THIS PLAN OF

The City of Baltimore

as enlarged & laid out under the direction of the

Commissioners

APPROVED BY THE GENERAL

Assembly

OF

MARYLAND

is Respectfully Dedicated to the

CITIZENS

NUMERICAL REFERENCE

BASIN

MIDDLE BRANCH

PATAP[SCO]

BATTLE MONUMENT

VIEW of the CITY of BALTIMORE taken from the OBSERVATORY in 18[..]

PLAN of BALTIMORE TOWN in 1719 Containing 60 Acres divided into 80 Lots.
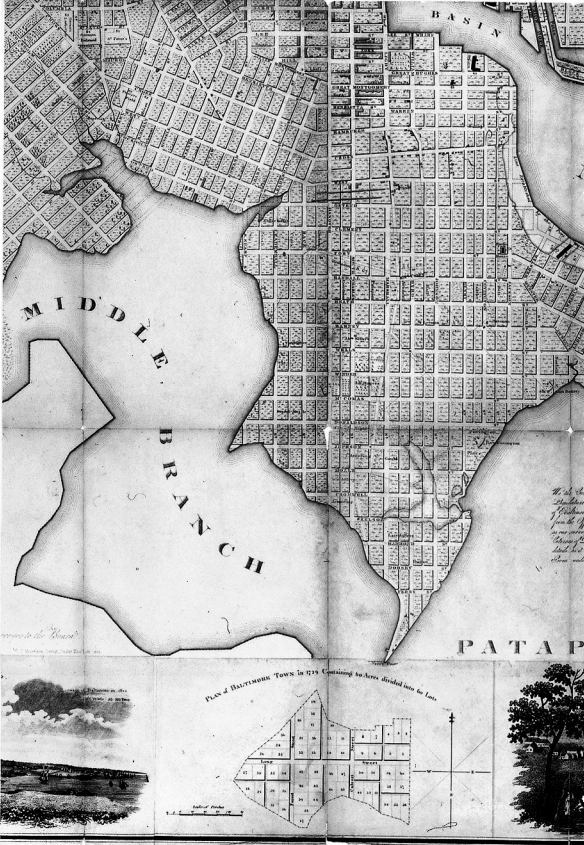
Thomas Poppleton's Map: Vignettes of a City's Self Image

Jeremy Kargon

Written histories of Baltimore often refer to the *Plan of the City of Baltimore*, published originally in 1823. Typically but imprecisely credited to Thomas Poppleton, this map illustrated the city plan he produced between 1816 and 1822. City politicians had commissioned a survey just before the War of 1812, but Poppleton began his work in earnest only after the conflict ended. Once adopted, the work determined the direction of Baltimore's growth until well after the Civil War.[1] Although this street layout significantly influenced the city's nineteenth-century development, a second feature of this document has also attracted historians of the city's architecture. The map's publisher's arranged thirty-five small engravings around the border of the map illustrating public buildings in use or under construction at the time of the original publication. They gave each illustration a simple title and provided additional descriptive information about the building, including the architect's name, the building's date of completion, and the building's cost. These pictures are a useful record of Baltimore's earliest significant architecture, particularly for those buildings demolished before the age of photography.

Historians' treatments of these images, and of the map itself, have typically looked at these illustrations individually.[2] Consideration of their ensemble, on the other hand, provides evidence for discussion of two broader themes, the public's perception of architecture as a profession and as a source of shared material culture, and the development of that same public's civic identity as embodied in those buildings. What was significant about the buildings chosen for representation? What did later views of Baltimore derive from this selection? Two centuries after Poppleton's proposal for Baltimore's expansion, a closer look at this historical map suggests ways in which the city's citizens may have chosen to build a civic self-narrative unique to their circumstances and their times.

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The Plan of the City of Baltimore as enlarged and laid out under the direction of the Commissioners, Thomas Poppleton, 1822 (partial view). The buildings selected for artistic rendering around the border of this map reflect the city's identity as a growing commercial center with a strong religious and civic foundation.

The city plan depicted on the 1823 map has been widely cited but scarcely documented. Little is known of the plan's surveyor. Some sources refer to him as English-born, but the date at which he arrived in the United States has not been determined. One writer has suggested that "Poppleton . . . was chosen for the city-paid assignment over better-known local talent, not because he was the most technically qualified but because he had a penchant for making his work attractive."[3]

In addition to his work for Baltimore, Poppleton is known to have prepared a survey for the "greater part of New York City," published in 1817. This plan, too, includes a key to places of interest, as well as ferry lines, house numbers, and even the family names of houses beyond the dense areas of the city. The graphic character of the New York map anticipated the later Baltimore survey and although the northern work did not include the architectural drawings, the limited topographical data is an important difference. The greatest significance is the very example of New York's famous Commissioners' Plan, first proposed for that city in 1807 and formally adopted four years later, in 1811. New York's simple grid-iron street extension, applied with little care for either the land's natural contours or the irregularity of the river's edge, would have surely been the foremost example for other American cities also considering expansion.

Baltimore City contracted with Poppleton as early as 1811 for a survey of the city's existing roads and plots and a sketch entitled *An Eye Sketch of Part of the Town and Environs of Baltimore taken without regard to accuracy,* over Poppleton's own name, dates to 1812. But the War of 1812 and the attempted invasion of the city in 1814 quite naturally discouraged continuous work on the project. The immediate impetus for renewed work on the survey came in 1817, when the Maryland General Assembly approved Baltimore's annexation of more than thirteen square miles from the surrounding Batimore County. The boundaries of the city now reached far beyond the area of urban settlement.[4]

To facilitate the integration of this area into the city proper, the Maryland State Legislature passed an act that, in the words of one writer, "was neither more nor less than a new charter for the city." The twelfth section of this act established a Board of Commissioners, to which was designated the power to survey (that is, to lay out) "all such streets, lanes, and alleys as they shall deem proper and convenient." The board included prominent Baltimoreans such as John Eager Howard, John Hillen, William McMechen and others who worked autonomously, separately from Baltimore's mayor and its city council. In their own view, the commissioners would need to exercise their "wisdom and discretion and judgment" alone in fulfillment of their role.[5]

The Board of Commissioners turned to Poppleton to complete the survey and he submitted the finished plan in 1822, documented in two plats tendered to both the city register and the county clerk. There appears to have been some public disagreement about the technical quality of the survey and about the city's own re-

sponsibility for the expenses that Poppleton and the Board of Commissioners incurred. Poppleton himself wrote to the *Federal Gazette* and explained the apparent discrepancies among dimensions given on the plat. Referring to a technical matter still familiar to architects and engineers today, Poppleton explained that "dimensions *in figures* are always preferable to reference to a scale. Figures give the truth, the same *to all enquiries at all times*."[6]

The *Plan of the City of Baltimore*, including its accompanying illustrations, was published the very next year. Although the immediate circumstances of the map's publication remain unclear it is apparent that the Board of Commissioners eagerly sought to defend its work against criticism in the "court" of public opinion. The creation and sale of an attractively-illustrated map would actively promote Poppleton's plan for the city more successfully than a standard surveyor's plat.

