914-1918, brought inevitable anxieties both before and after America's participation in the conflict. The armistice announced by President Woodrow Wilson was followed by noisy evidence of the people's joy. Prohibition, bootlegging, lawlessness and crime characterized the "roaring twenties" as did the Charleston. Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford became the idols of the silent films. The "flapper era" even pervaded The Lankenau School for Girls: long tresses gave way to the boyish bob; skirts were worn up to and above the knees; flat-chested styles did their best to make the school girl look like her brother.

The period of the late twenties brought other changes in the school structure. To meet "modern standards," The Lankenau School for Girls was reorganized into Elementary (Grades 1-6), Junior High (7-9), and Senior High (10-12) departments. In 1927 the first Year Book of the Alumnae Association was issued. The Literature (drama) Society was organized and was to give, under Sister Lydia Fischer's enthusiastic direction, substantial productions such as The Merchant of Venice and even Virgil's Aeneid (in Latin). The Quill, a publication of student prose, poetry and school news, made its bow in April, 1929. Accreditation was granted in 1930.

When the Fiftieth Anniversary was celebrated in September, 1940, over two hundred alumnae gathered, fifty of these from distant points. Two even came from California and one, Frieda Hoh, came from Puerto Rico. Of the original forty-four pupils, twenty were still living and about half of these were present.

But grave problems quickly faced the school as it began its second fifty years of service. Lankenau Hospital had grown in size and reputation and the school of nursing connected with it was outgrowing its quarters. The situation became acute in the fall of 1941. A painful decision was made by the trustees of the hospital and those of the Motherhouse: the school must be sacrificed to make room for the burgeoning nursing school.

On January 21, 1942, the parents and guardians of students of The Lankenau School for Girls received the following announcement:

> The Trustees of the Mary J. Drexel Home and the Philadelphia Motherhouse of Deaconesses announce the sale of their property occupied by The Lankenau School for Girls.
>
> The Lankenau School for Girls will maintain its high standards of service and scholastic achievement until Commencement in June.

After the first shock was past, alumnae and parents rallied to the cause. They met with the Deaconesses to form the Lankenau School Continuation Committee. Eventually a fund of some $20,000 was raised and on June 1, 1941 a charter was granted to the new corporation permitting it to conduct three schools: Lower, Middle, and Upper, covering the work of grades one to twelve "in conformity with applicable laws and to provide courses of study of the Bible and of the Christian Faith in accordance with confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."

During these days the Continuation Committee was working feverishly for a new location—a property that would be adequate for the school needs and yet could be purchased on the proverbial shoestring. Site after site was considered. All were dropped, either because they were too small for the expected future growth of the school or because their cost seemed astronomical. All—this is—but one! a property on the southern edge of Germantown. A careful inspection revealed the potential of the buildings and lovely manicured grounds. And the price was right!

"Red Gate" was the home of Millionaire William G. Warden. A successful business man himself, much of his wealth had come from his father who had been a founder of the Atlantic Refining Company, Standard Oil, United Gas Improvement, Pittsburgh Coal Company and other profitable businesses. In comfort and luxury he lived in his spacious "Red Gate." On the carefully landscaped lawn between what is now the Main House and the Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science he practiced his chip shots. Three of his servants—Higgins, Wiggins, and McKeegan—were among the small army that kept the house and grounds in order and made possible the lavish entertainment. Higgins was the gardener; McKeegan was the coachman and later the houseman; Wiggins was the butler—he lived in the gate house—and served not only his master's wants in the main house but, from his place in the gate house ensured that unwanted visitors might not enter "Red Gate."

But rich men die too! Death came to Warden on February 23, 1941. His wife had died the previous year, July 11, 1940. The property of eight acres was vacant and the estate was for sale. Negotiations between the Continuation Committee and the executors ended successfully. Announcement was made at the Commencement exercises, June 19, 1942, that the school would open on September 16 at its new home at 3201 School House Lane and that Sister Lydia Fischer would be the new Principal. No wonder the audience broke into thunderous applause.

The registration for the first year in Germantown was larger than anticipated—55 day students, 44 boarders, plus a faculty of twenty. Space was rented in the neighboring Richardson House for the Upper School. The following year the problem was solved by the purchase of the adjoining Edward Madeira estate. This not only provided buildings for library and dormitory (now called Mergner Hall) but also twelve additional acres of campus. There would be room to grow and to spread!

Conversion of the two properties into one adequate school plant taxed the ingenuity of the Board and faculty. The stable and carriage house was converted into a gymnasium and music room. A barn was converted into an art studio; the barn doors were replaced by a large plate glass window. Horse stalls made fine, if odorous, practice rooms for the piano students. The Janssen Foundation in Reading made a gift of $40,000 which was used to enlarge the dining room, with a large picture window looking out on flowering shrubs and ornamental trees. A memorial hockey field, tennis courts, play facilities for children—all these activity opportunities encouraged the physical exertions which all girls need but many shun.

