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Seeing: The Power of Town Planning in the Chesapeake

ABSTRACT

Urban planning in St. Mary's City and Annapolis is argued to be guided by a baroque theory of power. The layouts of both cities use the same principles. Baltimore is argued to be built using a panoptic theory of power. Planning and building in these important Maryland cities was to promote and solidify hierarchy.

Introduction

Our intent is to use material from historical archaeology, as well as from maps, photographs, and documents to compare and analyze the urban designs of three Maryland cities. This approach views these cities as very large artifacts to be studied. The focus of the analysis is quite broad: cities and power. The arguments here are speculative, but offer an interpretation that addresses both change and maintenance of the status quo. All of these arguments rest on the contention that design is used to affect people by manipulating sight so that people see what they are supposed to see. It is not suggested that this is the only way to approach these cities. One of the strengths of modern historical archaeology is the growth and development of multiple perspectives. In comparing the designs of St. Mary's City, Annapolis, and Baltimore, the goal is to demonstrate how each of these cities reflects the status of local and regional governmental authority. It is suggested that St. Mary's City and Annapolis, until the American Revolution, were planned and built using a baroque theory of power. Then, after Independence, Annapolis and Baltimore employed a panoptic theory of power wrapped in neoclassical symbolism.

We have worked in Maryland on issues of urban design and its execution and specifically in situations at St. Mary's City and Annapolis

where documentary evidence did not exist on urban design, or where previous interpretations foreclosed understandings subsequently reached by using archaeological information. Hurry works at St. Mary's City through the State of Maryland's Historic St. Mary's City, the State museum at the site of Maryland's first city. Leone works in the Historic District of Annapolis, the current capital of Maryland, through Archaeology in Annapolis. The latter project is administered jointly by the University of Maryland, College Park and Historic Annapolis Foundation, one of Maryland's leading preservation groups. The authors both have longstanding interests in Baltimore, although neither has excavated there. A few of the many reports on Baltimore's archaeology have been reviewed for support of the hypotheses offered here. Baltimore is now Maryland's major city and has been so since early in the 19th century. Annapolis became the capital in 1695 and is presently a city of over 30,000 people. St. Mary's City, founded in 1634, on the other hand, is a museum setting, having been both abandoned and depopulated since early in the 18th century.

The discussion will present each city in chronological order, thus moving forward in time while becoming less reliant upon traditional archaeology. The work in St. Mary's City is firmly grounded in archaeological data and the interpretations are largely based upon archaeological discovery. St. Mary's represents a century when the historical record, while extensive, is not complete enough to provide many details. Little concerning the city's design survives in the records. Annapolis blends a richer documentary record with a large dose of archaeology which anchors the work to the ground and which provides separate evidence for the contention that space was manipulated to reinforce power. Interpretations about Baltimore are based solely on an "archaeological" reading of architectural and historical data and observations of surviving elements of the city. Much of 19th-century Baltimore still exists and that which has not survived is often well documented. The elite buildings

and monuments discussed here are particularly well-studied. While the data sets used to construct these arguments are somewhat disparate, St. Mary's City, Annapolis, and Baltimore provide a valuable case study of change and continuity in the use of design and an opportunity to explore some of the meanings behind urban plans in America.

St. Mary's City

Maryland was established at St. Mary's City in March of 1634. It was the fourth permanent English colony in North America and the first to be a successful proprietary colony owned by a single individual, Cecil Calvert, the Lord Baltimore. Perhaps because Maryland had an English Catholic proprietor, the colony had several unusual features. Lord Baltimore's directions to the first settlers in 1633 and his subsequent actions emphasized the highly unfashionable ideas of religious toleration for all Christians and a separation of church from state. He envisioned a society based upon a hierarchical model of social relations with the proprietor having princely powers over the colony and its development. As was true of all other colonization efforts, Lord Baltimore also sought financial rewards from his new colony.

St. Mary's served as the capital of the colony and its principal city until the winter of 1694-1695. Movement of the provincial government to Annapolis at that time led to the abandonment of St. Mary's City. No trace of the original settlement has survived above ground. Since neither map nor detailed descriptions of the town layout survived, it was assumed by historians, based upon the available evidence, that the town was a scattered, randomly arranged settlement that grew haphazardly over the century. Some testing of the building sites was carried out in the 1930s (Forman 1938) with modern archaeological excavations on selected sites beginning in 1971 (Stone 1974). The initial findings from these efforts seemed to support the historical viewpoint. When the first comprehensive survey
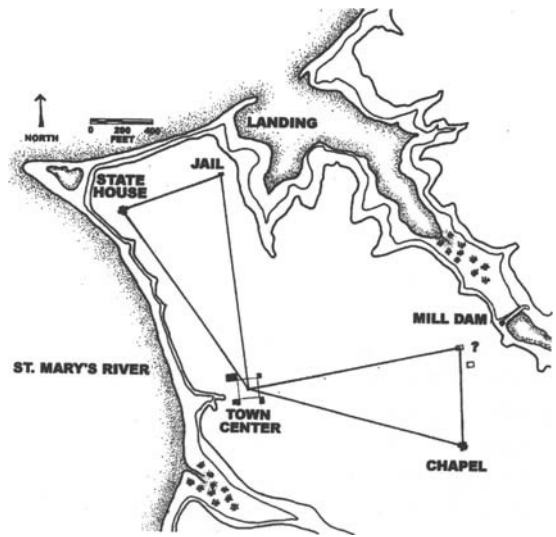

FIGURE 1. Baroque arrangement of principal buildings in St. Mary's City, Maryland.

work was conducted in the late 1970s, additional details regarding site distributions became available. These surveys and the results of 25 years of testing and excavation on dozens of archaeological sites have produced much of the primary data regarding St. Mary's City. There was, however, no reason to entertain the idea that the settlement's layout was notable or as grand as the social and political design that characterized the founding of Maryland.

In the mid 1980s, Miller (1986, 1988) proposed an idea that was contrary to the expectations of historians. Miller suggested that the placement of the principal buildings, constructed in the 1660s and 1670s, was not random but intentional, and that they were linked by axes forming two symmetrical triangles joined at the town center. These axes involved the careful placement of major buildings: the Jesuit chapel, the 1676 statehouse, a brick prison, a possible school, other structures with brick architecture, and commercial buildings in the town center (Figure 1). These created a balanced composition of urban space. A variety of evidence shows that these axes were also the chief streets or thoroughfares of the town. The commercial

buildings in the town center were placed precisely to form a square measuring 130 ft. (40 m) on a side and into which the principal streets intersected. The massive Jesuit chapel (ca. 1667) and the brick statehouse (1676) were exactly one half a mile apart and separated from the center of the town square by a distance of approximately 1400 ft. (425 m). Recent archaeology has revealed that the brick prison (1676), located near the boat landing for the city, and structures near the principal land entrance were also placed at this same 1400 foot interval. Miller (1986, 1988) proposed that there was too much evidence of regularity in the archaeological record for the town to have been an unplanned, scattered settlement. Furthermore, he suggested that this was an example of baroque town planning, reflecting continental ideas regarding urban design. The square, for example, was a key feature of the Italian baroque, later widely used throughout Europe and America. The emphasis upon placement of principal buildings at the nodes of the street system, the location of the church and statehouse at opposite ends of the town in topographically prominent locations, and the integration of the key entryways of the city into the plan are all elements of Renaissance and baroque design. Finally, the formal architecture of the chapel and statehouse, along with the use of costly construction materials such as brick, tile, and imported stone for the chapel, statehouse, prison, and other structures is very rare in early Maryland, where nearly every building was of wooden construction. This evidence strongly implies that St. Mary's City possessed a carefully conceived and executed town plan based upon European design principles that were meant to impress.

The idea that baroque principles of design had been used to lay out and build St. Mary's City was not what had been expected. Historical scholarship, coupled with contemporary descriptions of life in the town, had left the impression that St. Mary's was small, primitive, even Late Medieval in appearance. Most of its houses were probably wooden, ephemeral, and placed with no particular plan. An architecture of impermanence and a lifestyle of "rude sufficiency" was suggested. While Lord Baltimore ordered that the settlers create and live together in a town after their arrival in 1634, there is no evidence that this first effort was a success. Due to numerous periods of unrest and outright rebellion during the 1640s and 1650s, it is unlikely that there were any significant efforts to develop St. Mary's City before 1660, when Charles II returned to rule England. Given both what was known historically and initially known through archaeology, St. Mary's did not seem to have the appearance of an early modern capital with a conscious plan behind its uses of landscape.

If the city were intended to be a baroque capital that had major formal structures representing church and state at the terminus of each street, then it was a quite different place. Many authors have discussed the nature of the baroque and its applications to city design (Zucker 1959; Mumford 1961; Lynch 1981). To explore these we use the idea (Zucker 1959:233-235) that late baroque town planning and landscape architecture used lines of sight to direct eyes to points of reference in space that represented hierarchy, and monarchy in particular. This is in contrast to the earlier tradition of the Italian Renaissance in which vistas were deliberately kept open so as to shift sight to infinity. In the later baroque, especially in France, Belgium, Germany, and eventually England, the vistas were foreclosed by being fixed on objects so that no alternatives appeared visually possible. In the European conceptions of baroque planning there is the notion that much of society is made up of persons considered neither as relatives nor as fixed masses— the faithful, renters, farmers, etc.—but as individuals (Rowe 1966:1-20). It is these—individuals—who are defined as the units of society (Deetz 1977:43, 133-136). They are considered worthwhile, and to have wholeness or integrity. It is they who can own things and have rights (Handler and Saxton 1988:242-265). This is the unit that walks through the baroque plan and for whom it was designed and built. There is no

crowd here. There are sets of eyes; each set is called to focus on a source of authority. In Maryland that authority was hierarchical and then monarchical. It was wealthy by right of rents and the taxes collected from trade and crops, and thus, the better the colony was run, the wealthier the authorities became.

People who saw themselves as individual owners, with futures, raised crops and could prosper in early Maryland. They could change their social position by work, use of the law, and by taking advantage of opportunity. An occasional woman could think this way too, such as Margaret Brent who became a major landowner and, as such, even asked for the right to vote (Spruill 1934). There was not a peasantry and there is nothing medieval in a social situation with so much flux and built on opportunity and individualism. So it is appropriate to suggest that an early modern social setting with a hierarchy of profit-oriented individuals would benefit from a baroque physical setting. Members of the Maryland political hierarchy were new and needed to affirm their status and create stable conditions. It is suggested that they built for themselves a spatial environment whose unity of design would foster these social elements and produce stable relations. This is in contrast to the view of St. Mary's with which we are usually presented, an unplanned, unimpressive frontier town. It is now thought that the city was designed to be something else.

