

Baltimore Architecture in History

Although "Baltimore Town" was officially created by an act of the Colonial Assembly in 1729 and the original 60 acres surveyed in 1730, it was a long time before substantial buildings were erected within its precincts. In fact, the oldest surviving pre-Revolutionary War structure within the city's present boundaries is the country house Mount Clare [104], which was built without reference to the town.

In the midst of a large tobacco and wheat plantation, and facing southeast toward the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River where the farm's own wharf was situated, Mount Clare was what the Maryland country gentleman considered elegant and necessary in the 1750s. Charles Carroll the Barrister, as he was called to distinguish him from other Carrolls, was familiar with the current fashions in Annapolis and undoubtedly had access to some of the many English architectural style books. We can assume that he designed the house himself, as did many another plantation owner, and it is certainly a personal variation on the standard English Georgian themes.

It is a miracle that Mount Clare should have survived two centuries when its few contemporaries in the town have vanished. After the Revolutionary War, however, Baltimore Town became an important mercantile center, specializing in the export of wheat and flour and in the kindred industries of shipbuilding and ropemaking. The population grew rapidly and the building trades prospered. Thousands of small, simple houses were put up to accommodate the artisans and merchants, and a dozen new churches were built.

Very little remains of this pre-1800 town. Architecturally we see the culmination of the earlier English Georgian, already old-fashioned in England, in such houses as St. Paul's Rectory of 1789 [30] and the somewhat earlier "Captain John Steel House" [88] at 731 Fell Street. The former is located on a substantial lot, as if it were a country house, and the latter was originally the end of an attached row of houses.

The old Otterbein United Methodist Church of 1785-1786 [101] and the 1783 Old Town Meeting House [84] stand

alone as the survivors of such churches as the Christ Protestant Episcopal (1785), First Presbyterian (1791), and German Reformed (1796)—all of which might have been designed out of James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* (1728) or similar British building guides.

At the turn of the century a new elegance appears in the country houses of the wealthy merchant princes. Homewood [155], built in 1801-1803 by Charles Carroll (son of the famous Charles Carroll of Carrollton), is the perfect example of the fashion. Sadly, it is also the last example in existence. Others were Thoroughgood Smith's Willowbrook, whose oval parlor was salvaged for display in the Baltimore Museum of Art; General Samuel Smith's remarkable Montebello; Henry Thompson's Clifton; Robert Oliver's Greenmount; John Eager Howard's Belvidere. Their names alone remain current, although the houses have long been demolished—or, in the case of Clifton, grossly altered.

Once again, the style of these country houses was old-fashioned, being a Baltimore variation of the manner of Robert Adam, introduced to England in the 1760s. It offered a new delicacy of ornamentation, based on the decorative style shown in the wall paintings and mosaics found in the ruins of Pompeii and in Diocletian's palace at Spoleto. It compared to the earlier Georgian as the severe delicacy of the furniture designs of Hepplewhite compared to the voluptuous curves of Chippendale. In this country it is described as the Federal style because it became popular about the time of the creation of the new Constitution and federal government (1789).

If this first flowering of architectural quality in Baltimore was old-fashioned by European standards, the very newest fashion followed quickly with a force that has marked the city ever since. The avant-garde architectural style of the later eighteenth century came from a new awareness of the essential forms of Greek and Roman buildings. In England, Sir John Soane, S. P. Cockerell, and others were experimenting with the ancient motifs to express volume and scale without fussy detail. In France, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and others went even further toward geometrical simplicity; after Napoleon's 1798 expedition to Egypt they added ancient Egyptian mannerisms to the repertoire.

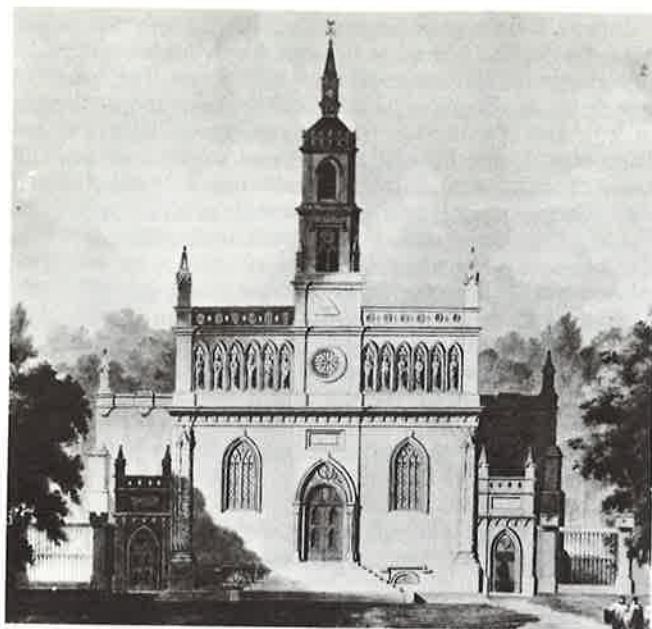
It was Baltimore's fortune that highly original representatives of both the English and French schools came to practice here: Benjamin Henry Latrobe, a self-styled refugee from an England whose politics he could no longer accept; and Maximilian Godefroy, a real political refugee from Napoleonic France. Their great works, and those of their students and followers, have indelibly marked the city. They gave Baltimore its first truly creative period.

Latrobe, a pupil of S. P. Cockerell, immigrated in 1795. He became a friend of Thomas Jefferson, who soon employed him as architect of the United States Capitol. Since that project moved fitfully, Latrobe worked in Virginia, Philadelphia, and particularly Baltimore. His great opportunity came when John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore, desiring an appropriate Cathedral for the first Roman Catholic Diocese of the United States, was sophisticated enough to employ the best architect available. Latrobe submitted alternative designs for the Cathedral in 1805. One was Gothic, the other classical.

To Archbishop Carroll and most other Baltimoreans of the day Gothic was too radical and too unfamiliar for such an important building; he chose the classical design. It is a lesson in the changing fashions in architectural style that forty years later a Presbyterian building committee would make precisely the opposite choice for a church on Franklin Street across from the Cathedral.

The Baltimore Cathedral [22] is Latrobe's masterpiece. The design is a precise and powerful arrangement of form, space, and mass in a manner reminiscent of the best classical architecture, but entirely original as an ensemble. One of America's greatest buildings, it has even been ranked with the best European buildings of its period by such historians as Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Sir Nikolaus Pevsner.