Physical improvements came slowly to Lankenau School, but they came. A new chapel-auditorium and six classrooms were dedicated in 1953. A new wing pro-



SR. DOROTHEA HAEMPFLER AND PUPILS



FIRST RESIDENT PUPILS
WITH RECTOR CORDES AND SR. EMILIE SCHWARTZ

viding four additional classrooms for the Upper School had its ground-breaking on Color Day, May 9, 1962. Earlier, in 1956, the estate of Edward Madeira, Jr., including what is now known as Bachmann Hall, was added to the campus.

At the celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary in 1965, a small group of parents headed by the Rev. Wilton D. Ernst, a parent and a member of the Board of Directors, formally requested the Board, as part of the Anniversary celebration, to launch a Building Fund campaign for a new gymnasium. A gift of nearly $30,000 from W. F. Harold Braun in memory of his parents was the kick-off needed for the campaign. For a total cost of $240,000—including construction, landscaping, parking area and driveways, as well as architect and engineering fees and the initial cost of raising the funds—a splendid and commodious gymnasium was added to the Lankenau School facilities. Dedication of the building took place on Sunday afternoon, January 14, 1968—a wretched, rainy day outside but an enthusiastic one inside as several hundred students and relatives shared the amusement of taking off their shoes so as not to mar the gleaming floor. Dr. Millard E. Gladfelter, Provost and former president of Temple University, was the chief speaker. The Hon. Perrin C. Hamilton, Secretary of Property and Supplies of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and a member of the Lankenau Board, spoke forcefully of the role of independent education in the total instructional system of the state. William J. Degnan, also a member of the Board, received the keys from the representative of the Butler Manufacturing Company. A Tea honoring Mrs. Loice E. Gouker, the new principal of the school, was given by the Lankenau School Auxiliary at the conclusion of the Dedication Service.

The school has lived in three different locations, but its program during the first seventy-eight years has been basically one: the education of girls in a combination boarding and day school setting. On November 21, 1968, a new course was set by the Board of Directors: co-education at all levels was to be instituted "as soon as practical" and the boarding section was to be phased out. Implementing these decisions, it was announced that no new boarders would be sought after the school year 1968-69. Present residents would be taken care of on an individual basis. Co-education would begin in 1969-70 with the introduction of boys through Grade 5. Hopefully an additional grade would be added each year thereafter until co-education had been achieved in every class.

An objective evaluation of the meaning of a school in the lives of its students and alumnae is most difficult. One's attention is attracted first to those graduates who have won genuine recognition in their particular fields, such as Dr. Elsie Treichler Reedy of Germantown, a graduate of the Women's Medical College; Bertita Harding, Countess Redetzky of Mexico, author of "Golden Fleece" and "The Phantom Crown" (made into the movie "Juarez"); Dania Krupsha, actress and dancer who appeared before the crowned heads of Europe and was chosen by the former Queen Marie of Rumania as a childhood companion for King Michael; Dodie Marshall (Rhode Wolfe) and Sue Randall in their work in television; Margaret Miller, Lutheran missionary and literacy assistant to Dr. Frank Laubach in Liberia; Sister Margaret Schueder and Sister Lydia Fischer, both of whom became outstanding Principals of the Lankenau School; Marcella de Cray, for many years harpist with the Philadelphia Orchestra. Or one thinks of the three Kuwait Princesses—Lulua, Fatima, and Amina—who

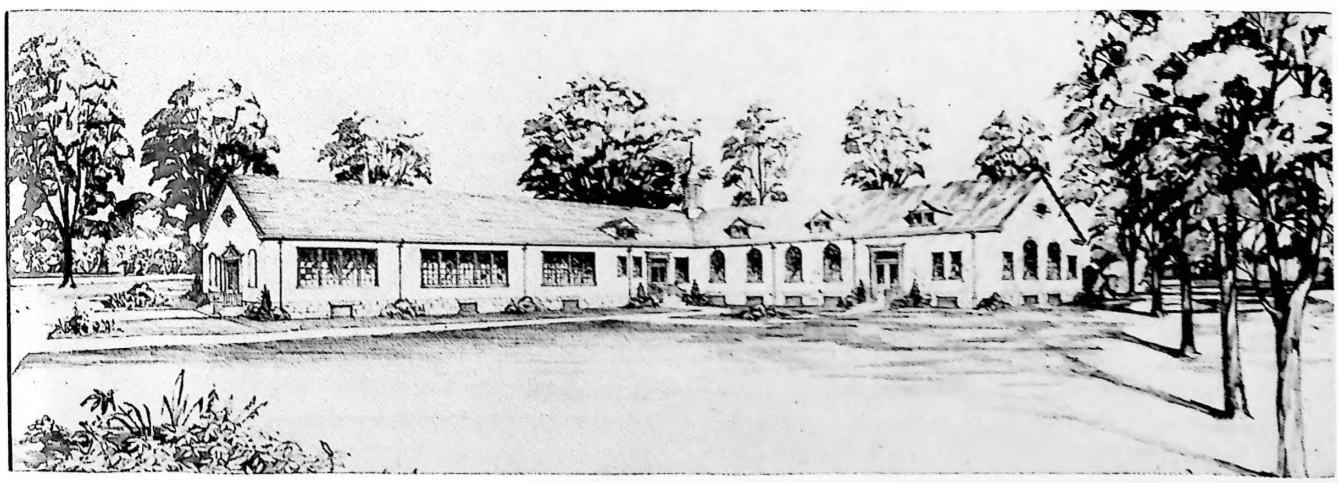


Left to Right		
SR. JULIA MERGNER	Principal	1899-1922
SR. MARGARET SCHUEDER	Principal	1922-1942
SR. LYDIA FISCHER	Principal	1942-1966

studied at Lankenau until the death of their father, the Sheik of Kuwait, required their return to their own country. Perhaps just as important in a different way are the many who never took a leading role in professional, educational or political circles yet have fulfilled the dream of John D. Lankenau of ". . . wives and mothers worthy of the name."