Who were the personalities behind the application of these baroque concepts? Why do they appear so early in Maryland? Much of the credit must be given to the colonial elite who dominated Maryland in the 17th century. Maryland was founded as an English proprietary colony by the Calvert family, the Roman Catholic Barons of Baltimore. Catholics were disfranchised and persecuted in England during the 17th century, thus members of the Catholic elite in England routinely had to send their children to the Continent to receive a Catholic education in the 17th century. We know that Philip Calvert, the colony's Chancellor and a principal figure in the

development of St. Mary's City, was educated in Portugal. Jerome White, the colony's Surveyor General, was raised and educated in Rome and was even described by the famous English designer John Evelyn as a "very ingenious gentleman" (Bray 1886:72). This European education facilitated the communication of baroque ideas from Europe to Maryland. These members of the colonial Catholic elite were steeped in the innovations of the European baroque which they attempted to translate into an impressive city in the New World.

Equally relevant is the presence of the Jesuits in Maryland. The Society of Jesus was one of the largest investors in the colony and its members were an active force in Maryland throughout the 17th century. They probably built the chapel at St. Mary's City, the first example of massive formal architecture in Maryland, and a key element of the city plan. Jesuits were a powerful and highly educated group who were at the forefront of the Counter Reformation in Europe. They utilized Renaissance and Baroque ideas, architecture, and art to advance the Catholic faith. Among the Jesuits were scholars who served as instructors in the great universities of France, Italy, and the Low Countries. They recognized the need to impress and persuade individuals and acted upon this by designing and building some of the most innovative examples of church architecture during the baroque era. Their church designs employed clear lines of sight to focus attention on the power of God. With the Jesuits, sight was a powerful tool to influence, persuade, and inspire individuals. The presence of these highly educated priests, along with the ruling elite of Maryland who were trained on the Continent, is an important factor in evaluating the influences which shaped this 17th-century colony (Lucas 1990).

To understand better the nature of St. Mary's City, some information about major examples of its architecture is presented. At the apex of one triangle that defines the baroque plan stood the brick chapel constructed by the Jesuits about 1667. This massive, cruciform brick building

rose high into the air resting on a foundation that extended into the ground a full five feet. The building was embellished with a tile roof, complex window traceries made with special mullion bricks, an imported stone floor, and apparently used a design informed not by English precedents but instead those of the Continent. This structure was not hidden, but occupied one of the most prominent locations in the city. It spoke loudly that Roman Catholics held power and its use of brick and tile said this was permanent. Such a structure was especially significant in a symbolic and political sense because it was illegal for Roman Catholics to build free standing churches in England at the time.

Another of the major structures was the 1676 statehouse. This building was tall and also had a cross shaped floor plan. Analysis suggests that it possessed certain Continental features including a low roof pitch and ornamental elements on the corners, flourishes designed to impress. Built of brick and roofed with imported Dutch tile, it too speaks to a permanence and formality that was atypical in a society dominated by impermanence and folk design. The statehouse was situated in a prominent location on a high headland that extended into the river. This placement allowed it to be visible to all traveling to the city by water. From the land, it provided a focus for major sight lines along two streets.

Another structure was the jail for the colony. Also built in 1676, it was of brick construction and had an imported Dutch tile roof. Most penal facilities of this period in America were of frame or log construction. Again, the use of brick and tile suggests a serious effort to achieve permanence. Placement of this building at the junction of two major streets and overlooking the main boat landing for the city further demonstrates the effort to make this structure visible and obvious to all. Several other buildings incorporating brick into their architecture are known and two of these flank the major land entrance into the city. There is currently insufficient archaeological work on these structures to provide details regarding their architecture.

The presence of these buildings and their placement within the town implies a sophisticated effort at consciously shaping urban space. The design controlled sight in a manner to affect individuals. This is not to say that Maryland's 17th century capital was more polished than it was. Due to geographic, demographic, and economic forces, urban development was very slow in the Chesapeake region throughout the 1600s and early 1700s (Reps 1972; Carr 1974). Movement of the government to Annapolis effectively killed the city of St. Mary's just as it was beginning to mature as an urban place. Nevertheless, the evidence seems to indicate an effort to create symmetry and order through the application of baroque design principles for the colonial capital. Such an undertaking was no doubt inspired by fashion, and the fact that such a sophisticated urban concept existed, demonstrated refinement. At the same time, the use of baroque urban design was a device for enhancing and displaying power. As two prominent scholars of European urban history have noted about the baroque era, "Rulers were the greatest builders of all, seeing in the new architecture and urban design the means of symbolizing and thus affirming their political dominance as well as their cultural refinement" (Hohenberg and Lees 1985:152). By placing symbolically important structures in visually prominent locations within a street network, the designers of St. Mary's City were ensuring that both visitors and residents were aware of the power of the proprietary government and the Catholic faith of Maryland's ruling elite. Such a finding suggests that Maryland's sophisticated social and legal design was accompanied by an equally sophisticated early modern urban design and architecture.

Annapolis

It seems likely that there was a tie between St. Mary's City and the baroque city planning used for Annapolis by the new royal governor. Francis Nicholson took Anne Arundel Town, which Protestants settled in 1649, and redesigned

it in 1696. At the end of the 17th century the town had at most only a couple of hundred people living in it. Nicholson designed and superimposed a baroque plan on the few streets already there. He composed two circles, a series of streets radiating from them, a large square, and placed all these on a set of hills and ridges (Figure 2). He then made a setting for the statehouse, Anglican church, school, and a whole set of houses. He was determined to displace St. Mary's City and certainly knew French and English urban planning. Nicholson borrowed heavily from landscape architecture, from what he had seen in Versailles and from the plans for rebuilding London proposed by Wren and Evelyn (Reps 1972:127). He no doubt knew from personal experience how St. Mary's City was designed,

since he had lived there in 1694. Recent research at Historic St. Mary's City suggests that Nicholson and his milieu may have been more influenced by St. Mary's than previously believed (Riordan, Hurry, and Miller 1995). Both the new statehouse and the Anglican church in Annapolis shared intriguing design elements with the St. Mary's statehouse and the brick chapel. All of these structures used cruciform plans. The use of a cruciform plan for the Anglican church, St. Anne's, is particularly unusual since most contemporary Anglican churches used rectangular plans. Since he was a much traveled, educated, and experienced English civil administrator, he also knew about urban and rural planning, including its use in colonial settings. Most interpretations of Nicholson's work see his accom-
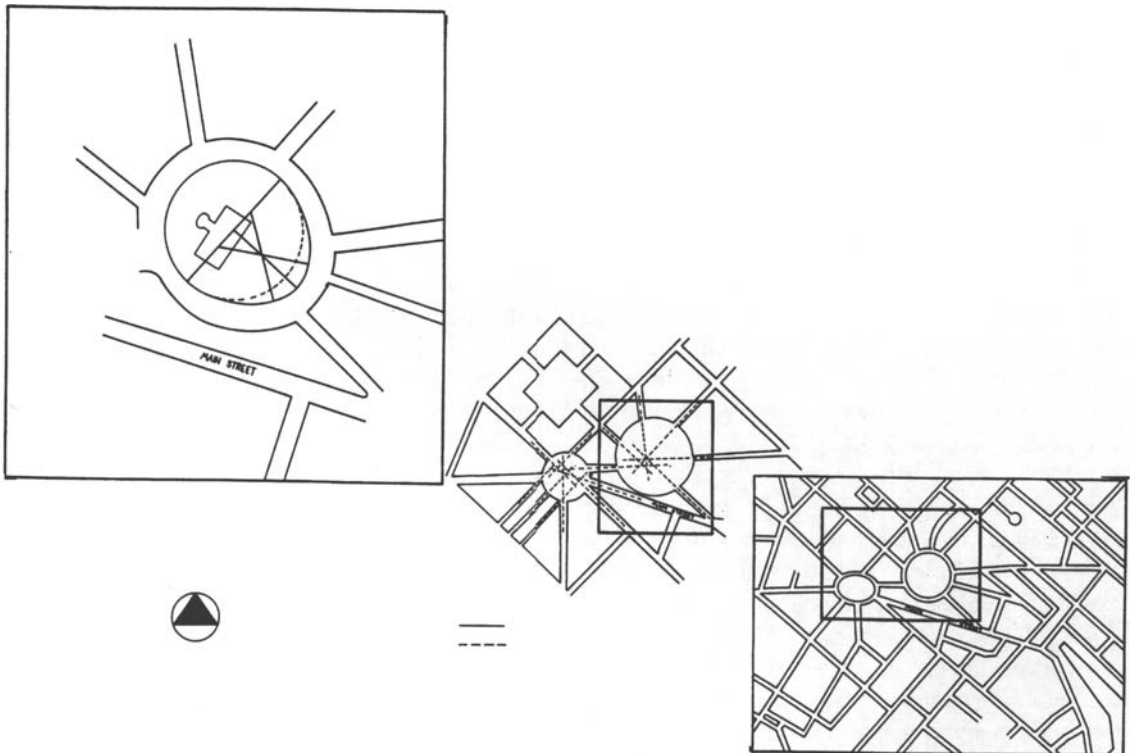

FIGURE 2. The center of Annapolis is State Circle shown here on the left as a geometrical egg. The center lines of the streets intersect on the location of the Maryland State House, in a drawing based on Reps (1972). The city plan dates to 1694, and was in place by 1710. Solid lines are streets and dashed lines are hypothetical. The earliest existing survey of Annapolis is 1718 and all these illustrations are based on it (drawing by Prashant Kaw).

plishment in Annapolis, and later at Williamsburg, which he also designed, as a product of his background as a colonial administrator.