Meanwhile, Godefroy arrived from France in 1805 and was employed as the professor of civil and military architecture at St. Mary's College. The college was operated by the Sulpician Order, who also conducted St. Mary's Roman Catholic Seminary, founded in 1795. It was natural that the Sulpician fathers would ask Godefroy to design a new chapel building. Dedicated in 1808, and Godefroy's first work in Baltimore, St. Mary's Chapel [109] is an anomaly for its



St. Mary's Seminary Chapel

time and place: it is in the Gothic manner, the first church of this architectural style to be built in America. Godefroy did not really understand Gothic architecture; the chapel is a pastiche of Gothic detail mixed with some classical motifs. The effect is pleasant, nevertheless, and the oddity of the style adds to its considerable charm.

The architect's Commercial and Farmers' Bank of 1810 showed his knowledge of the current French geometrical classicism. Although this has been destroyed, Godefroy's mastery of the style is preserved in the largest and most important of his buildings, the Unitarian Church of 1819 [20]. The interior has been greatly altered but the overall composition—literally a cube surmounted by a hemisphere and a simple arcaded porch capped with a pediment framing a sculpture of "The Angel of Truth"—is a pure expression of the architectural theories of C. N. Ledoux. It would

have seemed very up to date had it been built in Paris instead of Baltimore.

Godefroy's third surviving production was the Battle Monument [49], built in memory of those who fell in the British attack on Baltimore in September 1814. The symbolism of the Roman fasces, the Egyptian tomb, and mythical griffons reflects the architect's background in Revolutionary France, where patriotic holidays and military victories were marked by great civic celebrations featuring elaborate symbolic stage settings, floats, and temporary monuments. The unique aspect of the Battle Monument is that it was a democratic monument commemorating only those who died in action—not, as was the custom, the surviving politicians and generals. Appropriately, it was adopted as the official symbol of the city of Baltimore in 1827 and appears on the city seal and flag.

Godefroy returned to France in 1819, and Latrobe left for Pittsburgh about that time, going on to New Orleans, where he died in 1820. Although the prime movers of the classical movement had left the scene, their followers continued the influence for another decade. It was one of Latrobe's students, Robert Mills, who created Baltimore's primary landmark, the Washington Monument [1]. Mills, who liked to call himself the first American-born trained architect, also worked in Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond, and Charleston.

When it was decided to erect a monument to George Washington in Baltimore, the Committee advertised for designs. Three or four were rejected, including one by Godefroy, and Mills's scheme for a giant column won the prize in 1813, with a solution almost as novel as Godefroy's Battle Monument.

It was an ancient Roman conceit to use a tall column as the base for a statue, as for example Trajan's Column in the Forum. The earliest post-Roman use seems to have been the London Monument of 1677, commemorating the Great Fire of 1666. The two other pre-Mills examples were the Colonne de La Grande Armée in Paris (1801), which was demolished in 1870 for political reasons and rebuilt later, and the Nelson Column in Dublin (1808), which was blown up in 1966. Dozens of columnar monuments of this type have been built since Baltimore's and may be found from Lenin-

grad to London in all sizes and styles. Mills's column is easily the largest of the genre, as well as the second oldest, and it is the best proportioned.

Both begun in 1815, the Battle Monument and the Washington Monument gave Baltimore its most famous sobriquet. In 1827, when both of them were nearly finished, President John Quincy Adams at a big public dinner in Baltimore gave as his toast, "Baltimore, the monumental city." It was more than an idle comment: no other large city in America had even one substantial monument to show. And the Monumental City we have been ever since.

A local architect, Robert Cary Long, Sr., carried forward the romantic classicism of Latrobe and Godefroy with considerable versatility. Long began as a carpenter but learned quickly from association with the masters. His first major building was the Assembly Rooms of 1797, essentially in the Georgian manner. The break into classicism came with his Union Bank of 1807, which seems to have been derived from plates in Sir John Soane's *Sketches in Architecture* (1798).

The example of Latrobe is clear in Long's Medical School building for the University of Maryland (1812). Now called Davidge Hall [74] after one of the founding physicians, it is an exercise in the Pantheon design—circular domed structure with a pedimented portico. In this case the plan provided instructional theatres, one above the other. In 1817 Robert Mills used the same plan for the First Baptist Church, now demolished.

Long's other major works were the St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church (1812), the Holliday Street Theatre (1813) where the "Star-Spangled Banner" was first sung, and up the street, Peale's Baltimore Museum [63] (1814). Only the last of these survives, but it has a special interest: it is the oldest museum building in this country and one of the oldest in the world.

One of the few features of Long's St. Paul's Church that survived its fire in 1854 was a pair of sculptured marble reliefs of Christ and Moses, now on the facade of the present church [27]. A unique aspect of Baltimore architecture in this period was the extensive use of sculptured ornament. Some sculptors came from France, while President Jefferson imported Italian sculptors to work on the Capitol; some

of these had time to spare for Baltimore. Antonio Capellano did the work on the Battle Monument, the Unitarian Church and St. Paul's Church. Enrico Causici did Washington's statue for Mills's great monument. Others who worked here were Giuseppe Cerracchi, Andrei, Franzoni, and Chevalier.

Latrobe's direct influence was continued in Baltimore in the 1820s by a young man named William F. Small, who had trained in the great architect's office for two years. He produced such important buildings as Barnum's City Hotel, the Athenaeum, several churches, and a number of town houses—all now gone. Remaining are the 1829 Archbishop's Residence [25] on Charles Street, the great country house Folly Quarter in Howard County, and in collaboration with William T. Howard, the little McKim Free School [83].

The first two are derivative of Latrobe's "stripped classicism," with their flat wall surfaces relieved by shallow recesses for the windows, and the simple decorative moldings and capitals. However, the school is quite another page in architecture.

Small died in 1832, before the building was completed; the records of the Baltimore Library Company show that Howard had borrowed a volume of the 1762 *Antiquities of Athens*, by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, in which there are accurate plates of the Temple of Haephaestus in Athens. The McKim School is a good three-fifths scale model of one end of that building.

Robert Cary Long, Sr., died a year after the younger Small; by then, Robert Mills had finished the Washington Monument and left for Washington and other places. The direct influence of Latrobe and Godefroy was gone. The field was left open to a new generation—the next phase of Baltimore's architectural development was led by Robert Cary Long, Jr.

The young Long was not content to follow his father's practice, but went to New York for professional training in the office of architect Martin Euclid Thompson. Here he found in the midst of the continuing classical fashion a countertrend toward Gothic and even more exotic styles. It is probable that he first saw in New York *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, (1821) by A. C. Pugin and E. J. Wilson,

whose handsome illustrations of English buildings were later to be his guides in Baltimore.