Students celebrating Mr. Lankenau's birthday each March 18 remember the wisdom, strength and purposeful life of this spiritual giant. Perhaps few are aware of another aspect of his nature, how like a little child, he wistfully hoped he might not be totally forgotten. Speaking to his close friend, Judge William K. Staake, he said: "When I am dead and gone, my birthday will no longer be observed, I presume." The Judge, who was then president of the Deaconess Board, replied: "Father Lankenau, as long as I have anything to do with this Home, your birthday will not be forgotten." How thus are the exalted and the human, the lofty and the personal blended in the life of a man—and a school.

Thus just as John D. Lankenau and his associates began the school in 1890 to meet the needs of their times, so the co-education all "day" school of 1969 and thereafter would hopefully meet the challenge of the contemporary scene. As a team, Board and administration, faculty and students, alumnae and parents, Auxiliary and friends would work together to prepare young men and women for creative leadership for the years ahead.



CHAPEL-AUDITORIUM
(Built in 1953)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Editors wish to thank those who contributed material on the Annual Spring Tour of Germantown Houses which was published in the Spring issue of *The Crier*. We are particularly indebted to Mrs. Otto K. Bauhoff whose photographs of the houses visited were such a valuable addition to the descriptive material.

BOOK REVIEWS

Reviewed by *ELEANOR W. THOMPSON, PHD.
Formerly Vice Principal of Girls' High School, Phila.

A HISTORIAN'S PROGRESS

By ROY F. NICHOLS

NEW YORK: ALFRED A. KNOPF
1968, 308P. $6.95

"A HISTORIAN'S PROGRESS" is the autobiography of Roy F. Nichols.

We in Philadelphia have known Dr. Nichols at the University of Pennsylvania as professor of history, as Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences since 1952 and subsequently as Vice Provost. Locally, he has been a leader in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and in The Geneological Society. He has been active in The Pennsylvania Historical Commission and has served as president of The Association of History Teachers of the Middle States, to The Pennsylvania Historical Association, and of The Pennsylvania Federation of History Societies. Nationally, he has been chairman of The Social Science Research Council and president of The American Historical Association. During the more than forty years of his association with The University of Pennsylvania (1925-1966), he has been a leader at the University and in the local, state, regional, and national associations connected with his chosen field.

A Historian's Progress is not simply a description of his many activities. It is rather an account of the development of his interest and thinking. It is almost an autobiography of a mind.

He shows clearly the personal, cultural, and intellectual influences in which his mind developed. It is fascinating to see the changes in his thinking about history. As a child in his Newark home, his interests in people, politics, and his ancestors were encouraged and stimulated by his parents. In high school and at Rutgers, history was largely a collection of facts, logically arranged. It was as a graduate student at Columbia, where a major effort of the university was dedicated to "the training of graduate students as creative scholars" that he began a study of the nature and meaning of history. It was at Columbia also that he "formed certain lasting and vital relationships," the highlight of which was with Jeanette Paddock whom he married in 1920 and to whom he pays tribute. Throughout this very honest book, he shows the inter-play of minds and ideas with members of his family, friends, colleagues and scholars. He shows how the research for his many works, the best known of which is his *Disruption of American Democracy* for which he received a Pulitzer Prize, influenced his thinking. The book is written with urbanity, wit, and humanity. To Dr. Nichols history is "a form of thinking that stands by itself, a unique form of intellectual activity."

A Historian's Progress is an important contribution to historiography and to the history of ideas. It is a worthy companion of *The Education of Henry Adams,* Alfred North Whitehead's *Adventure of Ideas,* and Edward P. Cheyney's *Law in History* of a previous generation, and Samuel Eliot Morison's contemporary *Vistas of History.*

ELEANOR W. THOMPSON*

POLITICS IN THE AMERICAN WEST

Edited by FRANK H. JONAS

Salt Lake City, Utah
(University of Utah Press. 1969, 544p.)

POLITICS IN THE AMERICAN WEST is a symposium of articles about the western states (Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming). Each is written by a specialist and the volume is edited by Frank H. Jonas, professor of political science at the University of Utah.

While the book, with its interesting tables, graphs, and bibliography, appeals primarily to the careful student, it is so clearly and succinctly written that the general reader will enjoy it. There is stress upon politics but there is also much of interest on geography, history, and education in the various states. For those of us who are interested in local history, it provides fascinating glimpses of the local history of other parts of our country.