Extant copies of the map are sized approximately 112 x 125 cm. and some copies are mounted on linen. Printed with steel-plate engraving, the map included three significant features. The most obvious was the plan of Baltimore and encompassed, without change, the existing street layout at the city's core as well as Poppleton's projected grid of streets that extended to the boundaries of the annexed "Precincts" (no topographic data was included on the plan).[7] The second feature included the location of existing buildings, many keyed to a numerical legend situated to the left of the map. Eighty-three entries populated this list, among them churches (entries 1–23), banks (24–30), offices (31–42), and schools, hotels, markets, factories, etc. The map's publishers also included a "Fish Inspection House" (entry 73), listed in the legend and located by number on the City Plan.

The third feature, surrounding all these elements, was unique for its time. Below the location legend was the following note: "The views which embellish this Work form a distinct *Alphabetical Reference* the letter over each subject referring to its location on the Plan." These views are the engraved vignettes of Baltimore's "public" buildings, each of which the artist set in a rosette of textual information, separated by a repeating floral flourish. In addition to these sketches several views, located at the bottom of the sheet, depicted Baltimore's two landmarks, the Washington Monument and the Battle Monument. Poppleton provided two addition views
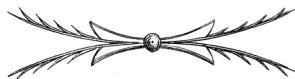
of the city, aerial scenes from the top of what is now Federal Hill, a contemporary view (circa 1822) on the left and a revised sketch of Moale's famous 1752 drawing of Baltimore. A final graphic in the middle, at the bottom of the page, illustrated Baltimore Town's original subdivision dating to its founding circa 1729. These images, printed on narrow strips, joined the perimeter of the central sheet that bore the city plan.
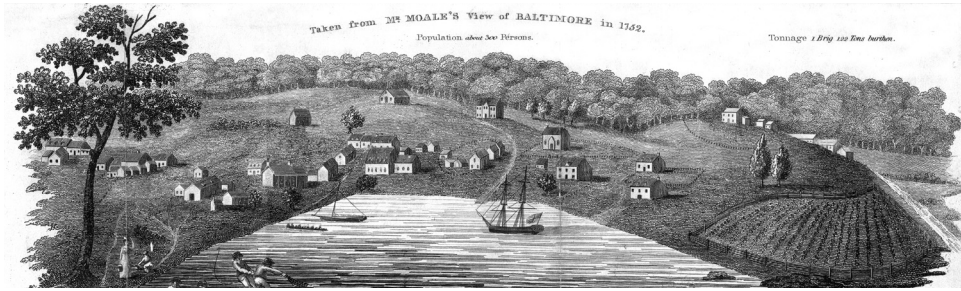
In the later years of the eighteenth century, John Moale sketched this 1752 view of Baltimore Town as he remembered it from his childhood. This early rendering offered no suggestion of the booming industrial economy that transformed the city in the years following the American Revolution.

A precedent for the inclusion of such subject matter on a map did exist in Baltimore. The 1801 *Warner and Hanna* map, dated 1801, included three insets showing similar information. One inset framed a legend titled "References," and two others held pictures of the city's waterfront Market Place and its newly-built Assembly Rooms. Overall *non sequitur* additions, the graphic quality of the images appears much cruder than that of the engravings included on the Poppleton map.[8]

Title and authorship is in the lower left hand quadrant of the central sheet:

> This Plan of the The City of [9] Baltimore as enlarged & laid out under the direction of the Commissioners Appointed By The General Assembly of Maryland In Feby. 1818. As Respectfully Dedicated to the citizens thereof By their Obt. Servt. T. H. Poppleton Surveyor to the Board.

The map's title bears two additional names. Below the surveyor's name is written, in small type, "C.P. Harrison Script, Sculpt New York 1823." Charles Peter Harrison (1783–1854) actually published the map, the fabrication of which occurred in New York and not Baltimore. English-born like Poppleton, Harrison was the son of William Harrison Sr., an engraver of fine prints and bank notes. C. P. Harrison combined his father's skills as an engraver with a printing business, which moved to New York from Philadelphia only a few years before he published Poppleton's map. Although his work as an engraver included a wide range of subjects, Harrison's name is attached to at least one other map, an 1811 plan of Philadelphia, drawn by William Strickland at the direction of John Paxton.[10]

The other name on the Poppleton map is set in bold text and centered immediately below the word "CITIZENS," and credits an engraver, "Public Buildings &c. Engd. by J. Cone." This artist, Joseph Cone, and not Thomas Poppleton, created the architectural images from which the "Poppleton's Map"—as an artifact—derives its fame.

Joseph Cone (1792–1831) was an engraver, born in Princeton, New Jersey, who spent most of his early life in Philadelphia. He had been trained to enter either law

or medicine, but "an early passion for art . . . turned his mind towards engraving as the readiest means of at once satisfying a passion and earning a living." He settled in Baltimore around 1820 and supplemented his technical work with publishing. Cone's name is associated with several engraving techniques, including both line and stipple. Active in the Baptist Church, Cone belonged to the community responsible for commissioning Robert Mills whose "First Baptist Church" is depicted in Cone's hand on the border of Poppleton's Map.[11]

Cone's illustrations for Poppleton's Map appear to make use only of line engraving. Shade and shadow is provided by cross-hatching, and material effects are limited to the suggestion of masonry coursing by fine, horizontal hatching. Cone's pictures demonstrate close attention to detail, but those details can prove to be incorrect upon comparison with extant buildings. A common occurrence is the omission of columns or of other repeated building elements, perhaps in order to simplify the compositions due to the small size of each engraved picture. In Cone's depiction of Godefroy's St. Mary's Chapel, for example, the niches at the top of the facade number eight but the actual structure holds twelve. The direction of shading, too, reflects convention and not the physical orientation of the building. Nevertheless, as these examples attest, Cone's engravings provided a wealth of small-scale information about his architectural subject matter.

In deciding which pictures to include on this plan for the city's future, the map's creators sought to announce how far Baltimore had come towards its potential as one of the nation's largest and most industrious cities. In this first edition of Poppleton's map, Cone illustrated thirty-five buildings in addition to the two monuments. These buildings, and their letter-key, are titled in the following way:

Letter Key for Map Images

A*) Museum, B*) Assembly Rooms, C*) Hospital, D*) Court House, E*) Union Bank, F*) Exchange, Custom House, Etc., G*) Commercial and Farmers Bank, H*) University of Maryland, I*) Alms House, K*) Masonic Hall, L*)Theatre

A) Cathedral, B) St. Paul's, C) First Baptist Church, D)St. John's, E) Christ Church, F) German Lutheran Church, G) St. Mary's Chapel, H) Friends Meeting House, I) Eutaw Meeting, K) Western Fountain, L) Centre Fountain, M) Penitentiary

N) First Independent Church, O) German Reformed Church, P) Evangelical Reformed Church, Q)Associated Reformed Church, R) St. Patrick's, S) Trinity Church, T) First Presbyterian Church, V) Second Presbyterian Church, W) Light Street Meeting, X) Eastern Fountain, Y) Northern Fountain, Z) Jail

First Baptist Church

Erected under the direction of a comm.ee of 1st Bapt. Ch.h. corner of S. Sharp & Lombard Streets, open'd March 1818. cost 50,000.