Nicholson's design is treated traditionally in two ways. First, his redesign for Anne Arundel Town, which he renamed Annapolis, for Queen Anne, is usually seen as a baroque plan overlaid on an earlier grid (Baker 1986:191-209). Second, traditional scholarship has not seen baroque design as tied to the ideas behind the condition of monarchical government (Reps 1965, 1972). Rather, it was seen purely as an effort to create a fashionable city. Such treatments are incomplete and inappropriate for understanding the historical circumstances of the founding of Annapolis. We argue that baroque street layout was not to facilitate commercial development or land speculation. The planning was not independent either of the condition of the government nor of the buildings situated in the design.

An analysis of the center of Annapolis using archaeological data challenges parts of this traditional view (Reps 1965, 1972). State Circle is a ring road that forms one of the boundaries of the perimeter around the Maryland Statehouse. The circle was built around an unevenly sloping hill with the Statehouse on the top of the hill and the road circling the whole landscape. From the circular road, eight roads and alleys radiate out into the city. If we flash forward to 1990, the worn-out circle was to be completely rebuilt with all overhead wires, and all underground pipes replaced. A new surface was to be laid. Members of the group, Archaeology in Annapolis, excavated 22 pits at historically significant points around the circle. These excavations (Read 1990) showed that the stratigraphy of about two-thirds of the circle's perimeter was intact, with the earliest levels dating to the 1720s. There was nothing dating to the 17th century and all the stratigraphy was gone on about a third of the circle's western circumference. Archaeology produced about a dozen securely dated points at previous circumference markers which included rows of fence palings, two wells, a walk, and a

post for a sign or light. The archaeologists concluded that the circumference of the circle had never been stable, and that the circle had often not been a true circle. With archaeology alone, no one involved could determine an original shape. No one ever thought it was possible that no circle had ever existed.

Between 1990 and 1994, a series of maps of State Circle was used to develop a hunch based on looking at a 1990 map: The circle was in the form of an egg. Geometrically, an egg is four connected arcs drawn from four centers, three of which are arranged as the points of a triangle, with the forth center in the middle of the triangle's base. The fourth center is the point base of a mirror-image right triangle. Using trial and error, an egg drawn this way was fitted on the perimeter of the 1990 circle and it fit almost perfectly. Thus, Leone and others (Leone, Stabler, and Burlaga 1998:291-306) suggested that the circle is actually an egg. For how long, and why, no one could say.

Subsequent analysis of an 1882 map showed the circle to be an egg then and in about the same place and with the same dimensions as the current one. Then, going back further in time, points on the perimeter dating archaeologically from 1800 to 1830 were plotted using AutoCad, which then linked as many points as possible. On this plot a true geometric circle and a true egg, respectively, were superimposed. Neither geometric form fitted well to the shape provided from the dated pits. Then, the same exercise was performed on locales on the circle dating from 1700 to 1800. This plot approximated an egg. The result was also an egg when the original Stoddart Plan of 1718 was plotted digitally and tested against a superimposed egg and a circle (Figure 2). The egg form derived from the 18th-century information is smaller, with the peaked end pointing in a different direction from the one built in the 1880s that still exists today. So, while the circle appears always to have been an egg, it does not always appear to have been the same one.

Landscape design books of the 17th and 18th century (Langley 1971[1728]: vii, 17, 202) show how to build eggs and indicate that they should be used when integrating hill tops and hillsides into a design. The reasons for this are still not fully understood but they do include creating the image of a circle by taking uneven slopes and oddly juxtaposed points on them, which must be seen from every direction, and providing the illusion of uniformity, or circularity, the preferred element of baroque landscape design.

The streets entering the circle is the key to understanding baroque ideas of design in Annapolis. The organization of these shows that Nicholson knew that he was dealing with optical principles in the service of authority. The longest five streets that enter the circle have sides that diverge as they enter, making the statehouse appear closer than it was as one walks up them toward the center of power. One street has parallel sides like those in the rest of the city and the two shortest streets have converging sides that act to create the appearance of distance from their heads. Using converging or diverging sides was a device to enhance the image of the statehouse in a systematic way. It uses optical illusions to make the object of view appear closer and bigger, or more distant and smaller, depending on where the spectator stood, thus using slights of the eye to both impress and fool.

The second circle, Church Circle, also is not circular. Its true geometric shape has not been examined thus how it was designed cannot be said. This circle, too, is entered by a set of streets, some of which have nonparallel sides. Measurements of other streets in Annapolis were taken from current maps and it was discovered that those not forming vistas have parallel sides.

Baroque thought assumed movement through a planned volume or set of volumes. So, both in St. Mary's City and Annapolis, we should suppose that the streets served to guide residents and visitors through the city in such a way that the monuments in the vistas appeared to be connected visually. We do not know whether there were predetermined routes through the city, but the juxtaposition of the statehouse and church in both cities must have been both a frequent route and sight.

Based on the archaeological work on State Circle, and the historic maps that were digitized, the details of the baroque principles used to create the city are beginning to emerge. Lines of sight were laid out and built to focus attention on centers of authority. It is suggested that the precision used by Francis Nicholson to lay out the city has been missed, particularly by Reps (1972:123-124). It is also the case that virtually all local scholars and preservationists have failed to understand that the city was laid out with the management of sight in mind and that Nicholson conceived of it as a volume, not from a bird's eye view, and not like the grids used in New York, Philadelphia, Alexandria, or Savannah.

Perhaps the major lack of understanding that frequently accompanies interpretations of baroque uses of space is the failure to understand that it is associated with a theory of power, particularly monarchical power. Although Zucker (1959) is only one of a number of authors who write on this topic, he summarizes this theory of power when he points out that the French, Dutch, and British baroque traditions of architecture, landscape, and urban planning began with the Italian tradition. The Italian Renaissance fostered this tradition in which space was used to keep the eye moving and focused upon vistas. In the early baroque, monuments, fountains, and other objects became prominent focal points in these vistas. The French, English, and later Italian traditions of baroque design put buildings of authority at the end of the vistas. This fixed the spectator's eyesight and kept it from flight. The point was to capture the attention of individuals repeatedly and to orient them to symbols of authority. This was the aim of much of baroque building and accompanied the consolidation of power at Versailles and urban planning in some British colonies. Annapolis and Williamsburg are

important illustrations because Nicholson had to wage a political fight to create both capitals, and in Maryland his task was to replace a Catholic proprietary government with direct rule by the English crown. He was operating in the kind of unstable political condition that was at the heart of baroque political thought (Braudel 1979:489-491). We argue that Annapolis did not simply succeed St. Mary's City based on political considerations alone. Rather, the same Continental theory of power and urban design were available to both the Calverts and to Nicholson. St. Mary's City and Annapolis were designed using the same principles, which constituted one major way European monarchs aggrandized themselves.

Henry M. Miller (1997, pers. comm.) has suggested that, although a number of other towns were ordered laid out during the 17th and early 18th centuries in both Maryland and Virginia, it is significant that none of them appears to have utilized baroque principles to any degree. Legislation was passed by Charles Calvert in 1668 and again in 1671 to create port towns in Maryland. The Maryland legislature ordered many more towns created in 1683. These were to have 100 equal lots of one acre size and it seems likely that the legislators had a grid type of arrangement in mind. A review of the surviving town plats and physical inspection of many of these town sites by Miller shows that most were apparently laid out simply. The earliest surviving town plat in Maryland is of Calverton on the Patuxent River. Created in the 1668 act, the plat dates to 1682 and was discovered by Pogue (1985). It shows 12 structures, including outbuildings, and most of these were arranged in a linear fashion, probably along a street. Among the buildings is a court house, chapel, and prison, all located near each other along the street. There is also a plat, dating to 1706, of St. Leonard's Town in Calvert County. It was created by the 1683 legislation and the later plat seems to reflect the original survey. This settlement was a grid shaped to conform to the topographic setting. It has also been suggested that

the irregular grids of Oxford and Wye on the Eastern Shore reflect the original 17th-century layout of these communities, even though the actual plats are of early 18th-century date (Forman 1956:49-52; Reps 1972:111). The important community of Londontown, created in Anne Arundel County by the 1683 act, also apparently had a basic grid arrangement (Alvin Luckenbach 1996, pers. comm.). During the 18th-century, other towns were created in Maryland and these too seem to have followed the grid plan (Marlborough [1706], Green Hills [1707], Vienna [1706] and Chestertown [resurveyed 1730]). In Virginia, a number of port towns were ordered established by the legislature beginning in 1680 (Heite 1966; Rainbolt 1972; Reps 1972). Among the towns laid out were Tappahannock, Onancoch, Marlborough, Yorktown, and Norfolk. Surviving plats of these communities demonstrate that all followed a grid arrangement, although the actual form varied to fit the local topographic conditions (Reps 1972).

All of these towns in both Maryland and Virginia were intended to concentrate trade, serve as commercial centers, and spur some diversification of the local economy. Since many of them became seats of local jurisdictions, they controlled import and export activities. Thus, revenue collection was a major factor in their creation. As Rainbolt (1972) has argued, the various acts which called for establishment of these towns were far too ambitious for success. He also suggests that there was a conflict between the crown and its supporters and the lower house of Assembly in Virginia over the very purpose of towns. The colonials saw the towns as a way of sponsoring economic development while the affluent English merchants and the crown wanted them to remain "modest" settlements, serving to enhance trade with England (Rainbolt 1972:58). Similarly, Lord Baltimore probably saw the focus of commerce on ports as a way of improving collection of tariffs. Thus, none of the other towns created during the 17th century was intended as a capital, although some did have local govern-

ment functions. Based upon the surviving evidence, it seems likely that the use of a simple grid was employed for these port communities. While any could have employed a baroque design in their layout, the fact that they did not serves to emphasize the unusual nature of the plans for the capital cities.

To bolster the argument that baroque town planning is associated with the maintenance of centralized authority we want to move to its last use in Maryland before the Revolution. After Annapolis was redesigned and built by Nicholson in the period 1695 to 1710 using monuments organized along sight lines, another use of these principles occurred in the dozen or more great, formal gardens built as falling landscapes. Annapolis saw these appear in the politically crucial period 1763 to 1790. Leone (1984, 1987) argues that the principles and circumstances of these planned landscapes are related to those used by Nicholson when he redesigned the capital almost a hundred years earlier. They would also be the same principles used in St. Mary's City in the 1660s.