Long had the opportunity to learn about the latest work of Ithiel Town and A. J. Davis, pioneers in the revival of the Gothic mode in America. In 1832 Davis had designed the Tudor Gothic country villa Glen Ellen for Baltimore's wealthy and sophisticated Robert Gilmore, Jr.

When his father died, young Long hurried back to Baltimore, but despite Gilmore's example there was no widespread demand for Gothic. Long designed the Patapsco Female Institute and the nearby house Mount Ida in Ellicott City about 1837 in a severely simple classical manner. About this time he submitted a design for the gates to Green Mount Cemetery in the Egyptian style; it was not accepted, although seemingly appropriate for the purpose. In 1836 he designed an even more elaborate Egyptian scheme for the Baltimore City and County Record Office. This was approved, but built in a very much simplified style. The new ideas were afloat.

Long's opportunity came with the sudden increase in Baltimore's population toward the end of the 1830s, largely because of the massive wave of immigration from Ireland and Germany. A good many of the Irish and some of the Germans were Roman Catholic, and some of the Germans were Jewish. There was an immediate need for more churches, and it was Long's fortune to design five churches for four different denominations within the space of two or three years. More important, he established a taste in Baltimore for the Gothic style in church building that lasted for a generation.

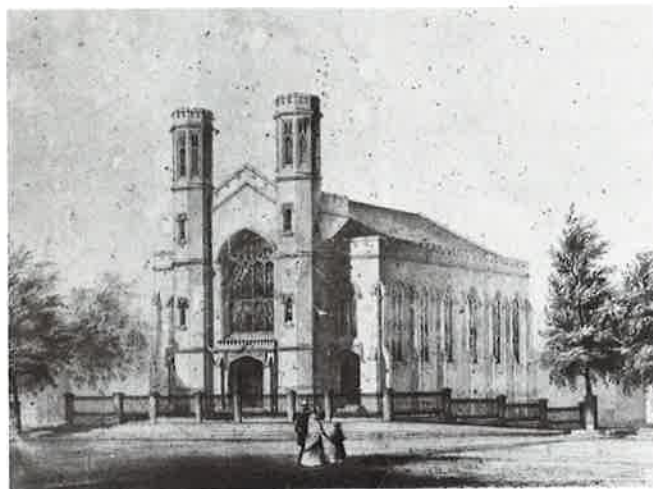
His first accepted design in the Gothic manner was for the gates to Green Mount Cemetery [122]—a design that was published as a lithograph in about 1837, although not built for a few years. The next was more significant—St. Alphonsus' Roman Catholic Church [32] begun in 1842.

Long's own drawing calls it the German Catholic Church, for it was built for a congregation of Bavarian immigrants. While this was under construction, he was called upon to design a church for a congregation of predominantly Irish Catholics settled near the Mt. Clare shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A Greek Doric temple scheme was adopted for this new St. Peter's Church [112].



St. Alphonsus' Church

The ambivalence of choice was voiced formally in 1844, when Long submitted two designs to the building committee for a new Presbyterian congregation on Franklin Street. As the minutes of the committee state, he offered both a "Greek" and a "Gothic" scheme. Long argued for the latter, and the committee voted "in favor of the Gothic." This seemed to decide the issue for Baltimore—with only one or two exceptions, the numerous churches that sprang up in the next two decades were Gothic.



Franklin Street Presbyterian Church

Long provided one of the exceptions immediately. Just after the decision of the Franklin Street Presbyterian Church [21], the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation chose a classical design for its first synagogue on Lloyd Street [82]. Was this the alternate Presbyterian design? In any case, it was much less specifically Greek than St. Peter's. The Doric portico is a true porch, jutting forward from the middle of the facade, and the wing walls are pierced by round windows. Inside Long provided the usual Orthodox arrangement of a balcony for the women and ranks of pews on the main floor facing the ark at the east end.

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The Lloyd Street Synagogue, for all of its classicism, is more original than the Franklin Street Church. The latter's Tudor Gothic details can be traced precisely to *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, particularly the plates showing Hampton Court. Long's arrangement of the familiar details is skillful, however, and the general effect cannot be faulted. It must be noted that the Franklin Street Church, the synagogue, and St. Alphonsus' Church were originally painted in a color to imitate stone. The modern fondness for the natural brick is not that of the church builders.

Long decided to move to New York in the midst of this flurry of commissions, but he died suddenly; and so in the end his fame rests on his local production covering a period of only a dozen years. His experiments in eclecticism were bookish and tentative, and beneath the ornamental detail is a simple classical plan. Since he had no direct followers, it cannot be said that he was an important influence on the course of Baltimore architecture. But at least he introduced the city to the picturesque architectural ideas that supplanted the classicism of his father's generation.

The next three decades witnessed Baltimore architectural production on a scale and over a range greater than the city had ever before experienced. Immigration and economic growth in both mercantilism and manufacturing doubled the city's population and multiplied its wealth. This is the period in which Baltimore got its first comprehensive water system, its first public parks, its first public "rapid transit" system, built its first city hall, and received its first great philanthropic institutions from George Peabody and Johns Hopkins. What had been little more than an overgrown port town achieved the status of a true city.

The key factor in this era was the railroad. When Charles Carroll of Carrollton laid the first stone of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in a field southwest of Baltimore in 1828, he is reported to have said that it was the second most important public act of his life, the first being the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

The railroad commenced an economic revolution with results to American life every bit as far-reaching as the political revolution in 1776, and nowhere was the effect felt more deeply than in Baltimore. The B&O and the other railroads that followed linked the Baltimore port with the

rich farming country of the Frederick valley and the York and Lancaster regions in Pennsylvania, and in 1852 tapped the Ohio River valley.

They also brought about the development of industrial satellite towns such as Woodberry [177] on the Jones Falls, Avalon, Oella [118] and Ellicott City [119] along the Patapsco River; industrial plants such as Cooper's Iron Works in Canton, and Winans' car and locomotive works in southwest Baltimore. The railroads were far more than transportation arteries: they ushered Baltimore into the industrial age.

Early industrialism produced little significant architecture arising out of its own needs. The development of the railroads themselves was a story of constant invention and improvisation to solve new problems, not the least of which were those relating to the right-of-way. The first sizable stream that the B&O had to cross was Baltimore's Gwynns Falls. Here was built in 1829 the first railroad bridge in this country, a simple masonry arch called the Carrollton Viaduct [105]. Much more impressive is the great Thomas Viaduct [106] over the Patapsco River at Relay, which was in use by 1835. Two other fine masonry bridges served the early railroad, the Patterson Viaduct near Oella, now mostly demolished, and the Oliver Viaduct at Ellicott City, one arch of which still supports the track and is dated 1829.