Mills Arch.t

St. Marys Chapel

founded by the Rom. Cath. Clergy of the order of St Sulpice who emigrated to Balt. 179L cost in Pennsylvania Avenue $5,000.

Rev.d F. Nagot Principal

Cathedral

Metropolitan Catholic Church. on Cathedral, Mulbery & N. Charles Streets, consecrated May 1821 cost 225,000. Dollars.

Latrobe Arch.t

Assembly Rooms

Built by a Company Corner of E. Fayette and Holliday St.s The City Library is kept in part of the Building Cost $38,000

R.C. Long Arch.t

Joseph Cone's engravings provided a wealth of small-scale information about his architectural subject matter. From left to right: First Baptist Church, St. Mary's Chapel, Alms House, Cathedral, Assembly Rooms, Theatre, Museum, and Masonic Hall, and Union Bank.

Alms House

Centre Building erected at Calverton 1815. Cost $4000 D.

R.C.Long Arch.t

Enlarged by Trustees of Poor House of Balt.o Co. Began 1820. Not yet Complete.

Estimated Cost 100,000 Doll.s

J. Moreton Arch.t

Theatre

Built on Holliday Street A.D. 1793.

Rebuilt by Warren and Wood A.D. 1813. Cost Fifty Thousand Dollars

R.C.Long Arch.t

Museum

and Gallery of the Fine Arts in Holliday Street

Established by Rembrandt Peale A.D 1813 Cost 13,000 D.s

R.C.Long Arch.t

Masonic Hall

Corner of St. Pauls St. and Court House Lane

Erected by the Gr. Lodge of Maryland. Began 1813. Finished 1822. Cost 35,000 D.

J. Small Arch.t

Union Bank

N. Charles Street Cap.l 2,500,000 Doll.s

Discount Days Monday & Tuesday. Dividends 1.st Jan.y & July. Election 1.st Monday in July. Cost 8 B.

R.C.Long Arch.t

French architect Maximilian Godefroy (1765–1840) designed many of the buildings shown on the Poppleton map, including St. Mary's Chapel, the First Independent Church, and the Battle Monument. The University of Maryland, The Custom House, and the Exchange are among those that the cartographer incorrectly attributed to B. Henry Latrobe. (Courtesy of the Maryland Commission on Artistic Property of the Maryland State Archives.)
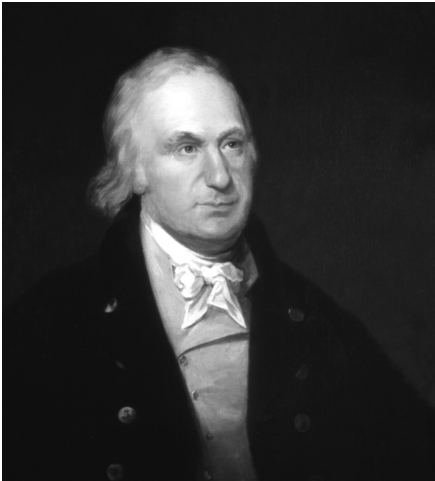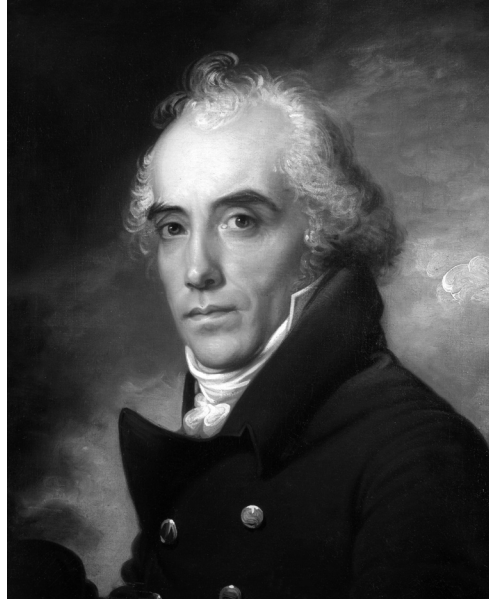
John Eager Howard (1752–1827), belonged to Baltimore's independent Board of Commissioners appointed to lay out the city's streets, lanes, and alleys. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Nicholas Rogers (1753–1822), amateur architect worked with Robert Cary Long Sr. on the design for the city jail and may have contributed to the plans for the Assembly Rooms." (Maryland Historical Society.)

> [Entries A* through L* are placed at the top of sheet, in a row from left to
> right. Entries A through M descend vertically on the left side of the sheet;
> N through Z descend vertically on the right side of the sheet.]

This arrangement is itself worth noting as the map's publishers apparently grouped the buildings thematically. Those buildings placed at the top of the sheet were exclusively secular, places of culture, society, commerce, and charity. Those buildings illustrated along the sides of the sheet were religious in nature, with the apparent exceptions of the two buildings used for incarceration and four public water fountains. Nevertheless, the overall distribution of the buildings' functions was as follows:

Illustrated Buildings by Function:

Function	Count	Notes
Monuments	2	
Churches	18	
Museum	1	
Civic Buildings	2	(Courthouse and Assembly Building)
Hospital	2	(Hospital and Medical Teaching Structure)
Commercial	3	(Banks and the Exchange / Custom House)
Fountain	4	(Public Water Supplies)
Alms House	1	
Social/Entertainment	2	(Masonic Hall and Theater)
Jail	2	
Total	37	(Including Monuments)

Almost one-half of those structures illustrated were, therefore, religious buildings and included Latrobe's prominent Cathedral and Mills's First Baptist Church both of which were either just completed or under construction at the time of the map's publication. Maximillian Godefroy's talents were shown in two ecclesiastical projects, St. Mary's Chapel and his later First Independent (Unitarian) Church. Older places of worship such as the Evangelical Reformed Church and the Friends Meeting House appeared as well, both dating to the 1780s. Among the churches pre-dating Baltimore's incorporation, the most prominent was undoubtedly Dalrymple's First Presbyterian Church, the two domed towers of which announced its distinction among the city's early houses of worship.