The most famous garden in Annapolis today is William Paca's restored garden, originally constructed in the 1760s. It was rebuilt in the 1960s and early 1970s, and was opened to the public. It was excavated and rebuilt using many strategies to determine historical accuracy. Archaeology and analysis of contemporary garden design books show that it was built according to English gardening principles derived from garden/dictionary manuals which date to the 1720s. The space is two square adjacent acres, and the design uses a series of terraces and falls to create a falling garden. The garden is largely green, has a focal point, and was constructed with precision in mathematics, optics, hydrology, and horticulture. All this information has been fairly well established (Powell 1966; South 1967; Little 1967-68; Orr and Orr 1975; Leone 1984, 1987; Paca-Steele and Wright 1987).

Historic Annapolis Foundation uses an interpretation of the garden that holds it to be a unique expression created by the young, newly married Paca. The public tour says he combined his classical education, taste, and wealth to build this extension of his city house. The one or two contemporary visitors whose opinions of the garden remain indicate that Paca had built the best garden in the city and so it was unique. It also looked like the other gardens in the city but neither it nor any of the others remaining in the city had been analytically connected to the baroque plan of Annapolis.

Using historical archaeology in Annapolis over a period of a decade and working with Historic Annapolis Foundation, homeowners in Annapolis, students, and colleagues; archaeologists set out to modify the picture of uniqueness that had accompanied the Paca garden through the 1980s. A topographic map (Hopkins 1984) was made of the Ridout garden, built in the 1760s in the city and never destroyed. A similar map (Roulette and Williams 1986) was made of the Charles Carroll of Carrollton garden, built in the city in the early 1770s and still intact. Visits were made but no mapping was done of the gardens at Upton Scott house, Hammond Harwood house, Chase Lloyd house, Acton Place, Adams Kilty, and Brice houses. A map was also made for the garden of Bordley Randall House (Matthews 1996). Garden fragments survive at all of these houses.

The topographic maps showed that the Carroll and Ridout landscapes were falling gardens made up of flats or terraces alternating with falls or descents, accompanied by ramps and focal points. Examination of the period gardening books showed that Annapolis gardens were designed and built using the sophisticated and precise knowledge of landscape design available in published form in English. Thus, while Paca's garden was the finest, it was in no way unique regarding any aspect of its design.

The research of Leone and his colleagues (Leone 1984, 1987; Leone and Shackel 1990; Kryder-Reid 1991) also showed that falling gardens were constructed as volumes with the man-

agement of sight as a foremost aim. Thus, (1) converging or diverging sight lines were built by using the edges of the ramps and the edges of planting beds; (2) shades of green in grass, shrubs, and trees moderated from light to dark; and (3) bottom planes beginning wide and narrowing were used to make a small garden appear larger than it actually was. The reverse of these principles was used to make a big space appear to be smaller. A unit of measure derived from some part of the house, usually the facade, was the base measure for the layout of the garden. All of these aspects of garden design reflect a knowledge of visual manipulation making the viewer "see" that which was intended to be seen. While doing all this work, it became clear that there were thousands of similar gardens built as necessary accompaniments to great houses up and down the East Coast of British North America in the late colonial and early federal eras, as well as in British colonies throughout the world. From about 1750 to 1790 in Tidewater Maryland, such gardens were built using most of the same principles of design.

Once it became clear that the baroque principles used to design a multitude of garden spaces in Annapolis were the same as those used by Nicholson to design Annapolis and by the Calverts for St. Mary's City, then why was consistent use of them not made instead of these episodes? Why were there lapses in the use of these design principles and inconsistency in their application from place to place?

Leone (1987) suggests that this use of baroque principles coincides with attempts to establish hierarchical authority in the face of opposition. The Calverts had to establish, and not merely recite, their power, especially after the period of civil unrest during the 1640s and 1650s. Nicholson had to assert, not just talk about, royal power. Paca, Carroll, Ridout, and the other members of the Maryland landed gentry were under attack when they built their baroque gardens. Lapses in power, or efforts to establish or maintain it, called for the use of baroque plan-

ning and this is what tied St. Mary's design to the design of Annapolis and then to the many gardens built like each other late in the 18th century in the capitol and elsewhere in the colony.

This 18th-century use of baroque principles in gardens to affect and impress others may be seen as a personalization of the power of members of the colonial elite as individuals. These gardens were private constructs which manipulated the landscape to affect the way people saw the seeker of status. Baroque principles were used, not to aggrandize the state this time, but to emphasize the presumed rights of the rising colonial elite. A case in point is the Carroll Garden. As Roman Catholics, the Carrolls were disfranchised and heavily taxed in the 18th century. Their economic position, however, partially obtained through the old proprietary regime, allowed them to survive, flourish, and through the garden, to advertise their hoped for social and economic status. Sight manipulation on the personal level did not require participation in the political machinery. Their ardent support for the American Revolution, however, demonstrated their longstanding desire for full citizenship and real political power.

A Theory of Power for a Republic: The Maryland Panopticon

Once baroque ideas are seen as plausible citations for describing the common design elements of St. Mary's City and Annapolis, there are two other intellectual problems to be faced. One, since such design elements were associated with monarchy, then we ask why was Annapolis not redesigned during the Federal era? Why did Maryland not move its capital at this time as Virginia had? Second, since Maryland's new rising city, Baltimore, did not have a baroque design, but was such an active scene of architectural innovation during the Federal era, how was it designed? Since many wealthy and powerful Marylanders such as both branches of the Carroll

family and the Lloyds were responsible for the look of both cities, how could post-revolutionary Annapolis and Baltimore appear to be so different?

The effort to explore these questions is guided by the common ideology of American Independence—an individual is a citizen with rights and is at the center of the new American nation. To continue, a citizen was an individual, who among other things, could own property and vote. While the citizen, like the subject in a monarchy, was to be loyal to the state, the citizen in a republic voted to empower the state, according to American logic. A citizen could see the government as being composed of his representatives. That individual could argue that those who made up the government changed because of the way he voted. A citizen, like any individual, could achieve and acquire, could grow and change. Both the individual subject in a monarchical state and the individual citizen in a republic could walk through an urban landscape and be faced with the power of the state. The individual who was the subject was commanded to pay attention to a state that argued that it pre-existed the individual and obtained its authority from sources other than the individual. It took a different landscape for the citizen to see himself as responsible for the founding and continuation of the state. He was not only subject to the commands that came from the centers of power in an urban political landscape, but he could even suppose that he caused those commands to be made, in one way or another. It is suggested that the changes made in the centers of Annapolis and Baltimore provide part of the solution to understanding what the two cities have in common, based on hypothesizing that the voting citizen was a key element in their urban redesign.

There are several ways of conceptualizing the shift in urban design which occurred with the change in political structure at the end of British domination. Edmund Morgan (1975) and Rhys Isaac (1982) present the idea that the new power brokers of the Revolution put themselves in place after the British top of the pyramid was trun-cated. To maintain their new political position, members of the economic elite created and enabled institutions which protected their sources of power while investing other groups with a stake in maintaining the status quo. We propose that urban design reflects this balancing act as surely as the elite-protecting mechanisms built into the Constitution guarded the power of the entrenched through legislatively elected senators and the electoral college.

To extend this position, it is of value to consider the views of Jeremy Bentham (Dinwiddy 1989). Bentham was one of the foremost economic and political thinkers of the early 19th century. He was reacting to a changing polity which saw democratic ideas of freedom coming to the forefront at a time when social institutions to temper this freedom were transmuting from the previous hierarchical paradigm. Initially Bentham focused his attention on those in society who appeared to be ill-adapted. Bentham used the panopticon, or inspection institution, for all those citizens who were not well, or who were deviant. Foucault (1979) presents the case that any citizen, by definition, had a potential pathology within and thus all had to be kept under surveillance. This is not what Bentham saw, but it is what those who held traditional political power saw in Bentham and what, we hypothesize, was built in Baltimore.

We borrow the idea of panoptic power from Foucault who derived it directly from Jeremy Bentham. Foucault (1979:195-293) argues that the new republican federal states of the early 19th century, the United States and France, focused their attention on the capacity of the citizen to discipline himself by watching his thoughts, actions, habits, and duties. The self-disciplined, self-watching citizen was self-maintaining by using the norms of society and the laws of the state because each had voted for them, and saw himself and his welfare in them. Thus, the citizen kept himself and others like women, children, slaves, and immigrants in their place. This conception of citizenship, which is a conception of power, was enabled or aided by

FIGURE 3. A front view of the State House at Annapolis the Capital of Maryland from the *Columbian Magazine* (1789).

the use of panoptic or surveillance institutions. It is clear that in some circumstances, women were incorporated and in others they were excluded from citizenship and public life, as then seen. They clearly saw themselves as individuals and, as a result, they could have been subject to panopticism and other ways of absorbing them into subordinate positions (Ryan 1992, 1997; Davidson 1995; Kerber and DeHart 1995; Kerber, Kessler-Harris, and Sklar 1995).

In Annapolis after the Revolution, over a period of almost two decades (Radoff 1972:1-27), a new dome was built on the Maryland Statehouse and the road around it was leveled with the gullies filled in (Figure 3). There may have been other changes planned for the capital, but it is the new dome that occupies our attention and which occupied the capital. The dome was begun as a large version of the temple-like pavilions that form the focal points of so many 18th century formal gardens (Wright 1977:173). The one in the William Paca garden, which is rebuilt based on its image in Charles Willson Peale's portrait of Paca, is a convenient example. Such focal points were usually circular or octagonal and were meant to capture attention and hold it. The Statehouse dome may be a vastly enlarged version. On the other hand, the cupola on Bladen's Folly (Tatum 1977:175), now Macdowell Hall of St. John's College, while a reproduction, has a large octagonal base for a lantern and might also have served as a model for the current late-18th century dome on the

Capitol. The Annapolis dome, when finally executed, did not use the half hemisphere principle like the domes being built or planned for so many new capitol buildings, although one was planned and then modified (Radoff 1972:28). The dome has always been referred to as one. In the years between 1774 and 1798, the roof of the State House and its dome were constantly modified, the result being the placement of a dome on an unusually tall drum that presents the overall appearance of a tower. This is all apparent from both contemporary texts and pictures (Radoff 1972:1-27).

We present the possibility that the dome as built, and as currently seen, is a panopticon. This is a hypothesis based on our understanding of Jeremy Bentham's idea in the late 18th and early 19th century that was widely published and immensely popular. The panopticon was to be an instrument for social reform based on the belief that the individual could reform himself or herself as an isolated individual, when monitored instructions were provided. This principle of inspection was explicitly opposed to the use of violence as a form of control and reform. No literature has been found to suggest that a redesigned Statehouse dome was to serve such a panoptic purpose, so we rely on the dome's odd shape and the popularity of the panopticon as an idea for the plausibility of the hypothesis.