The masonry bridges were throwbacks to classical Rome, and technically obsolete when they were built. No one could fault them for permanence—the Patterson Viaduct was abandoned because the line was changed at that point, the Oliver Viaduct was altered to accommodate the highway under it, and the other two still carry the line's trains—or for the beauty of timeless design, but they were expensive and took too long to build. Construction of the railroad moved too fast to wait for stone bridges, and the age of iron was at hand.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was the school for two important American iron-bridge builders, Albert Fink and Wendel Bollman. Both joined the engineering department of the railroad as young men, grew up with the industry, and then went into the bridge-building business themselves, Bollman remaining in Baltimore. His firm in Canton made bridges for Cuba, Chile, and other distant places,

as well as several across Jones Falls in Baltimore, and he designed and constructed the iron City Hall dome. Unfortunately, most of his bridges have been replaced.

Another architectural by-product of the railroad was the planned industrial suburb on a large scale. The concept of a company-owned mill town was a century old in Europe and



Carrollton Viaduct

had been implemented on a small scale in early Baltimore. The Ellicotts, in developing their large flour-milling business on the Patapsco River in the late eighteenth century, had built houses for themselves and for some of their employees nearby, but the town grew in a haphazard manner. The Washington Cotton Manufactory, established in 1808 on the Jones Falls, provided some employee housing in the vicinity, although it is all gone today. The first of the new wave of industries was the Ashland Manufacturing Company, a cotton-weaving mill, which replaced an older flour mill in the vicinity of Wetheredsville (now Dickeyville), and the company built some houses for employees to supplement the existing supply.

The railroads, however, opened up stretches of the Patapsco River and Jones Falls which were eminently suitable for mills but had no prior settlements; company-built housing was essential. The Union Manufacturing Company, located at what is now Oella, is an example. Two rows of stone houses along the hillside above the mill were built for its employees. Downstream, near the Thomas Viaduct, the Avalon Rolling Mill Company was established in 1845 with a long row of company houses, of which only one house survives today.

The Jones Falls valley was the site of the most ambitious industrial suburban development. It began with the purchase of the Woodberry flour mill by Horatio N. Gambrill in 1842 and its replacement with a large cotton mill requiring many more employees. Within the next thirty years four more cotton factories went up, as well as the Poole and Hunt machinery works, and hundreds of houses were built nearby by the mill owners. The best-planned unit is on a hill above the Mount Vernon Mill, built of stone about 1850 and now known as Stone Hill. The mill owners proudly pointed out that each had a side yard so the mill operatives could grow vegetables and supplement their incomes. It was paternalism, of course, but far better than the abysmal horrors of the English mill town of the same time.

Because of the needs of the railroads, and nearby supplies of ore and fuel which the railroads could easily reach, Baltimore became a major iron-production center. The ease with which iron could be cast in complicated shapes led to its extensive manufacture in the 1850s as architectural decoration. Hayward, Bartlett and Company and others turned out large quantities of iron window cornices, roof fences, grill work for porches and balconies, and other ornamental detail.

It was James Bogardus of New York who gave Baltimore its first all-iron building in 1850, the Sun Iron Building at Baltimore and South streets. It was built entirely of cast-iron and wrought-iron pieces bolted together. His associate, architect R. G. Hatfield of New York, provided the decorative taste by styling the building like a Renaissance palazzo with columns, pilasters, arches, and cornices an exaggeration of surface details in imitation of stone and wood. It is

most unfortunate that this landmark in architectural history was destroyed in the fire of 1904.

Most of the iron for the building had been fabricated by Baltimore firms, but there was no local demand for another such building. Instead, commercial builders preferred masonry bearing walls, liking the ornamental possibilities of cast-iron fronts. The material permitted larger windows and was considered the elegant way to finish a street facade in mid-century. Only a few examples of the hundreds of cast-iron fronts still remain to illustrate the skill of the Baltimore foundries of that time.

On the other hand, the Peabody Institute [2] and City Hall [61] are significant demonstrations of the first tentative uses of structural iron in conjunction with traditional building techniques.

George Peabody, merchant and financier, who had begun his business career in Baltimore but had subsequently moved to London, in 1857 proposed to give to Baltimore an endowed cultural center which would encompass art, music, and literature. It was the first philanthropy of its kind in Baltimore and among the first in the country. Peabody insisted on placing his Institute on a corner of Mount Vernon Place facing the Washington Monument, even though it was one of the most expensive building sites available. To house this magnificent gift, architect Edmund George Lind, recently arrived from London where he had been trained at the Government School of Design at Somerset House, designed an Italian Renaissance palace with marble facing. The exterior is little better than an exercise in classicism, but the extensive use of structural iron is highly original. The concert hall is spanned with iron beams and braced with iron columns, although everything is covered with plaster. There is a splendid iron spiral staircase from the cellar to the top floor, but the most exciting feature is the library reading room, a great six-story room walled with balconies and book stacks and illuminated by a skylight. All of this is supported on iron members, and iron is used extensively for balconies, floors, and shelving. It is a proto-modern construction of much sophistication.

At the same time the Peabody Institute was going forward, Baltimore put up its first large City Hall, begun in

1867 and completed in 1875. A young Baltimore architect, George A. Frederick, received the commission; for style he turned to the French Second Empire of Napoleon III as illustrated in the New Louvre of the 1850s. Popular in America at the time, it was used for such contemporary buildings as the Boston City Hall of 1862-65 and the State, War, and Navy Department building (now the Executive Office Building) adjoining the White House. Frederick capped his mansard roofs with a tall, slender dome inspired by Thomas U. Walter's recently-completed dome for the United States Capitol.

If the architectural style for the City Hall was derivative and uninspired, Frederick's use of iron was bold and modern. Although the building weight was carried on masonry walls, the floor joists, rafters, and four grand staircases are iron. The chief glory is the towering cast-iron dome and drum, designed and built by Wendel Bollman.

The exploration of the new technology of iron construction is interesting to us, but it was peripheral to the desires of the architects' clients of the mid-century. To them, superficial style was more important; the whole range of historical mannerisms from Orient to Occident was ransacked for ideas, with very little concern as to whether they were academically "correct" or not.

Where the monumental effect still seemed appropriate (the Peabody, City Hall) the designs came from the Renaissance. This elaborate and formal manner was used both for the iron-front office buildings downtown and for fine private town houses in the Mount Vernon Place area.