ELEANOR W. THOMPSON*

LINES WRITTEN BY THE YOUNGEST SISTER

By ANNETTE WRIGHT WOOD

The churchyard is a quiet place of peace
  Where those I love lie buried. On the street
The children shout and play, but they who sleep
  Would have enjoyed these sounds; they do not break
    The lonely sadness of my reverie.
A small boy stops to help; within his eyes
  The infinite kindness of the innocent.
They would have liked this child, for they had loved
  Those other boys, so many years ago.
The dogwood bends its branches over us
  As we plant flowers they will never see.
"Why did they die?" he asks. "They were old," I said,
  "Old people sometimes die." He nodded, silently.
I did not say they died because the love
  And care they gave to others far outshone
Our pitiful return. One gets no second chance
  To give such love as this; the time has gone.
Perhaps we may live long enough to give
  In some small measure some return to those
Who look to us for love; no other way
  Can we repay their lifetimes' offering.
The small boy turns to go. I find a smile.
  I look into his eyes and feel refreshed.
Even my desolation now seems less,
  Serenity replaces loneliness;
One cannot look into a small boy's eyes and weep.

NOTE: The "Churchyard" mentioned herein is the old part of the churchyard at St. Luke's, that runs along Coulter St. East of Germantown Avenue.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GERMANTOWN

By JOSEPHINE A. MAGILL

Mrs. Magill has long been interested in family records and local history. She reports that her grandmother was the first girl to receive instruction in geography in Watkins, New York. Previously geography had not been considered a suitable subject for young ladies. Mrs. Magill's studies of Germantown history have resulted in the article the *Crier* presents herewith—with appreciation and thanks to the author.

HISTORY records that Germantown was founded October 24, 1683. For one who might be interested in knowing what happened before, to bring this about, the answer is found in the life of the founder, Francis Daniel Pastorius.

A German of the Lower Rhine country, Pastorius was born in the year 1651, a time of great religious unrest throughout Western Europe. His father, an erudite and eminent judge, born a Catholic, had joined the Lutheran church and in this faith the son had been baptized and brought up. Like his father, Pastorius obtained a degree in law, attending three different universities, and started a practice in the town of Frankfurt as an itinerant lawyer. Many of his clients were wealthy landowners, and in looking after their estates he acquired a practical knowledge of the soil which later was of great use.

By accepting an offer to go as guide and companion to a young nobleman making the Grand Tour, he spent the years 1681-1682 traveling through Italy, France, Holland, and England, countries where the time was at its height. He thus had an opportunity to learn the languages and something of the life of these neighboring countries. To Pastorius, by nature serious and religious, too much of the time was wasted on what he called the "fripperies," fencing, dancing, and gambling, accomplishments expected of a well educated youth. He was glad when the trip ended in Frankfurt, November, 1682.

There he soon looked up friends who belonged to a group of Pietists. The Pietists were a religious sect who had left the Lutheran church to find a more satisfying faith, expressed in simple, daily living rather than in the formal rites of the church.

At an earlier time, the Pietists had been visited by a group of English Friends, travelling through Holland and that part of Germany, with the purpose of making converts. Now Pastorius found them in a state of excitement over a recent visit from William Penn. He had received his royal grant in America and had invited the Pietists to join him in seeking homes in this new country, where they would be free of both political and religious oppression. Land was offered on easy terms, a shilling an acre. A few of the Frankfurt group were planning to go themselves, or send representatives.

As Pastorius listened to them, the opportunity to lead a simple, virtuous life, unmolested, made a great appeal. He even thought of himself going as a missionary, bringing to the Red Man a knowledge of the true God. When the Frankfurt group sensed his mood, they were able to persuade him to go in advance as their agent, with power of attorney to sell, rent, or buy more land. Getting money from his father for his own needs, he closed up his affairs, left Frankfurt in April, 1683, and headed for London.

On the way he stopped at Crefeld, a town close to the border of Holland—in Germany—where there was a Friends Meeting that was made up in great part by Dutch Mennonites, who had crossed the border and been converted to the Quaker faith. They, too, had been visited by the travelling English Quakers and, later, by William Penn. A group of them, accepting Penn's offer, had already purchased land and were planning to leave for America that summer. Four men, two women, and a lad wanted to go at once with Pastorius, to which he agreed.

In London, Pastorius saw Furley, Penn's agent, who confirmed the purchase made by the Frankfurt group and made arrangements for Pastorious and his friends to sail on the ship "America," leaving England on June 6th, 1683. On board were some eighty other passengers of various nationalities, trades, and religions. Pastorius, as an official of the German Company, was quartered with the English. There he met David Lloyd, a Welshman, a close friend of William Penn and a man of importance in the Philadelphia colony. Conversing in Latin, they were together most of the trip. It was the start of a warm and, to Pastorius in his later colonizing, a very helpful friendship.

The "America" arrived in Philadelphia on August 20th. Pastorius at once called on William Penn. He was received "with friendliness overflowing with love," as he wrote to his father.

William Penn had a continuing affection for the Germans which he showed in the special considerations he gave them. At first he raised objections to the Frankfurt claims—five thousand acres of land by a navigable stream. He thought it too big an allotment for a single group and there were no lots left bordering either the Delaware or the Schuylkill, the two navigable streams. Pastorius was able to meet Penn's objections and also got for himself three Philadelphia lots and acreage in the Liberties—open land outside the city. The interview ended in pleasant agreement, the beginning of a lasting friendship. The final settlement would await the soon expected arrival of the Crefelders.