To facilitate the social aspect of reform, Bentham designed an eight-sided building covered by a domed or multi-hipped roof. Since he saw this building first as a jail, he placed the cells for solitary confinement all around the perimeter. These were back lit by windows and the doors all faced into the center where a warden was placed at a high desk that could face in all directions. The inmates were isolated from each other and were not supposed to infect each other with social diseases. In the isolation of the panopticon, each could be seen by the warden, under whose gaze each was to learn both how to behave properly and a task of economic value.

Bentham proposed the panopticon as a watchful institution that could be used for a large

range of purposes. It became famous as a prison but was also built as a hospital, school, library, house, and for other diverse purposes. Conventional understandings would have us focus on the interaction between the prisoner who was shorn of his traditional bad company and his new superior who watched and taught.

The core of Bentham's idea was expressed in the 1780s as a "House of Correction" (Figure 4):
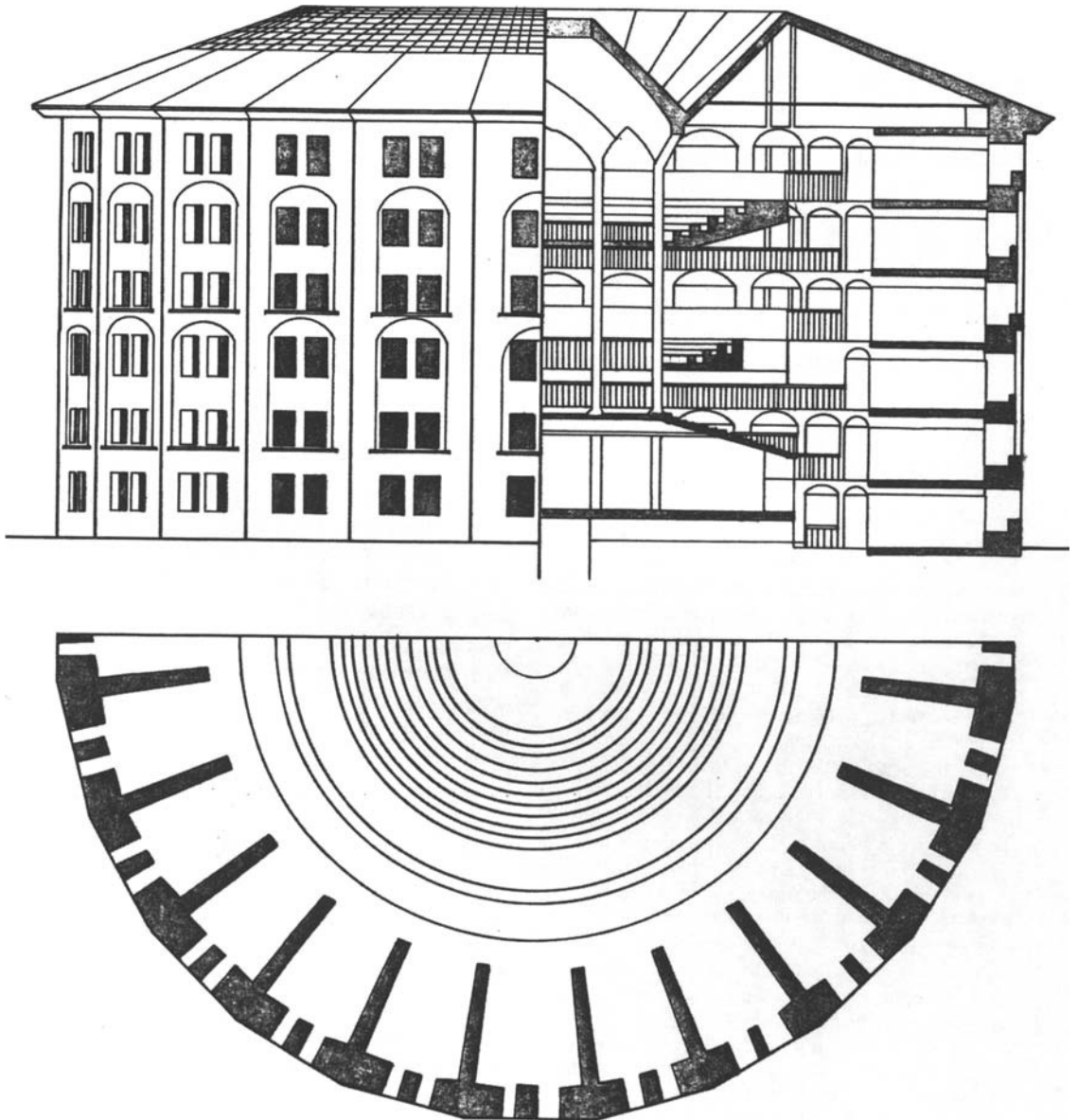

FIGURE 4. Bentham's Panopticon (drawing by Prashant Kaw).

It occurred to me, that the plan of a building, lately contrived by my brother, for purposes in some respects similar, and which, under the name of the Inspection House. . . . I look upon as capable of application of the most extensive nature. . . .

To say in one word, it will be found applicable . . . to all establishments whatsoever, in which, within a space not too large to be covered . . . a number of persons are meant to be kept under inspection. No matter how different, or even opposite the purpose: whether it be that of punishing the incorrigible, guarding the insane, reforming the vicious, confining the suspected, employing the idle, maintaining the helpless, curing the sick, instructing the willing in any branch of industry, or training the rising race in the path of education: in a word, whether it be applied to the purposes of perpetual prisons . . . or workhouses, or manufactories, or mad-houses, or hospitals, or schools.

It is obvious that, in all these instances, the more constantly the persons to be inspected are under the eyes of the persons who should inspect them. . . . Ideal perfection . . . would require that each person should actually be in that predicament, during every instant of time. This being impossible, the next thing to be wished for is, that, at every instant, seeing reason to believe as much, and not being able to satisfy himself to the contrary, he should conceive himself to be so.

Before you look at the plan, take in words the general idea of it. The building is circular. The apartments of the prisoners occupy the circumference. . . .

The cells are divided from one another and the prisoners by that means secluded from all communication with each other. . . . The apartment of the inspector occupies the center . . . the inspector's lodge . . . [has] a vacant space all around [it]. . . . Each cell has in the outward circumference, a window . . . not only to light the cell but . . . the . . . lodge. The inner circumference of the cell is formed by an iron grating, so light as not to screen any part of the cell from the inspector's view. . . . To cut off from each prisoner the view of every other. . . . The windows in the cells . . . should be as large as the strength of the building . . . will permit. To the windows of the lodge there are blinds, as high up as the eyes of the prisoners in their cells can . . . reach . . . small lamps, in the outside of each window of the lodge, backed by a reflector, to throw the light into the corresponding cells, would extend to the night the security of the day. . . . A small tin tube might reach from each cell to the inspector's lodge . . . by means of the implement, the slightest whisper of the one might be heard by the other. . . . And in the case of hospitals, the quiet that may be insured by this little contrivance . . . affords an additional advantage (Bowring 1962:40-41).

Bentham above points out that the relationship between the inmate and monitor is symbolic and imaginary. Necessary for the panopticon to work is the possibility of being watched, not the actual presence of a monitor. He argued that the possibility of being watched was enough for the inmate to observe the rules of behavior and to inculcate a self-watching or self-monitoring frame of mind. He argued that this was the basis for self-discipline among workers in industrial societies. Foucault (1979) makes the point that a citizen who learned self-watching is the base for power in the new republics.

Bentham, as quoted above, and Foucault (1979:195-228) point out that in panoptic institutions the individual is diagnosed as ill, but curable through the use of rational, not violent means. As a result, Foucault (1979:193) says that every healthy adult had within them a potentially criminal, childish, uneducated, or unhealthy element and, simultaneously, a corrigible, undeveloped, incomplete self. When combined, these elements meant that self-watching became preferable for most people, compared to the possibility of the perpetual gaze of the state's agents. Using this argument, a republic did not need an army or a big police force because the citizens policed themselves. They did so willingly, either because they could not stand the gaze and therefore internalized it so as to gain its approval, or because they became convinced that they elected the monitor.

Foucault's (1979) view of the panopticon as harshly manipulative, using raw power to control people, is pessimistic. Bentham's thesis, as quoted, argued for control mechanisms which were to be benevolent and which strove to improve the individual by affecting them to control themselves. Bentham is considered the father of the school of economics known as Utilitarianism. The basic premise of Utilitarians is "the greatest good for the greatest number." Positivism is the watchword of Utilitarians. Positivism and improvement often focus attention on those who are in the weakest and least protected situations, hence the focus on prisons and hospitals.

The Maryland Statehouse was rebuilt after the success of the Revolution. At one point it was both the temporary capitol of the United States and an aspirant to be the permanent United States capitol. The new dome was built under these circumstances and when it was built, no other changes were made to the surrounding street pattern, of which we are aware, except that State Circle was leveled which enhanced its capacity as a viewing platform and amphitheater for public spectacles. The dome/tower has eight sides and four ranks of windows, one above the other. It can be seen over the whole city by using the streets of the old baroque plan. The dome, if it is a panopticon, reversed the focus of attention from the previous form of the state house, and instead of being the focal point, became a mirror for each citizen. The citizen should then see the elected individuals beneath the dome as his representatives and thus as potentially interchangeable with himself. The purpose of the windowed tower was to hold and represent monitors. It was in fact open to the public for decades. The windows can be seen universally. Any citizen is visible from them, especially since the sides of five of the streets and the facades of the houses along them are on lines of sight that open up at the base of State Circle. We suggest that the new dome was an experimental panopticon and was built to watch over the whole city of new citizens. This would be a novel use of the panopticon, one on a grand scale, and we are not sure yet if this hypothesis is correct. It is sure, however, that the men running Maryland at the time were well enough read to have had such an idea.