John Rudolph Niernsee, Austrian-born and trained, and his Baltimore partner, J. Crawford Neilson, designed a number of the great town houses. Their masterpiece is the 1851 mansion at 1 West Mount Vernon Place (Thomas-Jencks-Gladding House). Others are the Miller House, at 700 Cathedral Street, and Asbury House [7], next to the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, where the Italian palazzo style is rendered in brownstone. The change in fashion in only a decade is illustrated by comparing these buildings with the restrained classicism of the Mount Vernon Club (Tiffany-Fisher House [15]).

Gothic was preferred for churches, but the trend was away from the regularity and bookish quality of Long's

Franklin Street Church to the picturesque character of earlier periods such as "English Decorated" and "Norman Gothic," as contemporaries called them. Niernsee and Neilson designed three very different specimens in the early 1850s: Grace and St. Peter's Church [13] in English country-parish Gothic; Emmanuel Church [10] (originally Norman in style but remodeled in 1919 to appear more academically Gothic); and the elaborate mortuary chapel for Green Mount Cemetery [123].

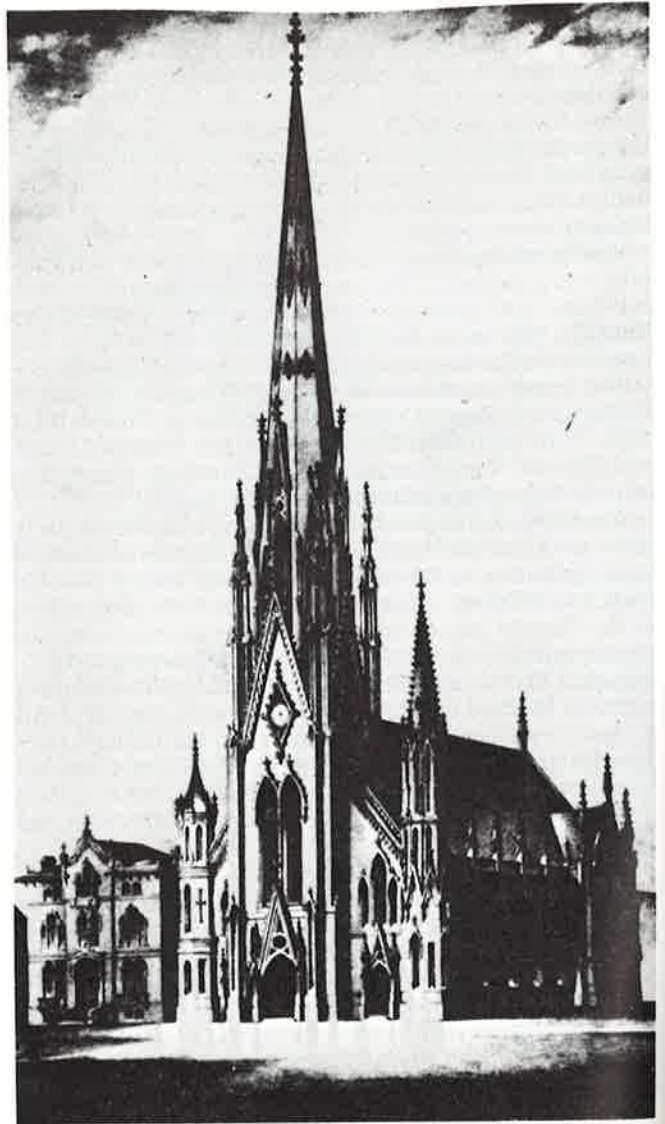
Another dimension of the Gothic, figuratively and literally, was provided by Nathan G. Starkweather in the vertical lines and soaring tower of the First Presbyterian Church [12], begun in 1853 and completed in 1874. The interior is a flamboyant display of intricate plasterwork.

The freest expression of the high Victorian version of Gothic is the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church [8] of 1870-72 by architects Thomas Dixon and Charles L. Carson. The use of green stone from the Bare Hills quarry and contrasting red sandstone trim is quite original.

Another picturesque theme competing with the Gothic in popularity was the "Italian Villa" style used for hundreds of country houses, a few city churches, and even a railroad station in Baltimore. The source was the rustic architecture of the Tuscan countryside, particularly as interpreted by the American architect Andrew Jackson Downing and published in his *Cottage Residences* of 1842, with subsequent editions. Richard Upjohn of New York was a master of this style, as well as of Gothic, and provided the Italian basilican design for the 1854 St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church [27], replacing the burned-out classical church of Robert Cary Long, Sr., and the elegant Wyman villa, unfortunately demolished.

Local architects followed the fashion: Niernsee and Neilson used the Italianate style for St. John the Evangelist Roman Catholic Church [87] and for the Calvert Street railroad station and the great Winans country house, Alexandroffsky. The last two are no longer standing.

Johns Hopkins "modernized" his early-nineteenth century house Clifton [96] in 1852 by adding a great tower, a broad veranda, and other features considered to be Italian. Many another villa rose through the countryside and in villages such as Catonsville and Reisterstown. A few re-



First Presbyterian Church

main: Crimea [147] in Leakin Park, Anneslie, Woodbourne, Dumbarton. Most of the great ones are now only names for subdivisions: Guilford, Homeland, Stoneleigh, for example.

An eccentric use of Italian ideas was the 1853 tower for the Independent Fire Company house, now Number 6 Engine House [86], by architects William H. Reasin and Samuel Wetherald. The last appearance of this mode came after the Civil War in the new public high schools of Baltimore, of which only the old Eastern Female High School [85] remains.

It was in "rural architecture," as Downing called it, that the greatest inventiveness is seen. Although nominally in such styles as "Rural Gothic," "Pointed," or "Tudor," "Bracketted," "Italian," or even "Elizabethan," the rural cottages of this period were really closer to an indigenous American style than almost any other buildings. They were often sheathed in wood, or at least with heavy wooden ornamental trim, scallops, and brackets, and they usually had extensive porches or verandas, features not common in similar cottages in Europe. In particular, the board-and-batten siding technique had been invented by the American architect A. J. Davis and widely popularized by Downing and others.

Baltimore's inventory of these charming cottages is still sizable. They range from the elegant Family and Children's Society House [137] to a wide variety of wooden ornamental cottages in Mount Washington, Catonsville, Lutherville, and along the York Road corridor. The most exotic variations on the picturesque theme are the century-old pavilions in Druid Hill Park [146] that were designed by George A. Frederick.

The appearance in the 1850s and 1860s of the "rural cottage" as an extension of the city's residential area was an early symptom of a fundamental change in the structure of Baltimore brought about by improved transportation facilities. Until 1844, the only practical means of daily transportation for almost everyone in Baltimore had been walking. Few could afford carriages, cabs, or private horses.

But in that year, franchises were granted for omnibus lines, common carriers that followed regular street routes.