Poppleton evenly distributed his choices of non-religious buildings among others constructed for public functions. The two monuments uniquely expressed the era's conception of public display, commemoration, and monumentality. Shared by many of the buildings constructed after the War of 1812, repsublican symbols such as Roman-type fasces were explicit symbols of the city's recently forged civic pride. And, furthermore, the map's implicit proposition that other secular buildings might perform a similar role marks a change from the expectations of the period preceding the Early Republic.[12]

Consider, for example, the Penitentiary and the Jail, both depicted on the map. Although the buildings were physically located on adjacent plots on a single, large city block to the east of the Jones Falls, Poppleton separated them by the full width of the sheet, with the jail on the right margin and the penitentiary on the left. The placement of these pictures, each at the bottom of a vertical array otherwise showing religious buildings, implies that the instruments of punishment and reform had some spiritual kinship with the organized institutions of salvation.

Robert Carey Long Sr. had completed the jail in 1802 with the aid and advice of Colonel Nicholas Rogers, an amateur architect of considerable wealth and political standing.[13] As illustrated on the Poppleton map, the design included architectural details apparently thought to be suitable for its purpose, such as thin windows and smaller round apertures, which recall defensive structures. The design also includes crenellation at the building's flanks, pointing towards the future adoption of Tudor motifs in the jail's reconstruction almost sixty years later. It is worth comparing these decorative eccentricities to the serious monumentality of Latrobe's prison for Virginia, completed two years before Long's jail for Baltimore.[14] In fact, Latrobe's design lacks decorative "expressiveness" over most of the area of his facade and instead allows the penitentiary gate alone to bear both the decor and proportion of a monumental structure. Obviously, the two buildings could hardly be more different, if only because Long (and Rogers) had neither the training nor experience at that time to match Latrobe's intellectual and professional capacities. Long's and Latrobe's designs, however, did share the premise that even a prison structure might participate in what Dell Upton has called the "cultural landscape."[15]

Conversely, the design of Baltimore's penitentiary completed almost a decade later, seemed to hearken back to earlier, and lesser, expectations. Its builder, Daniel
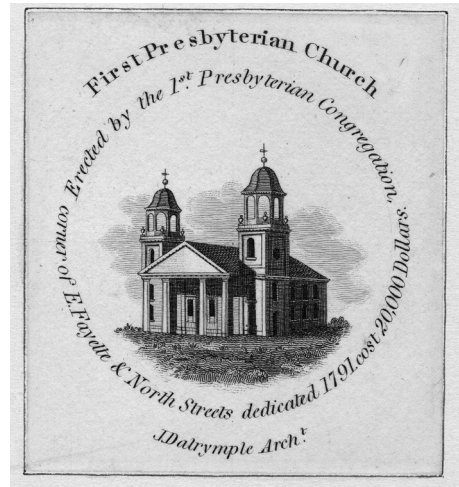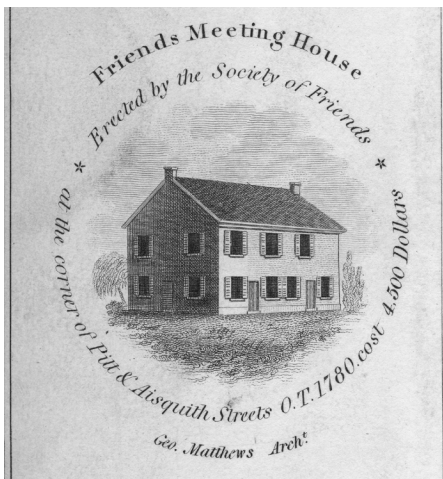
Conn, has been described as "typical of the group of carpenters . . . [whose] designs had little or no architectural value."[16]

Yet those who witnessed its construction waited, eager to see in its walls "that monument which the State has erected to its humanity and wisdom." Such comments testify as well to the stucture's inclusion upon the map.[17] Public acknowledgement therefore, dependent on prominent memories or actions, often played a more significant role than architecture in defining municipal identity. Thus, in the early years of the city's incorporation, almost any new institution could have claimed such prominence. As a visual expression of public morality, Conn's penitentiary might have "spoken" hardly at all, but the very fact of its commission was more than sufficient to assure its inclusion among Baltimore's most significant buildings.

This "ritualistic" understanding of how a community might construct a kind of civic-mindedness, embodied in its architecture, is underscored by the map's most striking omission—Fort McHenry. The fort does appear on the map's plan, but its location is neither listed on the numerical legend nor illustrated as an "embellishment" of the city. A place, in and of itself, simply was of little immediate significance to municipal Baltimore's newly-defined identity. Rather, that identity came to be defined reciprocally by the memory of that place and by its commemoration. Not surprisingly, it is a monument to a battle, and not that battle's location, that figured so prominently among this map's features.

The drawing of the Battle Monument was placed at the lower left side of the sheet, just below the map's dedication. Its illustration included, too, an additional description: "Erected in Commemoration of those, who fell in defense of this City, on the 12th of Sept. 1814 at the Battle of North Point, and on 13th. at the Bombardment of Fort McHenry." Forty-two names, in two columns, flank the picture of the
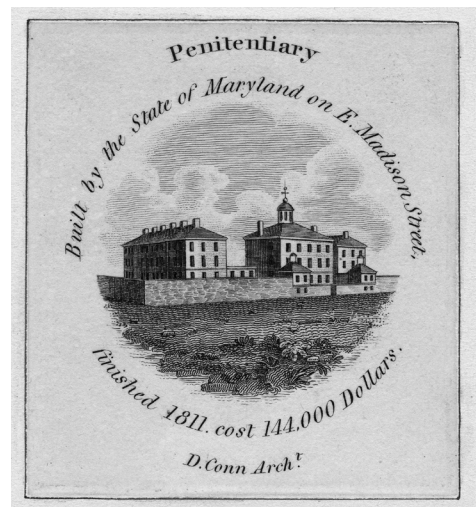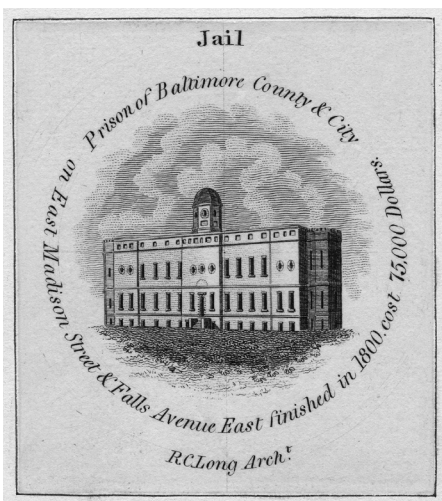
Battle Monument, below which is recalled the act of dedication. "The Corner stone of which was laid at the Solemnity of the 12th. September 1815. / Estimated Cost $10,000." Although the mention of cost together with a "solemnity" might seem bathetic today, the monument's design and dedication (and its underwriting and construction) galvanized civic activity, more so, perhaps, than the battle itself. By 1827, only four years after Poppleton included the image of the monument on the map, city officials placed a similar sketch of the Battle Monument on its municipal insignia, where it remains.