On one of his lots on Front Street, Pastorius built for himself a small house, half above, half below ground. Over its entrance he put a Virgil quotation, "My house is small. The good seek it gladly. The godless stay afar." This house he had ready for the temporary use of the Crefelders when they should arrive. Part of his open land he tilled and planted with Indian corn, ready for picking in the fall.

The Crefelders arrived on October 6th, 1683, thirteen families, eleven of whom were Hollanders—Mennonites who had joined Crefeld Friends Meeting—thirty-three persons in all. Pastorius took them to Penn, who confirmed their purchase of eight thousand acres. The deed for this, with the Frankfurt purchase of five thousand acres, was made out to Pastorius, officially making him leader of the two groups.

Pastorius was well qualified for this position; a man of superior education, trained in the law, an ability to speak six languages, a poet as well as a writer, and, above all, a man of integrity and high ideals.

The land which Penn assigned the two groups—the Crefelders and the German Company of Frankfurt—covered an unmarked territory three miles northeast of the Schuylkill, between the Wissahickon and the Wingohocking streams. From this, six thousand acres, nearly eleven square miles, were taken out as a German township and given to the Crefelders for immediate settlement. This tract lay six miles north of the center of Philadelphia, reached by an old Indian trail. After first seeing it, Pastorius wrote to the Frankfurt group, "Es ist nur wald. All forest—inhabited by Indians, wolves, and rattlesnakes." He longed for some sturdy Tyrolese to fell the mighty oaks and chestnuts. The Crefelders were skilled weavers, but not wood cutters. The untouched land to the north comprised some acreage still due the Crefelders and, the rest, purchases made by the Frankfurt group.

The settlers were anxious to be housed by winter and the clearing of the land started at once.

When the clearing started the Indians disappeared. Having received a long list of generous gifts from Penn, they moved to woods further north. They were occasionally seen when they came to sell or barter hides. The contacts were always friendly. Pastorius wrote of an Indian chief who would bring him eagle quills. After ten years the Indians disappeared from the locality not to be seen again.

After the land was cleared the main road was widened to sixty feet for a distance of two miles. The land was then surveyed and, under the supervision of Pastorius, a stretch of land beginning at what is now Wayne Junction and extending north to the present Washington Lane, was laid out for settlement. At the south and north ends land was reserved as public burial grounds. Also at the south there was an area for a market place. Beginning at the present Queen Lane and extending north, fourteen building lots of three and one half acres each were marked out as home sites for the new settlers.

A drawing for the assignment of these lots was held in Pastorius' house on October 23, 1683. On October 24th he wrote to the Frankfurt group, "This city I laid out and called it Germantown. Two hours on foot from Philadelphia. On fine fertile soil with pleasant streams." That day, too, the Crefelders started the building of crude log huts which would be temporary shelters for the winter. A few dug holes in the ground, lined with stone for a foundation. Building materials were at hand, split logs, a soft stone, easily cut, found in the fields, and animal hides for filling open spaces in the cabins. They built close to the road, their land extending in the back for a mile or more, this to be used later for gardens, orchards, open fields, and wood lots.

The first winter was a hard one for the settlers. They suffered from cold and lack of necessities. Pastorius stayed in the city, teaching in a Friends school, but he and William Penn kept in touch with the settlers and sent out food and other supplies without which they might not have survived.

In the spring Pastorius brought out seeds and grape cuttings, which he had had sent from France. The Crefelders knew little of farming but with the help of both Penn and Pastorius, fields and gardens were planted. The flax, so important to them as weavers, did so well that one crop was ready by summer, another in the fall. Spinning wheels and looms were put to work and by the next year reports were spreading of the very fine linens produced in Germantown. To create a market, Pastorius had arranged for a Philadelphia store to handle the goods. Grape cuttings also did well and turned out to be the start of a flourishing industry.

That summer, too, the rude huts were replaced by small houses, one or one and one half stories, Dutch in style, with steep, rain shedding roofs, which often extended over the lower windows and front doors. A small porch in front with a bench on either side served as a pleasant place where, on summer evenings, the men could sit with their long pipes, smoking and chatting. The door was divided; the lower half kept shut to keep out stray animals, the upper open to let in light and air.

The settlers were fortunate in having a grist mill near at hand, ready for their use. It was built by Townsend, an enterprising Philadelphian, who, having learned of the coming settlement, got from Penn a bit of land beside a small stream that ran into the Wingohocking. The trail that led to the mill later became Mill Road, the Church Lane of today. Townsend liked to tell of the sturdy Hollanders walking the trail, their backs burdened by the weight of sacks heavy with yellow corn.

By the end of the summer of 1684, by thrift and industry, little Germantown had become an independent, self-sufficient community of straggling, long, narrow farms.

Our main source of information about these early years is from the letters that have happened to survive. A letter dated October 12, 1684, written by one of the settlers to friends in Amsterdam, shows one man's contentment with the new life. He possessed "a garden, one

horse, one cow that gives milk, chickens, geese, pigs, and a black boy for servant."