As the *Baltimore Sun* said: "These lines [tend] to enhance the value of property in the outskirts of the city, enabling persons to reside at a distance from their places of business, in more healthy localities, without loss of time or fatigue in walking . . ." Similar words would be repeated after every mass transit improvement: the horse-drawn street railway in 1859, the electric streetcar in the 1890s, the automobile omnibus in the 1920s, etc.

Although land use was decidedly mixed, before 1800 speculative builders were putting up short rows of identical houses in order to get the highest economies and profits. Information about such operations is scarce, but the record of one builder in 1838 shows that he built six identical two-and-a-half story houses, 12 1/2 feet wide, with two rooms on each floor and attic, on Mott Street at a cost of \$400 per house. He sold them for \$450-\$475 each, retaining ownership of the land, which he rented separately for \$11 a year for each house. Then, as ever since, the builder made little construction profit but a long-term investment gain from his "ground rent." Square miles of Baltimore speculative houses were and are being built on the same system. It is not surprising that the builders sought economy rather than architectural quality and used novelties, such as white marble steps, as sales points.

As the city's population increased swiftly in the 1820s and 1830's, residential development spread slowly away from the older core. The first planned development—and Baltimore's first planned neighborhood—was John Eager Howard's Belvidere estate, stretching north of Centre Street between Howard Street and the Jones Falls to above Monument Street.

This immense tract of high-lying ground became available for development with Howard's death in 1827. The executors of his estate decided to set it off in lots, rather than parcels. To make the most of the Washington Monument, in 1831 they established four boulevard squares about it. The north-south pair were called Washington Place, the east-west pair, Mt. Vernon Place, the name that has popularly been identified with not only the squares but an extended neighborhood.

The creation of the squares had no precedent in the United States but is an example of Baroque city planning that

would not be out of place in Paris or Rome. The executors had predicted correctly: the squares around the monument became the finest residential area of Baltimore.

One or two houses had been built on Mount Vernon when the speculative building partnership of James and Samuel Canby of Wilmington, Delaware, made a proposal in 1839 for a large-scale development of middle-class housing on the outskirts of the built-up area of Baltimore. Having bought a 30-acre tract in West Baltimore, they offered the city a square of ground in the midst of the property for use as a "public square," and they pledged themselves to build substantial residences in the neighborhood for "such members of the community as may incline to retire from its more central and confined parts." The city on its part was to put up an iron fence and landscape the square.

Called Franklin Square, it was the first of the eight similar squares which encircle the heart of the city—Union, Lafayette, Harlem Park, Perkins Spring, Johnson, Madison, and Collington, to which may be added the landscaped boulevards—Eutaw Place [140], Park Avenue, and North Broadway. The purpose behind each of them was to enhance prospective residential development; in most of them, the initiative came from the owners of the adjacent ground who then built rows of identical houses about the squares, along the boulevards, and in the vicinities.

The creation of these oases in the midst of the otherwise planless and formless march of rows of houses was in itself an architectural accomplishment. Although several have been encroached upon in the name of education and recreation, some still function as they were intended, in the words of a committee of the City Council in 1839: "Ground on which the citizens and visitors may recreate themselves on summer evenings after the toils of the day are ended."

The houses themselves had little architectural distinction; their presence was all that counted, and where rows have been demolished for schools or playgrounds, or setback apartment groups, the original architectural character of the squares and boulevards is changed. The best specimens remaining are Lafayette Square, with its exciting mixture of picturesque churches and houses; Union Square, with three sides intact and the charming cast-iron Spring House in the park; and Franklin Square, the first,

with the best single row of houses of any of them, Waverly Terrace [114]. The very name recalls the era of Sir Walter Scott and his romantic novels, and on Fayette Street nearby is a row called Ivanhoe Court.

The public-squares movement began in the age of the omnibus and gained momentum with the introduction of the horse-drawn street railway in 1859, but the real creation of the horse car was Druid Hill Park [146]. A syndicate sought a street-railway franchise in 1858, but Mayor Thomas Swann demanded that the franchise carry with it a tax on the railways' gross receipts which was to be applied to the establishment of "one or more large parks." By 1860, the money was rolling in, and the newly appointed Park Commission purchased the estate of Lloyd Rogers, called Druid Hill, and began the long process of landscaping and developing to achieve a properly picturesque setting for the appreciation of nature and for passive exercise.

The land was manipulated to provide scenic views, romantic pathways, lakes with swans and boats, picnic groves, rustic bridges, formal promenades, and a grand entrance gateway at Madison Avenue. Under the general superintendence of Augustus Faul, engineer, the design of the park was by Howard Daniels, "landscape gardener and engineer," and the original buildings were designed by George A. Frederick. As a specimen of romantic nineteenth-century landscape art, Druid Hill Park ranks with the best in America, as well as the oldest—New York's Central Park is only a few years older.

Howard's *Monumental City* said in 1882, "The influence of the park upon adjacent property has been wonderful. Its value has been greatly enhanced, streets have been opened, avenues created, and long lines of elegant and costly residences have been built . . ." Yet the instrument responsible for the park, the horse-drawn street railway, was also setting in motion a major change in the living habits of Baltimoreans: the garden suburb, where every house owner might have his miniature park, his own trees, garden, lawns of grass, and recreational space.

The improved transportation facilities placed a very large area within acceptable commuting distance. Speculators bought large tracts and planned subdivisions with such romantic names as Eden Terrace, Oak Forest Park, Monu-

mental Heights, and Highland Park. The names have long since been forgotten.

The common factor of these developments was the detached house on a lot, usually rectangular and as small as the developer felt he could successfully merchandise. Streets were usually ruled off in straight lines and conventional blocks created. Although the houses were rather varied in appearance, this was mainly a matter of gables and porches—there is little of architecture and less of site planning in the late-nineteenth-century subdivisions that grew out beyond the row-house core.

The first subdivision with both architectural and planning merit was Dixon's Hill [187], in Mount Washington. The wooded hills west of Jones Falls and the old Washington Cotton Factory had all the ingredients for the setting of a picturesque cottage, and the Northern Central Railroad running along the stream valley offered fast, reliable service to Baltimore, four miles away.

Before the Civil War some substantial wooden villas had been built on the hills, and in 1856 Thomas Dixon, architect, bought Clover Hill Farm on top of one of the hills and built his own villa. After the war, he subdivided the property, laid out irregular lots and curving roads, and built about 35 large villas in a variety of the popular picturesque styles. Even Downing's favorite board-and-batten style is used for the Mount Washington Presbyterian Church [186] of 1878, which is the single most interesting building in the development.