Architecture

As conceived and executed by Joseph Cone, the images of Baltimore's public buildings share several characteristics. Almost all of the structures are depicted as stand-alone buildings, set in verdant surroundings. (The single exception, the Centre Fountain, although shown in isolation, is set not upon the earth, or among plantings, but upon a paved surface.) In fact, as their location on the map indicates, many of these buildings stood in densely-settled parts of Baltimore. Although drawing the buildings without their actual context may have served to accentuate each building and its design, doing so also betrayed an implicit assumption that the urban spaces surrounding these structures did not merit equally honorable attention. Cone illustrated most of the buildings in perspective and just four in elevation, among them the Museum, the Masonic Hall, and the Theatre, the designs of which favored their
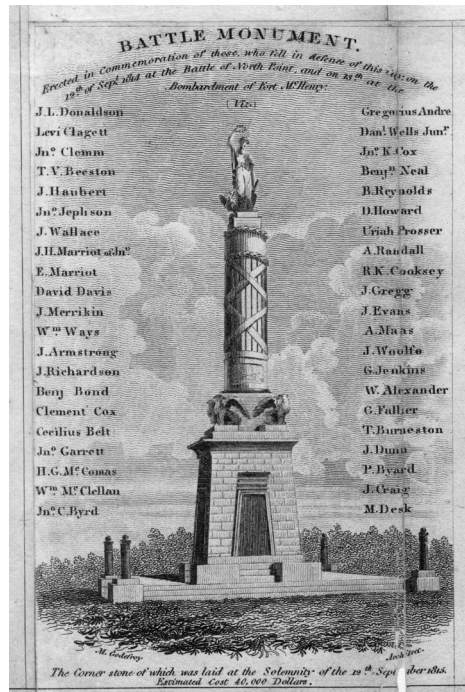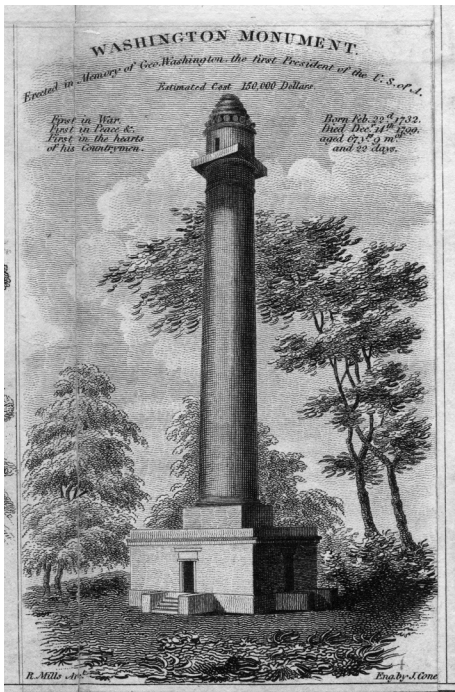
street-side facades. The Centre Fountain, mentioned before, also appears front-on, perhaps due to its small size. Latrobe's Cathedral, however, although drawn in perspective like most other buildings, was illustrated by a *rear* view, looking towards both the east and south sides of a building still unfinished at the time of the map's publication. Cone chose to omit the domed towers and the portico that Latrobe had already conceived and drawn. Builders, however, did not add these features until 1831 and 1863 respectively.

Cone's engravings appear, in retrospect, to have acknowledged a diversity of styles in Baltimore's public architecture. Writers have mentioned the tendency towards classicism in the detailing of those buildings shown on the map, and, to be sure, the influence of such talented designers such as Latrobe, Mills, and Godefroy would have encouraged that trend in others.[18] Yet the details of that classicism are not visually dominant among these images. Rather, taken together, the buildings shown illustrate extensive contrasts due to different massing (the shape of a building and how the large shapes relate), scales, and formal typologies. At a glance, no two buildings on the map look similar and furthermore, upon a second look, only the older churches tend to share fundamental architectural features.

Such diversity attests to that period's cultural growth and exploration, typical of provincial cities yet to have developed local institutions able to determine the direction of art and industry. For example, in European cities with longer histories, such institutions had long included professional communities from which a legacy of knowledge and practice could have been drawn. Not surprisingly, the Poppleton map also testifies to the difficulties of recognition that trained architects, lacking both institutional support and popular understanding, might have faced.

Attribution

The listing of architects' names alongside the map's images is certainly significant. The profession of architecture, as such, was new at that time in the United States, and practitioners such as Latrobe who brought English professional values to cities such as Baltimore and Philadelphia, and his student Mills bemoaned constantly the poor status of their own position.[19] At the very least, these architects sought credit for the conceptual and intellectual content of their work, distinguished from the technical and even manual aspects of construction. The fact that Poppleton prominently used the term "architect," and not "builder," "surveyor," or "constructor," reflects a measure of the progress towards the goals of these new professionals. These new values conflated, nevertheless, with older and more common ideas about producing buildings.

Most of the "architects" listed on the Poppleton map were those who worked as carpenters and masons and who may have been primarily responsible for the material construction of the building. Nevertheless, the title even then denoted (and connoted) responsibility for the plans, spaces, and ornament of buildings, whether or not that responsibility also included supervision of construction.[20] What is

Robert Cary Long Sr. (1770–1833) received full credit from the map's publishers for the designs of several of Baltimore's most important buildings. (Maryland Historical Society.)


Robert Cary Long Jr. (1810–1849) completed the tower on St. Mary's Chapel, visible in the 1852 revised edition of Poppleton's map. (Maryland Historical Society.)

especially interesting is the intersection of these technical matters with wider re-sponsibilities derived from financial and political activity. In a sense, attribution as "architect" implied social promotion, with the promise of future commissions, political involvement, and financial gain. Buildings attributed solely to Robert Cary Long Sr., for example, may have generated controversy.

Poppleton credited "R.C. Long Archt." with eight of the thirty-five illustrated buildings, almost a quarter of Baltimore's most significant pre-1823 structures—the Museum, Assembly Rooms, Union Bank, University of Maryland, Alms House, Theatre, St. Paul's, and the jail. Long's participation in the construction of these buildings has not been contested, but the extent to which he conceived the design of those building attributed to him is unclear. Whose role was excluded may be equally of note. For example, Scharf, in his Chronicles of Baltimore, wrote that Long and others built the Assembly Rooms at Nicholas Rogers's direction. Griffith, in his earlier Ann*als of Baltimore*, does the same.[21] As indicated above, Long's relationship to Rogers extended to their work on the jail, yet the credit on Poppleton's Map for both structures is to Long alone.