The only form of worship was that of the Friends. With Pastorius as leader they formed a Germantown Meeting, attached from its start to the English Friends Meeting of Philadelphia. Its Yearly Meeting was at Philadelphia. Its Quarterly Meeting at nearby Abington. First Day Meetings for worship were held in Friendly houses until 1686 when land was given to them by Jacob Shoemaker. On it they built a simple log structure. Pastorius wrote of it as a "little church." It was open to any sect and was used for community meetings as well as for worship. In 1690 more adjoining land was purchased from Shoemaker, land now included in the present grounds of the Coulter Street Meeting and the Germantown Friends School. In 1705 a stone meeting replaced the original log structure and was used until 1812. It was set farther back from the road and entered by a drive from Main Street. Coulter Street was not cut through until 1860.

In 1688 this Germantown Meeting passed a surprising as well as eloquent and convincing protest against slavery. It was written by Pastorius, his name heading the list of signers. Sent to Abington Quarterly Meeting, it was turned down then forwarded to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting where it was dropped as "radical and untimely." The Quaker poet, Whittier, romanticized the incident in his poem "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim," written as a tribute to Pastorius whose worth, he felt, was never recognized. Pastorius, returning from the meeting "with bent head and saddened brow," is met by his wife in the garden of their Germantown home. To her query "How didst it go?" he replies

> Dear heart, our folks are even as others,
> Yes our godliest Friends are frail.
> Our elders have their selfish ends.
> Our feeble words for the dumb slaves
> The startled meeting heard.
> As the Clerk ceased reading there began
> A rippled dissent which downward ran
> In Widening circles as from man to man
> Somewhat was said of running before sent,
> Of tender fear that some their guide out went.
> Help! for the good man faileth to rebuke the wrong.
> If these consent, How long, O Lord, how long.

During these years new families had been arriving. They were mainly Mennonites from Holland, coming by way of Germany. Received by the Crefelders, they were increasing Germantown's population. A much-needed new survey was made in 1689. After the land had been resurveyed, a deed for fifty-seven hundred acres, comprising Germantown Township, was made out to Pastorius as representative of the settlers. The Township was divided into four villages: Germantown, Cresheim, Sommerhausen, and Krefeld to the north, extending to the point where the highway crossed the Wissahickon. Germantown began at the present Wayne Junction and continued to Washington Lane. It was a hamlet of long, narrow farms belonging to the Crefelders who now numbered forty-four families, all but eight or ten of them Dutch. This land was now redivided into fifty-five lots, twenty-seven and one half on each side of the main street. According to Christian Lehman,

> "So that Each respective Town Lot and its Side land Lot of like Number and Mark as per Page 12 & 13 Doth together Amount to A Complete Fifty Acres for a whole Germantown Lot or 25 Acres for half a Lot, so respectively composed partly of Town Land and partly of Side Land."

Twenty-three lots were occupied on the east side of Main Street, twenty-two on the west. Some fronts were narrowed but there was the same extension in back, with fences now required to separate the holdings. Lots at both ends were still reserved for burial grounds, but, by petition of the people, the one half acre of green for the market place was moved near the center of town. There market days were held twice a week and, in the earlier years, there was an annual fair. A market house and scales were put up in 1740.

There were at the time only two side roads, Queen Lane running to the west (toward the Schuylkill—they said) and Abington Road, now Washington Lane, running to the east to Abington Meeting. The new survey had called for the planting of fruit trees along the main highway. In 1748, a Swedish traveler, Peter Kalm, wrote of Germantown,

> "A tidy German village. Most of the houses of stone. A stretch of two miles planted on either side with peach trees. Beautiful and fragrant with blossoms."

He also noted laurel bushes lining paths which once had been Indian trails through the woods.

On the thirtieth of March, 1691, Pastorius succeeded in getting from Penn a charter changing German Town from a township into a borough. This meant almost complete independence, a dream Pastorius had had from the start—a German town where the people could live as Germans, continuing with their language, their dress, their customs.

A form of government as outlined by Penn was set up by the provincial Proprietor: a General Court of the Corporation made up of a Baliff (the chief executive), four Burgesses, and six Committeemen. It was to make laws and see that they were enforced. The penalty for breaking a law was the payment of a fine, which, to these thrifty folks was sufficient penalty. Once a year the people assembled to hear the laws read. A sampling of these laws:

> Forbidden:
> Selling of liquor to Indians.
> Smoking on streets or in barns.
> Shooting on Sundays.
> Gambling at any time.
> Dogs must be chained or penned in.
> Wandering chickens chased but not killed.
> Fences kept in repair.
> Highways kept free of weeds in front of buildings.

There is no record of any serious crime. Intoxication

and noisy disturbances were the only offences. A stock was built in 1693 and in 1701 a small log house, intended for a jail, was erected. Neither was often used.

In 1690 a paper mill, the first in America, was built by a Hollander, William Rittenhouse. It was on Monoshone Creek, later called Paper Mill Run. Reference to this mill and the work of the Crefelder weavers is included in a bit of doggerel verse sent back to England by a Philadelphian, Richard Frame, in 1692.