Dixon's Hill was a true "bedroom community" from inception. By 1880, several families were in residence, and within five years almost all the houses were owned by men employed in downtown Baltimore, who had no other residential address.

The site plan was simple, a winding ring road circling the top of the hill, with several radial roads giving access to the country highway at the foot of the hill. Because of the steep terrain and exceptionally large, irregular lots, the houses are distributed freely at different elevations.

In sharp contrast to this thoughtful plan, the conventional subdivisions such as that of the Walbrook Land Company in West Baltimore or the Peabody Heights project in the vicinity of what is now Wyman Park offer nothing but a

gridiron street pattern and narrow rectangular lots. No doubt the superior quality of the plan for Dixon's Hill was due to the fact that the developer was also a resident and an architect.

By the 1880s this kind of planned community was being called a garden suburb, a name coined in England, and the most distinguished designer in the new field was the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. Baltimore has only one project by this pioneer city planner, the 1887 summer colony Sudbrook, near Pikesville [204]. The completion of the Western Maryland Railroad sparked the idea. A syndicate purchased an old estate to develop a family summer resort that would rely on the village of Pikesville for stores and the railroad for daily commuting by the breadwinners.

The land was essentially flat and featureless, and Olmsted laid out the development with the railroad station as the center of focus. At that place a bridge went over the tracks toward Pikesville, and space was allocated for a hotel intended to accommodate weekend guests. Gently twisting ring roads circled around the property, and large irregular lots were laid out. One large lot was set aside as Cliveden Green, a kind of common land. A number of the houses were designed by the Boston architectural firm of Langdon and Company, and the rest by local builders; there is little remarkable about the architecture.

Although the houses were originally without central heat and were later adapted to year-round living, Sudbrook has survived very well and retains its identity among acres of modern ranch houses—proof of the soundness of the original plan. The hotel is reputed to have had an interesting career during the Prohibition era; unfortunately, it burned soon after.

The plateau rising to the north of the mill town Hampden, bounded on the west by the Jones Falls valley and on the east by the valley of Stony Run, was the site of the greatest of the nineteenth-century garden suburbs, Roland Park [183]. William Edmunds owned about a hundred acres of this land, and in 1890, seeing the possibilities of a large-scale subdivision, looked for capital.

Charles H. Grasty, a newspaper publisher, put him in touch with Jarvis and Conklin of Kansas City, the agents for the Lands Trust Company of England, a syndicate of

capitalists. In mid-1891 a company was formed with Samuel R. Jarvis as president, young Edward H. Bouton of Kansas City as general manager, \$1 million from the Lands Trust, and a name taken from a nearby reservoir, Lake Roland.

The Roland Park Company put together a number of tracts of land aggregating 550 acres and hired George E. Kessler, a topographical and landscape engineer from Kansas City, to lay out the first plat. This was the section north of Cold Spring Lane and east of Roland Avenue, probably chosen because it was the most level part of the property, and closest to the new Baltimore and Lehigh Railroad along Stony Run (later the "Ma & Pa" of commuter fame). In June 1892, Mr. Louis Lewis bought the first lot, but sales went so poorly at first that Edward H. Bouton decided it would be wise to build some houses for ready sale. Mme. Jeanne Bret, the city's most prominent dressmaker, bought one of them and became the first resident of Roland Park.

In 1897, when less than half of the lots in Plat Number One had been sold and a dozen or more of the company-built houses were not inhabited, Bouton contracted with Olmsted, Olmsted and Eliot of Boston to plan Plat Number Two for property on the west side of Roland Avenue. Thereafter, the Olmsted firm was consistently involved in planning for the company, and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., was personally engaged.

In contrast with the dull uniformity and indeterminate character of most speculative real estate developments before or since, Roland Park is unusually complex in style and aspect, while also being one of the few genuine neighborhoods in Baltimore. To say that Roland Park is a state of mind is to underline the reality of the success of its planners. It has achieved in a bare 70 years the kind of historical identity we associate with much older areas in Baltimore such as the Mount Vernon Place section or Fells Point.

Roland park resulted from intensive planning of a sort almost unknown at that time and rarely applied today. It involved site design, land-use and architectural control, creation of common amenities, provision for transportation facilities, and, it must be said, selection of inhabitants.

By all accounts, one man was responsible for the formulation of the master plan: Edward H. Bouton, resident manager of the Roland Park Company from its inception until

his retirement in 1935. His great contribution was the inclusion of land-use restrictions in each property deed—the so-called restrictive covenant by which the owner agreed to abide by certain regulations established by the Roland Park Company and which was intended to run permanently with the land.

The 1892 deed to Louis Lewis spelled out the basic restrictions: first the premises could be used only for a single residence; second, the house must be set back from the street 30 feet; third, no stable, outbuilding, or private sewage plant was allowed; fourth, the owner agreed to pay a proportionate share of the cost of maintaining the streets, water supply, lighting and sewer systems, supplementary fire and public service; and fifth, it must cost more than \$3,000.

The first three categories are no less than land-use zoning, the first such effective restrictions to be applied in Maryland until state legislation was passed 20 years later. The fourth item reveals Bouton's equally advanced conception of providing the most modern public utilities as part of the broad plan for development, using the company's initial capital and recovering the costs out of property assessments.

Bouton's most important innovation along these lines was the founding of the Lake Roland Elevated Railway in 1893, an electric streetcar line that ran from the City Hall to Roland Park and within a few years boasted of scheduled trips every four minutes running 24 hours a day. To round out community facilities, he built a "shopping center," perhaps the first of that species in America, on Roland Avenue, and founded the Baltimore Country Club for recreational purposes; his wife helped to found the Roland Park Women's Club.

The section of the Lewis deed stipulating the minimum cost was soon transformed into a requirement that property holders must obtain the company's approval of their architectural plans. While this implies conservatism, the prevailing architectural fashion for suburban houses was quite eclectic within narrow limits.

H. H. Richardson and McKim, Mead, and White had popularized a highly picturesque version of the New England shingled cottage of the Colonial period. Most of the

houses in Plat Number One, on the east side of Roland Avenue, and more than a few on the west side, belong to this genre.

No architect has been connected with these houses, but it is plain that they were built under excellent supervision and with a great deal of thought for siting. The company-built houses were deliberately scattered over Plat Number One and made an obvious standard by which to judge the "harmonious" quality of new proposals.

When the second plat, on the west side, was opened for development in 1901, Roland Park had arrived as a desirable residential neighborhood. People of considerable means and social standing bought lots and employed architects to build more impressive houses than the original cottages.