The list of buildings to which Long contributed both as builder and designer is perhaps the longest of any of his contemporaries. His important role among Baltimore's rising "business class" after 1800 included participation upon commit-tees whose charge often included awarding building commissions. Yet city direc-tories listed his professional title as that of a "carpenter" up to 1823. In her chapter on Long's work as one of Baltimore's early architects, Claire Eckles notes that only
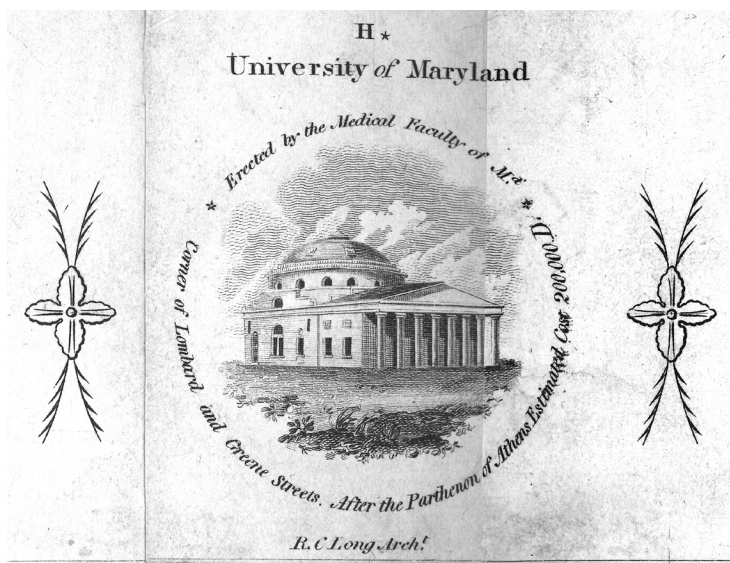
"(a)fter 1824 he was called an architect or 'architectist,' and in 1831 and 1833 engineer was added to his listing."[22]

Long's independence as a designer, rather than as a builder, was established first with his Union Bank, built circa 1807. (Atypically, no date is given on Poppleton's map.) Called by one writer "a peerless masterpiece of restrained Federal styling," Long's work on this bank and the contemporary accolades mark the moment when Baltimoreans sought to elevate their commercial buildings to the same plane as churches and government structures.[23] Of the other buildings shown on the map, Peale's Museum, the Holliday Street Theater, and St. Paul's Church all remain credited solely to Long. Yet his attribution as the designer of "University of Maryland," known today as Davidge Hall, has been contested based on existing letters from Latrobe to Godefroy. The structure listed as the "centre building" of the Alms House, originally known as Calverton Mansion and credited to Long on Poppleton's map, has since been attributed to French architect Joseph Jacques Ramée.[24] The authors of the map apparently placed less importance on architectural contribution to design than on Long's work on construction.

Other building projects are also incorrectly or incompletely attributed. The story of Maximilian Godefroy's involvement with the Custom House, Exchange, &c., attributed solely to Latrobe on the Poppleton map, has been well documented.[25] The map's publishers also omitted Godefroy's contribution to the Masonic Hall for which J. (Jacob) Small, Jr., is listed as the architect. The Masons originally awarded the commission to Godefroy whose father-in-law, Dr. John Crawford, had served as the Catholic architect's liaison to the anti-papist Masons. After the elder gentleman's death and a lengthy interruption due to the War of 1812, Small Jr. gained control of the project. Although this second designer reconceived the facade to include the additional story visible in the illustration, Godefroy's original plan remained intact in the final building.[26] Credit for the building's design went to Small Jr.

Poppleton's Progeny

Later maps of Baltimore incorporated, by necessity, Poppleton's plan for future roads as illustrated in 1823. The influence of the map extended as well to the burgeoning market for "birds-eye" depictions of Baltimore. And although the decorative arts may have been one of the original influences on the map's creators, a reciprocal influence reached all the way to Great Britain, where ceramics manufactured for the American market bore imagery drawn directly from the Poppleton map.[27]

Nevertheless, the types of buildings and the architectural character those structures promoted changed considerably over the succeeding years. These changes, already apparent in maps and views of the 1840s, depicted an increasing number of commercial structures rather than religious buildings. The best example of the declining significance of ecclesiastical buildings is Poppleton's map itself, re-designed and re-published in 1852 by Isaac Simmons.[28] Simmons preserved the graphic

character of the first edition. The vignettes, even those revised to show changes or corrections, remained line etchings set within rosettes of text, already a kind of nostalgic conceit in the new era of photography and photolithography. To illustrate the Baltimore of 1852, however, Simmons removed eight buildings from the map's perimeter and added six new ones. Those omitted included the Assembly Rooms, Centre and Northern Fountains, Godefroy's Commercial and Farmers Bank, and four churches, Second Presbyterian, St. Patrick's, Christ Church, and the Eutaw Meeting House. Revisions to those images retained from the 1823 edition included redrawing the Cathedral to show the towers, redrawing St. Johns church, changing the Museum's designation to reflect its role as Baltimore's City Hall, and changing the attribution for Godefroy's St. Mary's Chapel to none other than Robert Cary Long.[29] Of the six buildings added to the 1852 edition, not one was a religious building. The new buildings included the Athenaeum, Aged Women's Home, House of Refuge, High School, Mercantile Institute, and Sun Iron Building. The inclusion of Bogardus's Sun Iron Building, a new type of industrial building fabricated by a new kind of construction technique, reflected the encroachment of speculative commerce upon the high-mindedness of Baltimore's famous institutions.

By 1852, at the time Simmons reissued Poppleton's map, printed views of cities had become extraordinarily popular throughout the United States. Most of these depicted "birds-eye" scenes, as though the view had been drawn from a perspective elevated high above ground level. What is striking is that so many of these publications also included miniature vignettes of city buildings, either drawn or, already by the 1850s, derived from photographs. Baltimore-based printers such as E. Sachse and Co. did so even when depicting cities elsewhere in the United States. Echoing changes already seen in Baltimore, the buildings they included rarely expressed any public-oriented ethos. Rather, publishers often sold vignette space as advertising for commercial interests.[30]

The city that had adopted Poppleton's plan grew geographically. Railroads enhanced Baltimore's commercial opportunities and other technologies such as the introduction of omnibus service had allowed new urban neighborhoods to grow well beyond the boundaries defined in 1816. The city once again positioned itself for another expansion into the adjacent county. Baltimore's architecture, too, included both new types of buildings and new scales of buildings, exemplified by the mills and factories clamoring for the public's attention. Yet even as late as 1872, new maps of Baltimore continued to honor, if only implicitly, the memory of Poppleton's presentation.

F. Klemm's 1872 map *Baltimore and the Proposed Extensions of the City Limits*, based on Simon Martenet's survey proposed a different plan for the city's future. Klemm's work showed the 1817 municipal boundaries, but added considerable area to illustrate the scope of those proposed extensions. Large public parks also appeared on Klemm's map, reflecting the city government's increased commitment

to recreation and public welfare. But just as in Poppleton's day, a constellation of vignettes surrounded the map.

What, according to Klemm and his collaborators, were Baltimore's prominent buildings in 1872? The Battle Monument remained, along with Washington's**,** lost relics of the early republic among a miscellaneous host of Victorian-era buildings. Klemm placed the Battle Monument between the Maryland Institute and Joshua Horner's Chemical supply depot and the Washington Monument next to an oyster packing facility. The two memorials and the subjects of their commemoration appear to have been overwhelmed by the vitality of Baltimore's commercial culture.