"The Germantown of which I spoke before
Which is in length one mile or more
Where lives High Germans and Low Dutch
Whose trade in weaving cloth is much.
Here grows the flax and also you may know
That from the same they do divide the tow
From linen rags good paper doth derive
The first trade keeps the second trade alive.
A paper mill near Germantown doth stand
So that the flax which first springs from the land
First flax then yarn and then they must begin
To weave the same which they took pains to spin.
And when on our backs it is well worn
Some of the same remains ragged and torn.
Then of the rags our paper it is made
Which in process of time doth waste and fade
So what comes from the earth appeareth plain
The same in time returns to earth again."

Rittenhouse is said to have been a familiar figure in Philadelphia, buying up old rags for his mill, A contemporary advertisement advised, "If the necessary stock is denied paper mills, young maids must languish in vain for tender epistles from their respective swain." At a later time a freshet carried away Rittenhouse's paper works, but a loan from William Penn enabled him to rebuild his establishment.

In 1691, the Mennonites, who had been worshipping with the Friends, though not as members, broke away to join a small number of Germans of other sects who were holding meetings in the home of Jacob Van Bebber. In the fall of that year, they were visited by the minister of a Dutch Reform church on Long Island who wrote to his church in Amsterdam.

"I visited a German village situated near Philadelphia. Forty-four families of whom twenty-eight are Quaker, and sixteen of the Reform church. I spoke to those who had been received as members; Lutherans, Mennists, Papists—much opposed to Quakerism and therefore lovingly meet every Sunday in the house of a Mennist."

During the 1780's Hollanders continued to outnumber Germans, as they did, when, known as Crefelders, they had come to America. Germantown seemed a Dutch settlement with its dress, language, and customs. Pastorius had asked the Frankfurt group to send more Germans. They were adaptable and better skilled in wood and stone cutting, in carpentry and in farming. By 1690 a few of these Germans had arrived, members of different religious sects.

A large and very interesting group of German Pietists arrived in 1694. Their leader, Kelpius, a man of culture and education, had attracted other intellectuals as followers. They had a vital faith but no organized church so they could serve as a nucleus for various beliefs. After a couple of months in Germantown, about twenty of them, with Kelpius, moved to a high ridge along the Wissahickon, where, in solitude and seclusion, they found a place for their home. They called it "The Hermitage," and thus became known as "The Hermits of the Wissahickon." Here they carried on their studies of philosophy and astronomy, practicing the art of astrology. Among them was a very versatile Dr. Christopher Witt, physician, teacher, botanist, skilled musician, and artist. An oil painting he made of Kelpius is said to be the first oil painting created in America. After the death of Kelpius in 1708, the group disbanded.

The advent of the Pietists had aroused an interest that was bringing more and more Germans and in larger numbers. By 1700 German culture had replaced that of the Dutch and by 1710 all traces of Dutch origin had disappeared from Germantown.

In 1701 Germantown lost its status as a borough and, as a township, returned to its earlier connection with Philadelphia. For nearly ten years, undisturbed, she had enjoyed the growing independence which the change to borough status had brought her, an independence that began to annoy the Proprietors. When the citizens of Germantown objected to being taxed for Philadelphia roads it gave the Proprietors an excuse for an investigation of Germantown's whole government structure. This was made by the Crown's attorney. There were a few irregularities in Germantown's governing body, due partly to the difficulty in keeping offices filled. Pastorius often served as both Bailiff and Clerk. Some men were simply indifferent about serving, some had religious scruples against court proceedings, although in this special court there was a religious note in its official records: "There is no power but of God." "Thou shalt take no gift." "Ye shall not respect any person in judgement but ye shall hear the small as well as the great." "As ye would men should do to you, do also to them likewise." The attorney's disparaging report resulted in the charter being nullified and in 1701 Germantown returned to its former status as a township.

In 1705 the Friends had replaced their log structure with a stone meeting house, having bought more land adjoining the original lot given by Shoemaker. In 1708 the Mennonites built a meeting house on the corner of Main and Herman streets. Their first preacher was William Rittenhouse, who had built the paper mill. Up until 1710 these were the only two formal places of worship in Germantown. Those of other faiths met in one of these two buildings or in the private homes of members. In 1710 a German Reform church was built in Whitemarsh, some of its congregation coming from Germantown.

A group of Dunkards, Church of the Brethren, and Seventh Day Adventists arrived in 1719. They held meetings in the house of Peter Becher until 1723 when, united as the Church of the Brethren, they built a log cabin church at Germantown Avenue and Sharpnack

Street. The Dunkards performed their first baptism of six converts in the Wissahickon Creek at Kitchen's Lane on Christmas Day, 1723.

In 1727 the Dutch Reform, German Presbyterians, built a stone church on Market Square.

The Lutherans, some of whom had been among the earliest settlers, did not build until 1738, when they built St. Michaels Church at the corner of Germantown Avenue and Phil-Ellena Street.

A group of Moravians arrived with Count Zinzendorf in 1742. A religious sect that had left the Catholic Church, they had settled in Moravia. Persecuted there, they had been invited by the Count to settle on one of his estates. Persecutions which also affected Count Zinzendorf followed and he brought his group to America. In December, 1742, in the Reform Church on Market Square, he preached the first Moravian sermon given in America.