The suggestion that the new dome on the Maryland Statehouse was a panopticon is offered for several reasons. First, the idea takes a unique and unclassified architectural expression and gives it an important architectural home by making it part of one of the most important social experiments of the revolutionary and Federal eras. Second, members of the Maryland elite were deeply involved with the conceptualization of space in social terms and were familiar with the need to find architectural expressions for the set of ideas they were promoting. Such men were intellectuals and were part of a group of Marylanders and others who were concerned with ways to make a new republic work. Annapolis and the new and fast-growing city of Baltimore were centers of this discussion and it is argued that the spaces they promoted and built were expressions of their social designs.

Baltimore

There are three principal buildings in Baltimore that we believe demonstrate an architectural effort to promote the panoptic design of life in the city in the first two decades of the 19th century. These structures include the first building of the University of Maryland's medical school, known as Davidge Hall, the Baltimore Exchange and
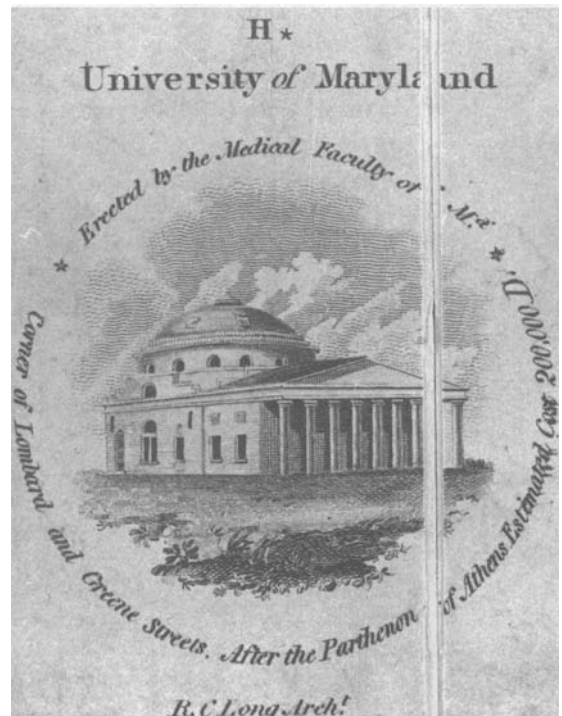

FIGURE 5. Medical College. First Building of the University of Maryland (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore).

FIGURE 6. Mid 19th century photograph of Baltimore with the Washington Column (courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington).

Customs House, and the first monument built anywhere to George Washington. The Exchange was demolished at the beginning of the 20th century but Davidge Hall (Figure 5) has been restored and the Washington Monument (Figure 6) stands, largely unchanged.

In parallel with this group of edifices are a number of other dominant buildings in Baltimore that share an architectural idiom with the panoptic buildings but whose panoptic characteristics vary. These buildings include a number of large churches built in a neoclassical style which dominated the skyline of early Baltimore. The Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Assumption, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, the Unitarian Church, and the First Baptist Church all use neoclassical design which focus upon a dome. One additional construction deserves special note. The

Battle Monument, built to commemorate Baltimore's victory over England in the "Second War of Independence," features classical devices in the form of a column made up of Roman fascia. Within this combined set of churches and panoptic buildings, all but the Battle Monument feature rotundas on the model of the pantheon. Most were built before Jefferson executed his design for a new university in Charlottesville.

The Baptist Church was demolished long ago and the interior of the Unitarian Church was also redesigned long ago. St. Paul's burned but the Roman Catholic Cathedral is still there, altered but not substantially harmed. Davidge Hall was built in 1812, the First Baptist Church in 1818, the Unitarian Church in 1817-1818, the Cathedral of the Assumption between 1808 and 1821, the Battle Monument was begun in 1815, and the

Washington Monument constructed between 1815 and 1829. While Benjamin Latrobe designed the cathedral, his colleague Maximillian Godefroy was responsible for the Unitarian Church and Battle Monument. Robert Mills, an engineer and Latrobe's student, designed the Baptist Church and the Washington Monument. Robert Cary frequently modeled much of his work on Latrobe and is responsible for Davidge Hall of the University of Maryland Medical School and St. Paul's Episcopal Church (1812). Finally, the Exchange was a joint effort of Latrobe and Godefroy and was built at the end of the second decade of the 19th century.

The social circumstances revolving around the erection of the buildings show that Baltimore in the early 19th century was a rising mercantile center in the new nation's maritime trade. The city was incorporated in 1795, joining three separate communities which had developed in the 18th century. Each of these previous communities, Jonestown, Baltimore, and Fells Point, had focused on the water and navigation. Each had a haphazard plan which, when merged, created a riot of street angles which was only rationalized in the expanding city and not in the oldest cores (Power 1992, 1993). Baltimore's growth in the 19th century was precipitous. By 1820 it was the third largest city in the new nation, having surpassed Boston in population. This growth was driven by Baltimore's location where the fall line and navigable water almost coincide. Drawing on a rich hinterland, Baltimore's water powered mills ground the grain while the harbor was used to ship the products to the world.

Baltimore was a place that was self-conscious of its growing importance in the early national period. The first railroad in the United States ran west from Baltimore. In the 1840s the first telegraph linked Baltimore to Washington, D. C. The city was known as the "Monumental City" for its architectural gems (Beirne 1957:7). This title was bestowed by President John Quincy Adams, who used the phrase in a toast in 1827 (Dorsey and Dilts 1973:xx). There was, however, another side to Baltimore. The melting pot of immigrants from many nations often boiled over, earning Baltimore by 1830 her second sobriquet: "Mobtown" (Greenberg 1995:166). In this context of negotiating relationships between "haves" and "have nots" the panoptic constructs served the "haves"—how effectively we do not know. The city's elite often felt threatened by the consequence of democracy. The twin strains of controlling the rabble and improving the depressed often conflicted but sometimes blended. It is within this setting that the conscious use of neoclassical links to the past and the panopticon must be discussed.

An important aspect of these buildings is not solely who designed them, but for whom they were designed. Instead of promoting governmental power or the power of the individual, these buildings were generally constructed to aggrandize private institutions such as churches or for civic or economic good, as is the case with Davidge Hall and the Exchange, or for civic pride in the case of the monuments. The Roman Catholic cathedral is a case in point. After the Revolution, Catholics regained the franchise. Growing immigration from Europe led to a major increase in the Catholic population. As an institution, the Roman Catholic Church revitalized itself and created a monument in the form of the cathedral. Baltimore was the United States primacy, home of its first bishop, John Carroll, a member of the prominent Maryland family. After suppression under the colonial government, the church made a major architectural statement by placing this monumental structure on the Baltimore skyline. It advertised its commitment to the style associated with democracy.

The exterior of many of these buildings appears more or less the same, with a low Roman dome capping a rotunda which is either encased in a rectangle as with the cathedral and Unitarian Church, or has rounded sides exposed, as with the Baptist Church. There is usually a deep porch, pillared and pedimented. The interiors all have low-domed, circular rooms at the center with rows of seats, sometimes arranged in semicircles, all facing a focal point. From the few

surviving interior pictures it is clear that the fo-
cal point of these buildings was an altar, pulpit,
lectern, or operating table. The dome enables
good acoustics, so hearing was easy in these
buildings. Lighting was usually from large plain
glass windows or indirect from windows around
the dome so that reading and seeing were facili-
tated. These buildings were designed to facilitate
communication, both spoken and unspoken, by
using clear lines of sight and advanced acoustics.

The buildings mentioned here were sited in
specific locations in Baltimore. They were
placed because of a conception of the city. A
geographer (Olsen 1985:42-43) has described the
city:

> Buildings would express meanings and impose order.
> The most impressive were the great domes—the Catho-
> lic Cathedral, the Exchange, the Unitarian Church, Saint
> Paul's Episcopal Church, First Baptist, and that superb
> edifice, the Medical College. . . . For siting their
> monumental structures, the builders developed a new ap-
> preciation of the natural topography as a stage.
> Baltimoreans determined to build on a scale at once to
> rival and exploit its piedmont setting. The original site
> for a cathedral . . . was abandoned . . . in order to fix
> it upon a hill. The Washington Monument . . . was
> relocated on Howard's Hill. . . . The beautiful domed
> Medical College, founded by the doctors in the south-
> west, had a magnificent prospect of the Patapsco River.
> . . . The charter for the Medical College contained the
> concept of a state university. . . . Within walking dis-
> tance was laid out the Lexington Market, also on a hill.
> Citizens were determined to create symbols in the cen-
> ter of the city as well. . . . Two blocks south and east
> [of the courthouse, War of 1812 Battle Monument, and
> the Masonic Hall], toward the waterfront, the merchants
> decided to build an Exchange, a collective palace that
> would outclass the country houses of the planter ar-
> istocracy. . . . The construction of the exchange was an
> attempt to create order, symmetry, and mass in the
> midst of a waterfront all disordered, bustle. . . . Sym-
> bolic of the curious mixture of great vision and grudg-
> ing implementation was the practice of financing all
> these magnificent structures by lotteries and taking for
> granted their future operation as self-supporting.

The visual unity of the city was achieved
through the strategic location of buildings—usu-
ally domed and placed upon natural high points.

They were visible from a distance but were not
the focus of the street network in the way a
baroque city was designed. Baltimore was a
simple grid plan but with an impressive array of
highly conspicuous monumental architecture. Its
social unity was achieved through the functions
of these new buildings. The most famous and
most widely used architects, Latrobe, Mills,
Godefroy, Cary, and Long, all knew and worked
with each other. All were working with a simi-
lar architectural idiom based on neoclassical de-
sign. All created structures that were designed to
be seen as focal points. By far the most famous
of these architects was Benjamin Henry Latrobe.

Latrobe is widely considered one of the most
significant architects and engineers of the early
national period. He was responsible for a num-
ber of truly important structures, including a ra-
tionalized United States Capitol building. He
designed canals, naval yards, and water works
throughout the new United States. Latrobe had
been trained in Europe and worked in England.
There he "had the happiness to inherit from my
father the friendship of the great Mr.
Howard"(Hamlin 1995). John Howard was the
foremost English prison reformer of the third
quarter of the 18th century who "erected model
cottages on his Cardington estate, provided el-
ementary education for the village children, and
encouraged the individual industry of the villag-
ers" (Van Horne and Formwalt 1984:76:note 18).
Latrobe specifically referred to his familiarity
with John Howard's work as part of the basis for
his ability to design a new panoptic prison for
Virginia at Richmond (Figures 7-8).