Fifty years later, and more than a century after the original publication of Poppleton's map, both nostalgia and bathos came together again in Letitia Stockett's affectionate, yet satiric, essay about Baltimore's history:
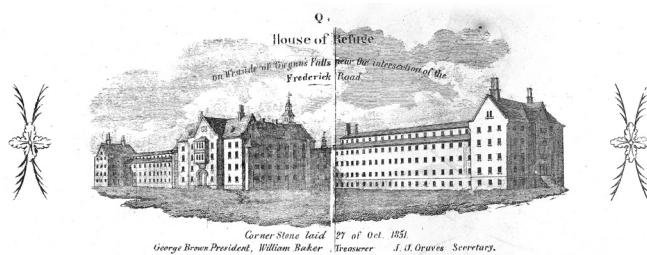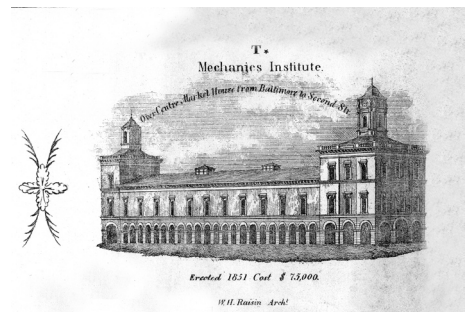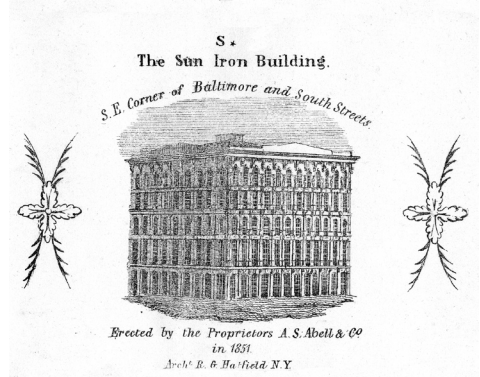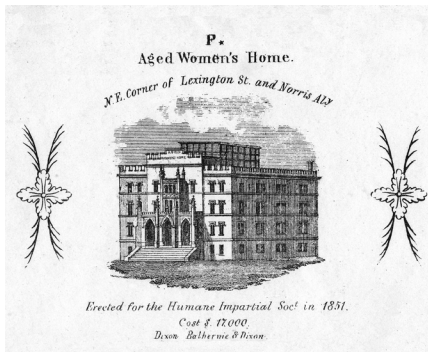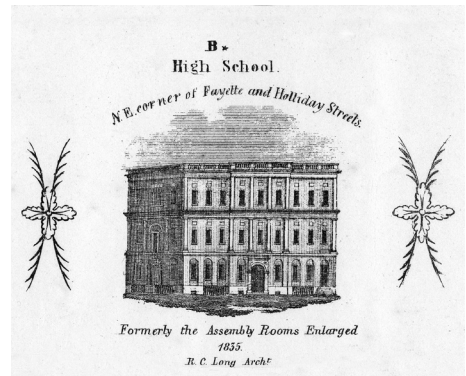
> Would you know about Baltimore? Then put deliberately out of your mind the fact that the town makes more straw hats than any other city in the world. Aesthetically speaking, that is a fearsome thought. Forget, too, that Baltimore is the centre of the oyster packing industry. Worse, far worse than a straw hat is a packed oyster; Baltimoreans ought to know better. In truth they do . . . [31]

Or perhaps, at the time Stockett wrote, they actually didn't.

Looking closely at Poppleton's work suggests that the men who commissioned Washington's monument employed a unique and determinative corporate act of memory embodied in both the physical monument and its representation. Representation, however, does not ensure preservation, whether among actual stones or their perceived meanings. Artifacts such as this map, however, over a span of almost two centuries, continue to attest to those meanings.

❧

Isaac Simmons reissued Poppleton's map in 1852 and replaced six of the drawings. Sketches of the new buildings included the High School, Aged Women's Home, the Athenaeum, The Sun Iron Building, and the House of Refuge.

B
High School.
N.E. corner of Fayette and Holliday Streets.
Formerly the Assembly Rooms Enlarged
1855.
R. C. Long Archt.

P
Aged Women's Home.
N.E. Corner of Lexington St. and Norris Aly
Erected for the Humane Impartial Soct in 1851.
Cost $. 17,000.
Dixon Balbirnie & Dixon

S
The Sun Iron Building.
S.E. Corner of Baltimore and South Streets
Erected by the Proprietors A. S. Abell & Co
in 1851.
Archt R. G. Hatfield. N.Y.

O
Athenæum.
N.W. Corner of St Pauls and Saratoga Streets
Erected for the Historical Soct & Balto & Mercantile
Library Cos. Completed in 1848 Cost $. 28,182.
R.C.Long Archt.

T
Mechanics Institute.
Over Centre Market House from Baltimore to Second St.
Erected 1851 Cost $. 75,000.
W.H. Raisin Archt.

Q
House of Refuge
On Westside of Gwynns Falls near the intersection of the
Frederick Road.
Corner Stone laid 27 of Oct. 1851.
George Brown President, William Baker , Treasurer   J. J. Graves Secretary.

F. Klemm, Baltimore and the Proposed Extension of the City Limits from S.J. Martenet's surveys, 1872.

CITY HALL.

BUCK'S HOTEL
34 W. PRATT STREET
JAMES BUCK
BALTIMORE.

ULMAN & CO.
ATLAS WHISKIES.
Office 55 S. Gay St.

C. A. GAMBRILL & CO.

ELLICOTT'S CITY.
Office, 52 and 56 Commerce Street.

ORANGE GROVE,

...ington, North and Holliday Sts.

J. LUDINGTON & CO.
OYSTER PACKERS,
Foot of Thames St.

WASHINGTON MONUMENT,
Charles and Monument Streets.

FORD'S GRAND OPERA HOUSE,
Fayette, near Eutaw Street.

WHOLESALE NOTION DEALERS,
22 Hanover Street.

PEABODY INSTITUTE,
Corner Mount Vernon and Washington Places.

CARROLLTON HOUSE,
R. B. COLEMAN, Proprietor,
Baltimore, Light and German Streets.

CONCORDIA BUILDING,
Eutaw, near German Street.

RENNERT HOUSE.
ROBERT RENNERT, PROPRIETOR,
Fayette St., near Calvert.

WHEELWRIGHT, MUDGE & CO.
PAPER AND BAG DEALERS,
S. E. Corner Sharp and Lombard Sts.

HOPKINS' RIALTO BUILDING,
Corner Second and Holliday Sts.

STICKNEY IRON COMPANY BALTIMORE.
CLINTON STREET, CANTON.