J. B. Noel Wyatt and William G. Nolting, partners in one of Baltimore's most talented architectural firms, built themselves houses in Roland Park and designed the Country Club and a good many houses for clients. The firm Ellicott and Emmart did much work, and Ellicott took up residence, too. Palmer and Lamdin were quite active in the later stages of building. The New York architect Charles A. Platt designed an entire street of houses, Goodwood Gardens.

In this phase of development can be found all the contemporary fashions in suburban architecture. Wyatt was particularly fond of the half-timbered English Tudor style which had been revived in England by Richard Norman Shaw; the shopping block is an example. Revived versions of the Georgian and the Regency styles are found, although the styles are handled quite freely and not in the later spirit of rigid copying, as seen in the "Colonial" houses in Guilford.

The steep hillsides and curious irregular lots found in the northern part of the west side called forth highly original designs which more closely identify with the British Arts and Crafts movement of William Morris, who preached the virtues of strength, sturdiness, and simplicity. Here, this was often interpreted in a new kind of Picturesque reminiscent of medieval farmhouses.

Besides these styles, we also find tile-roofed Spanish villas, Gothic churches, and in recent years, the commonplace

red brick "Colonial" exemplified by the Country Club which replaced Wyatt's shingled building. It might seem that this variety would be inharmonious, but the prodigious tree cover, extensive lawns, and shrubbery unify the landscape so that even the shingle houses which have been painted white and a few white-painted clapboard houses are scarcely noticeable. Green and brown are the colors of Roland Park.

While the new suburban lifestyle was luring middle-class people out of the city, there was a great spurt of downtown private and institutional building on a scale and lavishness not seen before. It is ironic that most of these costly buildings put up in the 1870-1900 period are considered obsolete, while many have been demolished or greatly altered, since the same period saw the practice of architecture achieve a fully professional status.

The American Institute of Architects had been formed in 1857 with Thomas Ustick Walter, architect of the Capitol, as president and E. G. Lind and J. R. Niernsee representing Baltimore. The Baltimore chapter of the Institute was founded in December 1870 by 15 architects and three engineers, most of whom had been trained in the offices of such men as Lind, Frederick, and Niernsee. Within a few years there was a new influence from such men as J. B. Noel Wyatt, who studied for a year at the new course in architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and four years at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. This kind of scholastic training became the normal preparation for an architectural career.

The appearance of the *American Architect and Building News* in 1876 was most important in spreading knowledge of what the leading architects were doing, and similar English periodicals were easily available. New Baltimore architects were in close touch with the mainstream; on the other hand, these factors led to a great degree of uniformity and academicism.

The stylistic retreat from the exuberant revivalism of the Gothic First Presbyterian Church and the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church begins in the 1870s with a group of new churches in what was often called Norman Gothic. The Eutaw Place Baptist Church, by Thomas Ustick Walter [141]; Christ Church, by Baldwin and Price; and the Brown

Memorial Church, by Hutton and Murdoch—all designed in 1869 and 1870—are severely restrained as to ornamental detail, and their character arises from the rugged walls laid up in courses of rough-hewn or quarry-faced stone. Otherwise the pointed windows, steeples, and other details are academic exercises in early Gothic.

At this point the genius of Henry Hobson Richardson began to influence architectural development. Following the trends set in England by Richard Norman Shaw, he pursued an architectural style that Professor Carroll L. V. Meeks called "creative eclecticism," in which the reminiscent forms and details are employed with great freedom rather than literally, so as to embellish the building without disguising its purpose.

A counter academic reaction was led by two of Richardson's pupils, Charles Follen McKim and Stanford White. Both architectural attitudes are well represented by Baltimore buildings, from the Richardsonian St. Michael and All Angels Church designed in 1877 by J. B. Noel Wyatt and Joseph Evans Sperry to a spate of "Colonial," "Gothic," and "classical" buildings of the 1930s and even later.

Wyatt and Sperry's Mercantile Trust and Deposit Company Building [55] of 1885 is Baltimore's finest example of one mode of "creative eclecticism." Meanwhile, in 1882, Stanford White had introduced Richardson's second major theme, the early Romanesque, in the monumental Lovely Lane Methodist Church [149] for Dr. John F. Goucher. Although by this time White was already moving away from Richardson's ideas, this church is in the master's spirit of powerful simplicity, with great rough stone walls, dramatic massing of the tower and circular auditorium, and a minimum of Romanesque detail.

Baltimore architects and their clients welcomed this manner, and over the next dozen years it was the predominant style for large institutional buildings. It was not surprising that the 1886 main building for Dr. Goucher's new Woman's College of Baltimore, adjoining the church, was an echo of White's manner by the Baltimore architect Charles L. Carson. Thereafter it was commonplace, as for example in such disparate structures as the Associated Reformed Church (now Greek Orthodox), by Charles E. Cassell, 1889 [132]; Baldwin and Pennington's Maryland

Club, 1892 [127]; Joseph Evans Sperry's Oheb Shalom Temple of 1892 [139]; and the Maryland Penitentiary of 1893 by Jackson C. Gott.

The most original evocation of Richardson's stone style was the 1895 Mount Royal Station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad [133]. Here Baldwin and Pennington married the Romanesque character to the needs of the railroad age as well as it could be done.

At the time Stanford White designed the Lovely Lane Church, the firm of McKim, Mead, and White had already begun the transition from Richardson's free eclecticism toward academicism. Their grand house for Ross Winans on St. Paul Street [124], begun in the same year as the church, is in the French Renaissance chateau manner, with very tightly controlled brick and stone decoration. The same tendency shows in the house built on Mount Vernon Place [16] for the Robert Garretts, with which Stanford White was closely associated. The addition in 1902 was by John Russell Pope, one of the principal continuators of the "academic reaction."

The new academicism quickly replaced free eclecticism in Baltimore as it did everywhere in the country. The tide seemed to turn just after 1900 with such formal examples as the Greek temple designed by Parker and Thomas in 1905 for the Savings Bank of Baltimore [43]; the same firm's competition-winning neo-Georgian plan for the proposed Homewood campus of the Johns Hopkins University in 1904; and Sperry's 1910 Emerson Tower [71], a hulking office building tricked out to look like the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.

The Walters Art Gallery of 1907 [18] was intended as a copy of a Genoese palazzo by architects Delano and Aldrich in New York. By the 1920s Italian Baroque appears in the Ss. Philip and James Roman Catholic Church by Theodore W. Pietsch, and Gothic in the big City College by Buckler and Fenhagen. These re-revivals were all far more precise in historical accuracy than the first time around, although under the carefully contrived surface they were steel and concrete, the materials of the new age.

Wilbur Harvey Hunter
Director Peale Museum (Retired)