John Howard was one of Bentham's heroes
(Mack 1969:197) and Bentham was concerned
with the revision of penal codes, prison manage-
ment, and thus with prison architecture.
Bentham's most prolific and influential period
was from the 1770s to the 1820s. Latrobe was
born and raised in England, educated in Germany
where he learned engineering skills, then worked
as an architect and engineer in London until he
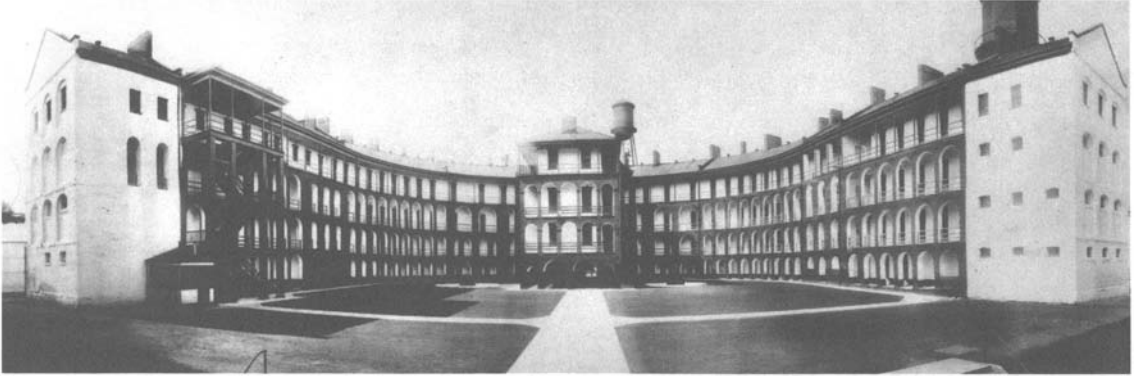came to the United States in 1795. In Philadel-

FIGURE 7. Latrobe's Virginia Penitentiary, Richmond (Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia).

phia, where he lived and worked before coming to Washington and Baltimore, he was familiar with the Walnut Street Prison and its methods of reform (Van Horne 1986:285-290). The building and its methods are parallel to Bentham's and probably are very close to those of John Howard. It is plain from Latrobe's design for the Virginia penitentiary that he knew of all the work on prison reform, including Bentham's.

Prisoners were to make nails, shoes, cloth, barrels, clothes, and to saw marble. The goods supported the prison and were to be made from resources readily available locally and which would have a ready market. Prisoners were to work together under supervision where they could copy each other and compete against each other. With this training, "the great object of the penitentiary system must necessarily be to correct the habits of the prisoners. The man who for seven years or even for one year rises at the same hour, works the same length of time, eats and drinks the same moderate quantity without any variation, must necessarily acquire habits of industry and sobriety" (Van Horne 1986:287-288). This was written by Latrobe to Robert Mills in 1806. It comes from a man who knew Howard's work on English prisons, who knew of the reform prison in Philadelphia, who won the competition to build a new state prison in Richmond in 1797, and who worked in the midst of

Bentham's success (Van Horne 1986:289, note 4). Their unity is formed by the social principle behind the panopticon. Between 1789 and 1812 Bentham's "vision gradually encompassed all of
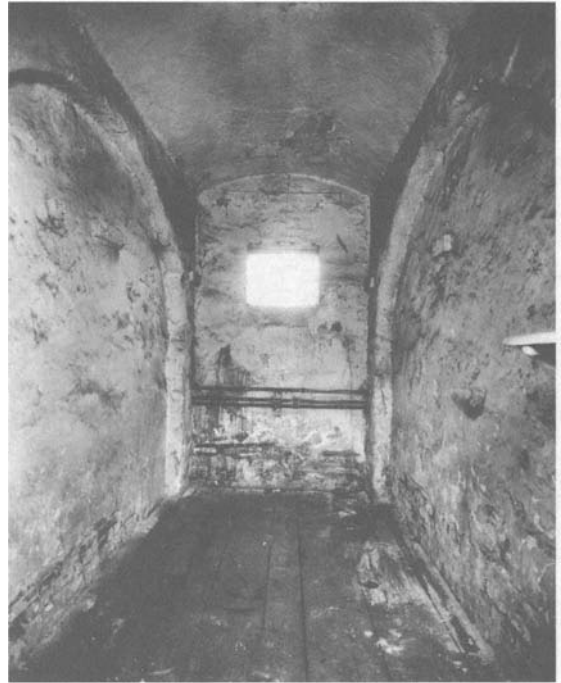

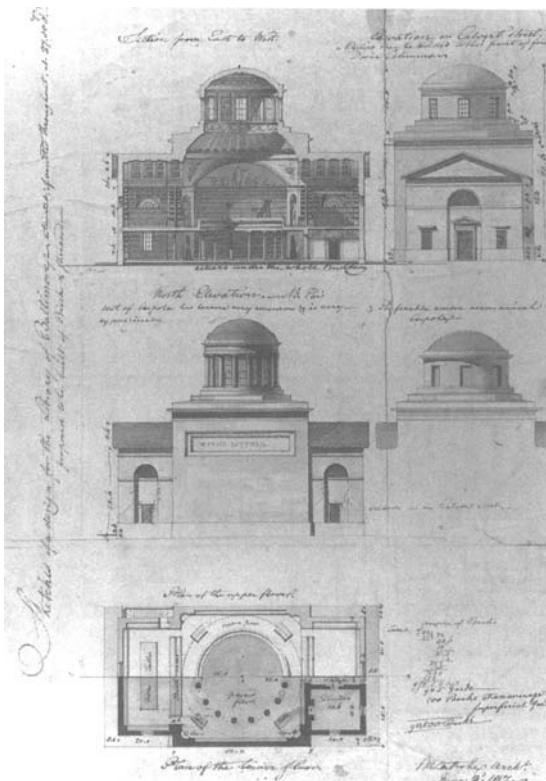FIGURE 8. Cell in Latrobe's Prison (Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia).

FIGURE 9. Latrobe's Baltimore library; never built (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore).

England, then Europe, and the world" (Mack 1969:189).

We think Latrobe, Godefroy, Cary, Mills, and Long were affected by the same set of ideas which led Bentham to articulate his theory of panoptic control of the free individual. Bentham was reacting to a changing environment which saw the evaporation of traditional hierarchical control and the rise of individual rights and privileges. The new American experiment in democracy was the best articulated expression of this shift in power structures and institutions. The earliest internal stresses within the new nation concerned how to deal with power. Those who led the fight to overthrow English domination in the American Revolution included large numbers of individuals who had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo vis a vis their own power. Latrobe himself articulated many of these ideas in a letter he (Andrews 1925:672) wrote in 1806:

> Ever since the Revolution the internal state of the United States has been undergoing a regular and gradual change. That deference of rank which, without the existence of titles and nobility, grows out of the habits and prejudices of a people, was bequeathed to the Americans by the English manners and institutions which were established before the Revolution. These manners could not be suddenly altered, nor did the institutions of the country undergo any great or sudden change. After the adoption of the Federal constitution, the extension of the right of suffrage in all the States to the majority of all the adult male citizens, planted a germ which had gradually evolved and has thus spread actual and practical democracy and political equality over the whole union. . . . There is no doubt whatsoever but that this state of things in our country produces the greatest sum of happiness that perhaps any nation has ever enjoyed. Every man is independent.

The architectural idiom used by Latrobe and others to design these panoptic buildings was neoclassical. The emphasis was on democratic Greece and republican Rome. Many of the symbols and ideals derived from classical sources were adopted by the early American democrats. Latrobe himself self-consciously manipulated details to make his classicism more American. He used New World plants and New World images in the design for column capitals and interior decoration that served as New World symbols for the new individuals. The panopticon affected the citizen individual of the new republic through personal self-inspection and improvement because successful democracy required that the individual believe he was the power behind the state and thereby could maintain or change the status quo.

Latrobe and his peers may have translated Bentham's self-discipline through self-watching to a whole new city in a new republic. They clearly saw that the power of inspection was learned by being on display, by being seen (Figures 9-10). Of the buildings being discussed in Baltimore, only the operating theater has semicircular rows of seats which could facilitate mutual observation (Figure 11), although some of

the churches may also have had them when first built. In the circular operating theater, each student could be a focal point.

The Baltimore Exchange and Custom House had large elements of panoptic design in its conception. The dome was specifically designed to facilitate observation of ships coming into the harbor so that the commercial traders would have the best information about incoming goods. Catwalk promenades allowed easy viewing outward while the dome was visible throughout the main commercial area. Banks, the Federal Customs offices, and private enterprises all shared this space, observing and being observed.

This whole architectural environment helps explain the Washington Monument, built in the center of the new city (Figure 12). The 178 foot pillar, with a dome room at its base, had and has a statue of Washington on top. It was prominent in the 19th century, as opposed to today where it is hedged in on all sides by taller buildings. Washington is presented and invoked as an achieving citizen and founding father. He is above all, but part of all. He was elected because of his public achievements. He was a model, we argue, just as the elected legislators could be models and his monument was the analogue to the statehouse dome in Annapolis. He was meant to attract attention and one reason may have been so that each citizen could monitor himself and be like him. He was not a Roman god, even though he wore a toga; he was ordinary and the ordinary could make themselves like him. They could do this by using centers of learning, business, worship, work, and correction, and by walking under his gaze.