CANTON

HARBOUR

NORTH WEST BRANCH

P A T A P S C O   R I V E R

Line of Quarantine

A N N E   A R U N D E L
C O U N T Y

Marine Hospital

Canton Company

LIST OF TELEGRAPHIC
FIRE ALARM STATIONS.

BALTIMORE-TOWN, BALTIMORE-TOWN
AND OF BALTIMORE CITY.
...original ground of Baltimore-Town, 60
...his comprises the space between Liberty
...nd Saratoga Street and the Basin,) £120
...5000) ... $4,542,292
...ty of Baltimore, ... £1,703,622
...r, (Incorporated 1796,) ... £699,519
... £2,522,870
... $55,793,370
... 138,505,765

1862, for Baltimore City, ... $134,532,807
1863, " " ... 135,691,035
1864, " " ... 139,417,797
1865, " " ... 143,540,022
1866, " " ... 144,926,317
1867, " " ... 147,078,105
1868, " " ... 206,144,348
1869, " " ... 203,739,804
1870, " " ... 207,181,550

The Taxation as made and collected is on the Property for 1870,
$780,855 for the State of Maryland, and $3,222,106 for the City.

Notes

The author would like to thank Ed Love for his comments and suggestions during the writing of this essay.

1. Edward C. Papenfuse and Joseph M. Coale III, *The Maryland State Archives: Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland 1608–1908* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 167; the influence of the Poppleton Plan is mentioned in most histories of Baltimore; for a recent example, see Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 79 ff.
2. Mary Ellen Hayward and Frank R. Shivers Jr., eds., *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 21, 75, 78.
3. Joseph Francus, "Notes to 'Survey of Baltimore by Poppleton,'" no date, Box 1, MS 2977, Maryland Historical Society; Richard Cox, unpublished manuscript, cited in Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps*, 167.
4. T. H. Poppleton, "Contract and explanation of Surveying Methods to be used . . .," dated May 20, 1811, MSA SC 5087-1-1-1/7, Maryland State Archives (Illustrated as Figure 146e in Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps*); T. H. Poppleton, "An Eye Sketch of Part of the Town and Environs of Baltimore taken without regard to accuracy," 1812, 171/4x 11 5/8: 1 map, hand drawn on paper, matted, WOP 20x24, Box 22, BCLM CA 2417; Joseph L. Arnold, "Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745–1918," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 73 (1978): 111 [hereinafter cited *MdHM*].
5. Joseph Townsend, et al, "A misunderstanding to an unpleasant extent" *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Thursday March 28, 1822.
6. T. H. Poppleton, "Communicated: The public attention having been lately attracted to the Plats," *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, April 6, 1822.
7. For the consequences of excluding topography from the plan, see Olson, *Baltimore*, 58.
8. Charles Varle, *Warner & Hanna's Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore* (Baltimore: 1801).
9. Here is inserted the seal of Baltimore City at that time, "An allegorical figure carries in one hand a wand and Phrygian cap (symbolizing "freedom"); and in the other the scales of justice. Behind this figure, to her left, appears a monstrous figure of apparently nautical origin." The current seal, displaying Godefroy's Battle Monument, was adopted only in 1827.
10. Glenn Opitz, ed., *Mantel Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors, & Engravers* (Poughkeepsie: Apollo Book, 1986), 378; John A. Paxton and William Strickland, *To the citizens of Philadelphia, this new plan of the city and its environs, taken from actual survey is respectfully dedicated by their humble servt.* (Philadelphia: Charles Peter Harrison, 1811), map held by the New York Public Library.
11. "Rev. Joseph Cone," *The Christian Index*, February 12, 1831, in W. T. Brantly, ed., *The Columbian Star and Christian Index* (Philadelphia: Martin & Boden, 1831) 112; Joseph Cone is mentioned in the biography of his brother, Spencer, Edward W. Cone, *The Life of Spencer H. Cone* (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1857), 243; Frank Weitenkampf, *American Graphic Art* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1912), 77, 103.
12. See J. Jefferson Miller, "The Designs for the Washington Monument in Baltimore," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 23 (March, 1964): 19–28 [hereinafter cited *JSAH*]; Robert Alexander, "The Public Memorial and Godefroy's Battle Monument," *JSAH,* 17 (March, 1958): 19–24; John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, *The*

Architecture of America: A Social and Cultural History (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1966), 22.

13. Robert Alexander, "Nicholas Rogers, Gentleman-Architect of Baltimore," *MdHM*, 78 (1983): 85–105.

14. Jeffrey A. Cohen and Charles E. Brownell, eds., *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), II: 98–112.

15. Dell Upton, "Architectural History or Landscape History?" *Journal of Architectural Education*, 44 (August 1991): 198.

16. Claire Eckels Wittler, *Baltimore's Earliest Architects 1785–1820,* (Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1950), 32.

17. Ibid, 33.

18. Catherine A. Rogers, "Classicism and Culture in Maryland, 1815–1845," Gregory R. Weidman and Jennifer F. Goldsborough, eds., *Classical Maryland 1815–1845: Fine and Decorative Arts from the Golden Age* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1993), 14.

19. One of many examples is contained in Latrobe's letter to Robert Mills, dated July 12, 1806, in which Latrobe offers advice concerning the professional conduct of an architect, John C. Van Horne, ed., *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Vol. 2 1805–1810* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 239–44.

20. Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Craft of Architecture in 19th-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 12.

21. John Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874), 283; Thomas Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Wooddy, 1833), 160.

22. Eckels, "Early Architects," 48–52.

23. Carlton Jones, *Lost Baltimore: A Portfolio of Vanished Buildings* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 59.

24. Waite, D., "The Historical Portrait: An architectural study blurs the picture of who designed Davidge Hall," *The Bulletin* (University of Maryland Medical School), Volume 81, No. 3, Winter 1996-1997; Attributed on the basis of the structure's unique plan, its figurative sculpture, and Ramée's extant drawings for the landscaping of the estate, see Paul F. Norton, "The Architect of Calverton," *MdHM* , 76 (1981): 113–23.

25. Cohen and Brownell, eds., *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry* Latrobe, 637–61; see also Mark Reinberger, *The Baltimore Exchange and its Place in the Career of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1988), 15–41.

26. Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximillian Godefroy*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 82–84.

27. Lois McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints 1752-1889* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975), 15.

28. *This Plan of the City of Baltimore as enlarged & laid out by T.H. Poppleton . . . corrected to 1851 with a survey of its Environs and Canton* (Baltimore: Isaac Simmons, 1851).

29. The change reflects another complication—similar names across generations. Although Godefroy was the chapel's original architect in 1806, and images on both 1823 and 1852 editions of the map show the building as originally constructed, Robert Cary Long Jr. did complete Godefroy's design (slightly modified) for a tower around 1840.

30. John Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 3; "Indianapolis, Indiana, 1854," Views and Viewmakers, 106; Ibid, 53–54.

31. Letitia Stockett, *Baltimore: A Not Too Serious History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3.