Schools came with the building of churches. In the early years the Friends ran a little school in the loft of the Meeting House with Pastorius as teacher, continuing until 1790.

The first recorded school was, through the efforts of Pastorius, established by the town's General Council in 1701. They appointed trustees and Pastorius as teacher, a position he held until 1718.

The Mennonites started a school in 1708, connected with their meeting. William Rittenhouse was the teacher. The school continued after the erection of a new building in 1770.

St. Michael's School, run by the Lutherans in the church building and taught by Muhlenburg, was opened in 1740.

In 1742 Count Zinzendorf started a school for girls. It was located at the corner of Main Street and School House Lane in a house belonging to one John Ashmead. With a one year break it ran for several years and was then permanently moved to Bethlehem where it is still functioning.

In 1759 the Union School was organized with funds obtained from thirty-six contributors. The school was opened for classes in 1761. The name was changed to Germantown Academy. It was free to all of any faith. It was divided into two sections, one under Dove in which instruction was given in English, the other under Baker, with instruction in German. Both teachers were of fine reputation. There was only one requirement for pupils, "Be regular and subject to proper and necessary rules."

The Concord School was built in 1775 by the Mennonites. It is beside the burial grounds on Main Street above Washington Lane. This was for children of the neighborhood, Germantown Academy on School House Lane being too distant.

The Charity Schools, started in 1754, were part of an attempt by the Proprietors of Philadelphia to break up the German culture of, not only Germantown, but of German Communities throughout the state. There was great opposition. Instruction was given only in English, with the purpose of ending the use of German. Compulsory attendance was difficult to enforce. Due in a great part to the bitter attacks against them in a newspaper printed and published in Germantown by Christopher Saur and circulated throughout the state, the schools ended in 1764.

The year 1717 marked the start of an increasing German migration to America. It reached its height about 1740. Germantown, the only independent German community in America, was rightly called its threshold. Practically all German immigrants came first to Germantown; some to stay, others to pass through and settle elsewhere. Though forces were working against them, the Germantowners, strengthened by their increase in number, held onto their German identity until well past the middle of the eighteenth century. The Revolution didn't seem to concern them as partisans, even when the fighting reached Germantown and they were forced to house both German and English soldiers. One hundred and fifty of the early Germantowners were naturalized in 1709, swearing allegiance to the Crown of England, which may explain why so many of them remained loyal to England.

Of the forces that were working to eventually Americanize the German village, perhaps the first was the coming of summer visitors. Long before the Revolution, people of Philadelphia had been finding Germantown a healthy, pleasant place for the summer. Placed on a ridge of hills three hundred feet above the city, with good drainage both east and west and with considerable forest growth to the west, the town was pleasantly cool. The houses on Main Street were surrounded by orchards and gardens, with many still keeping up farms in the back. One by one, Philadelphians were building houses for summer living, some to become permanent for all year use. Lots were narrowed and the houses brought closer together thus hastening an urban development.

As early as 1740, Philadelphia papers were advertising homes in Germantown for summer rent or for sale. An increase in wealth, in both Philadelphia and Germantown, was bringing bigger and better houses, all of the Georgian, city style. The houses around Market Square, first lived in by the Dutch and then the Germans, were gradually being taken over by the Philadelphians.

A stage coach was started in 1750, making three trips a week back and forth to Philadelphia. Though the Germantown Road was notoriously bad, said to be the worst in the country, it was the only highway from Philadelphia to the north. The soil of the roadbed was of such a nature as to produce in summer a fine, choking dust and in spring, or whenever it rained, a road almost impassable with mud. Wheels of carriages and legs of horses were sometimes broken. There were times when coaches and other vehicles sank so deep they had to be abandoned. Finally, in 1800-1801, a turnpike charter was secured and Germantown Road was macademized and connected with the Perkiomen Turnpike. Toll houses were erected, one at Rittenhouse Street. Some of the turnpike milestones are still standing.

All of these contacts with the outside, English-speak-

ing world, including those brought by the Revolutionary War, encouraged the use of the English language and were bound to affect the speech and culture of Germantown.

The yellow fever plague of the summers of 1793, 1798, and 1799, brought hundreds from the city seeking immunity in Germantown. Inns, boarding houses, and private houses were filled to overflowing. This tremendous influx of visitors led to increased building of permanent homes and completed the change for Germantown —the use of the German language and much of the German culture became things of the past. As their commercial contacts increased, the business men of Germantown found themselves hampered by the language difference and voluntarily learned to speak English.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, Germantown had been gradually changing from a farming community to a town of industries. She had had her own carpenters, stone masons, blacksmiths, coopers, tailors, and stores for handling goods. Soon there were three grist mills and two paper mills running. Saur's printing press, established in 1738, was turning out almanacs, hymnals, religious tracts, and a German language newspaper, which was in great demand in other German communities. A tanyard and a wool dyeing establishment had come. Knitting had been added to the craft of weaving. A report of 1760 tells that Germantown thread stockings were held in high esteem. One year, sixty thousand pairs were sold at one dollar per pair. Carriage making had started. The Germantown wagon was in great demand. Linen and paper, leather and stockings were being exported. By the end of the century, Germantown, thoroughly Americanized, had become an industrial center for Pennsylvania.

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