Did this range of panoptic devices work? That is, did the architectural infrastructure actually affect people? Did these structures and their placement actually impress people? A comprehensive answer to these questions is not possible at this time, but contemporary anecdotal sources seem to suggest some success. Frances Trollope wrote "Domestic Manners of the Americans" relating her travels in and impressions of the United States at the beginning of the second quarter of
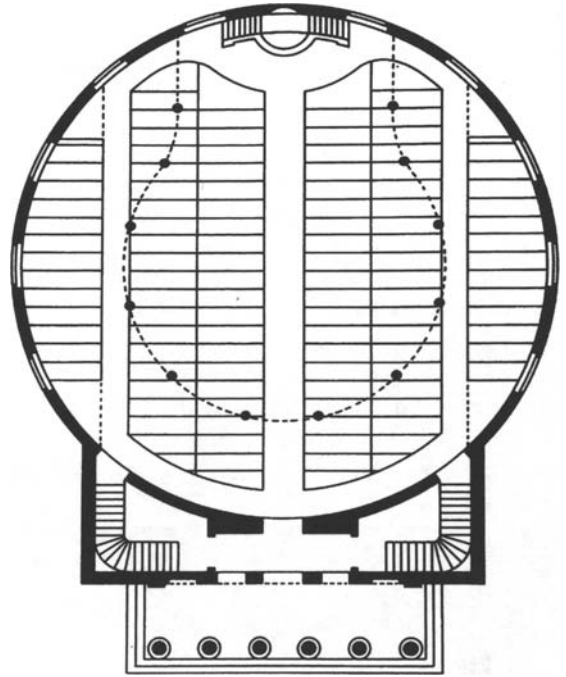

FIGURE 10. Robert Mill's plan of the first Baptist Church. Dotted line is the balcony and the supporting pillars (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore).

the 19th century when she returned to her native England. Trollope was perhaps one of the greatest critics of the new Americans, describing the national character as "To doubt that talent and mental power of every kind exists in America would be absurd. . . . But in matters of taste and learning they are woefully deficient" (Trollope 1997[1832]:256). Trollope was no friend of these new Americans. Of Baltimore, however, she (Trollope 1997[1832]:155-156) wrote:

> Baltimore is, I think, one of the handsomest cities to approach in the Union. The Nobel column erected to the memory of Washington, and the Catholic Cathedral with its beautiful domes, being built upon a commanding eminence, are seen at a great distance. As you draw nearer, many other domes and towers become visible, and, as you enter Baltimore Street you feel you have arrived in a handsome and prosperous city.

Clearly Ms. Trollope was impressed and historians for years have noted that she was not an

easy woman to impress. In her description she virtually inventories the very facets of Baltimore which we see as linked devices with panoptic overtones and notes how seeing these edifices effects the individual with a positive feeling.

If we left Bentham and the uses of him in the early 19th century United States untouched by Foucault, we would see the two men's theories with their architectural expressions as different and even antithetical. Foucault (1979) and, on a different basis, Morgan (1975) and Isaac (1982), see the power relations of the early American republic as little different from the colonial era. The rich who were out of power earlier were now the powerful and a hierarchy still existed

but could be seen much less clearly because of the idea of representative government. These authors distinguish between what was said and believed on the one hand, from what was actually done on the other. They all saw a society and a government based on unevenly held wealth and power. Then they asked: How was such inequality kept in place?

Foucault (1979:195-228) argues that panoptic institutions enabled a citizenry to keep itself in its place and that place was subordinate to the locales of actual power. Those locales were factories, churches, schools, hospitals, prisons, commercial exchanges, banks, and legislative bodies. The mirrored gaze from these institutions oper-

FIGURE 11. Interior of Davidage Hall (Lane 1991:109).

ated on their inmates and on ordinary citizens who; because they were said to have, potentially, elements of childishness, criminality, ignorance, and illness within themselves; were no different, potentially, from those subject to more enforced instruction. The hierarchy of the panopticon as planned by Bentham was thus hidden in America by saying that the power of the monitor was derived from those monitored.

Cities and Seeing

Baroque and panoptic theories of power appear to be quite different from each other because the first is associated with monarchy and hierarchy, and the second with republican government. One commanded the subject, the other turned the subject into the citizen. One proclaimed the center to be the source of power, the other proclaimed that power in the center was a reflection of power spread throughout the state. These represent different theories of how the urban environment could be shaped and how vision is called into play to foster different senses of authority.

It can now be hypothesized that the archaeology of baroque town planning reveals non-parallel lines, slopes calculated to hide features, and graded distances. Such management was about illusions and appearances, not about efficiency or ease of recording. It was about building hierarchy when it was weak. Panoptic buildings used by the new republic have different material manifestations from those used in the baroque era. The range of these material manifestations has not been established. These may include clear glass, huge piers for domes, massive similarities in ceramics used to standardize the etiquette of worker citizens, and massive piles of similar pieces of debris from prison workshops and central clock, bell, and watch towers. Certainly the simple grid design was better suited to commercial activities and far more expressive of equality than baroque design.

Several archaeological evaluations on parts of turn-of-the-century Baltimore are available and

FIGURE 12. A bird's eye view of the city in mid-century (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore).

show two patterns associated with big buildings from the period. Much work has been done on the commercial wharves of the city (Norman 1987) and has been summarized and a pattern established (Stevens 1989). Wharves were the foundations built to hold superstructures and moor ships. They were built on unstable conditions and had to hold enormous weight and also contain great stress. American wharves, however, did not have to withstand the same stress as those in England because the tidal changes were not as abrupt. Similar conditions of weight and stress faced the architects of the large domed buildings discussed above. The cribs for wharves were made of wood or stone, built on pilings, and fixed with tar (Norman 1987:98-117). Norman tells us their quality varied depending on the amount available to be invested, not on the importance or weight of what they were to hold. On the one hand, the wharves show that the technology was available to hold great weight and stress, but the use of the technology was situational, depending on finances. Did these conditions apply to panoptic structures built simultaneously?

The second pattern concerns street layout and parks. There is a good deal of information on the reconfiguration, redesign, and reuse of streets in Baltimore, both their layout and look (Figure 13). There is also information on the redesigns

of the enormous landscape of the nearby Charles Carroll, Barrister, mansion (Eastern Team 1987). Street patterns were dynamic. They were extended, widened, closed, enclosed, and constantly rationalized (Weeks 1988:11-21; 1989). No one has yet considered whether that planning and building included panoptic considerations.

The bridging of the baroque and panoptic theories of power relies on the commonality of affecting people by use of sight design. The effects, to aggrandize hierarchy or to co-opt individuals into believing they had a stake in the status quo, were quite different but are both ways of maintaining a stasis in societies that are in flux. Both applications of power come from above and are both aimed at impressing and manipulating. The drive to control evolves down from the absolute government, to individuals, and then to institutions which affected society and its distribution of political and personal power. In-
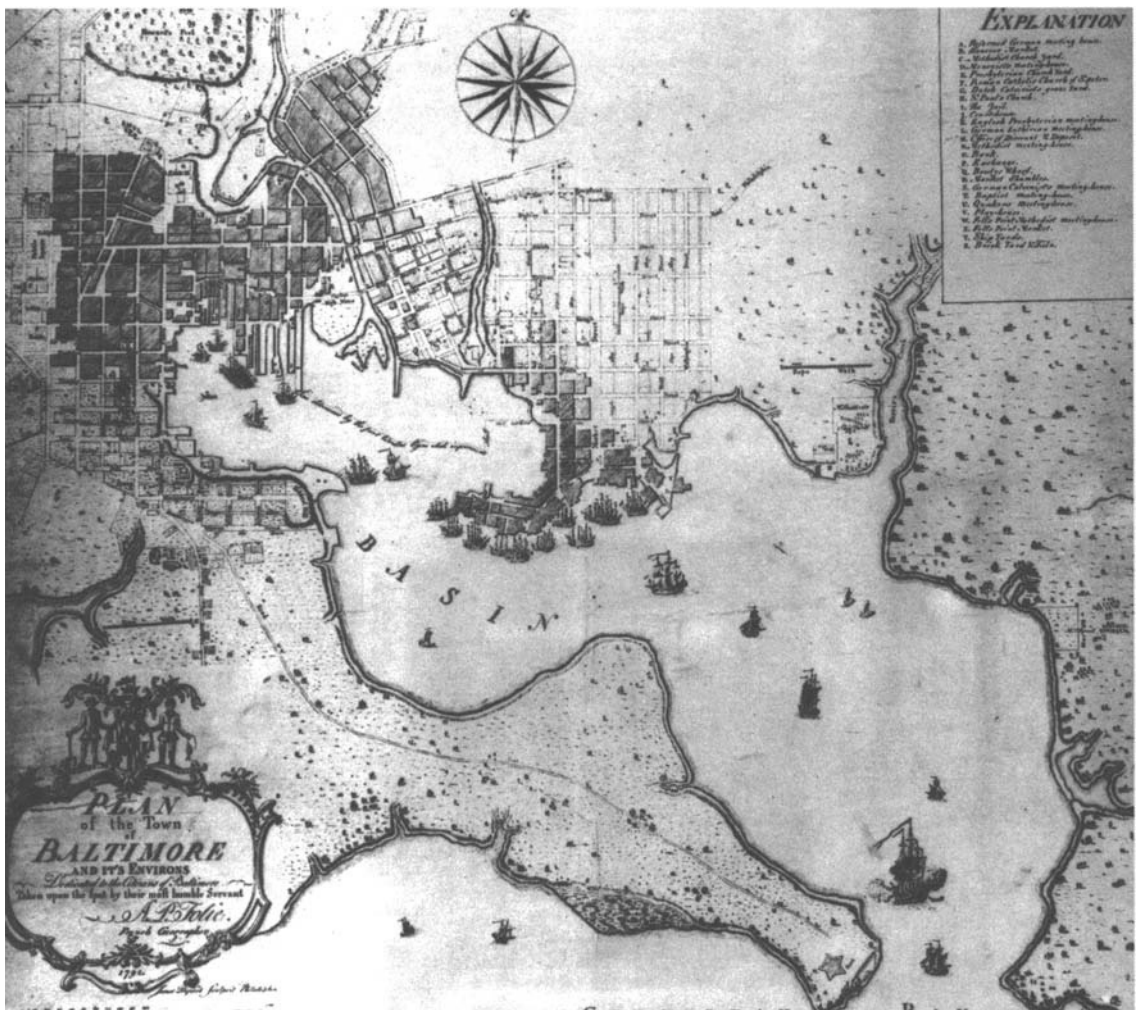

FIGURE 13. Baltimore and its environs in 1792 (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore).

dividuals were constantly being made to look a certain way and focus on a certain thing and thereby see what each was supposed to see.

Cities are among the most complex human creations and can be studied in many different ways. This essay presents one approach whereby the design of the city is linked to concepts of power. It is not the only viewpoint but does represent a means of explaining the differences between Maryland's chief urban settings over a period of more than two centuries of dramatic change. The sense of sight is a key element in this shaping of urban space and it is a tool in the establishment and maintenance of power. By analyzing a city as a large, multifaceted artifact, historical archaeologists can go beyond simple attributions of cultural influence or economic functionalism and gain a more nuanced perspective on cities as dynamic entities that both shape and reify human relations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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