

**Building Baltimore:  
The Shaping of Baltimore City's Religious Landscape**

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### **Abstract:**

Social politics play a critical role in Baltimore's early nineteenth century religious architecture. The best way to examine this dynamic is through an urban topographical lens, mapping the development and growth of the City. No previous analysis of Baltimore's religious architecture and social politics exists on this scale. Architecture is a window into the mind of its builders, architects, commissioners, and community. Through observing a building's features, along with those in its surroundings, one can learn what may have been the original meaning behind its design and appearance. This thesis is a comparative analysis of church architecture between 1800 and 1825, focusing on five different denominational structures, the Catholic Cathedral, St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal and the First Unitarian Church of Baltimore. By examining these structures in a singular context, the nuances between the styles are uncovered; although the common Neoclassical or Gothic styles may have been used, the meaning and intent changed drastically between each congregation. A careful examination of the 1822 Thomas H. Poppleton, *Plan of the City of Baltimore*, provides a visual, stylistic, and geographic mode of analysis. Using an urban topographical study, this thesis argues that stylistic choices in ecclesiastical construction reveal the relative ethnic and cultural identities of each group, within the societal tabula rasa context of the New World and the developing city of Baltimore. Chapter One consists of the urban topographical study of Baltimore and implements a series of historical maps to understand the history of the City. Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five focus on the four Christian denominations, attempting to understand what elements of their history influenced their architectural choices in the nineteenth century.

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## Introduction:

Social politics play a critical role in early nineteenth century Baltimore's religious architecture. This dynamic, best examined through an urban topographical lens, maps the development and growth of the city. Architecture is a window into the mind of its builders, architects, commissioners, and community. Through observing a building's features, along with those in its surroundings, one can learn what may have been the original meaning behind its design and appearance. This thesis analyzes Catholic, German Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal, and Unitarian church architecture between 1800 and 1825 under this pretense. In the City of Baltimore, at the dawn of the nineteenth century, two styles emerged among the City's architects: Neoclassical and Gothic. Architectural styles hold meaning. Specific choices in these styles can reveal intentionality in meaning. In addition to architectural style, a building's location within a city also adds to the identity of its congregation. A careful study of the 1822 Thomas H. Poppleton *Plan of the City of Baltimore* reveals this location-based identity. This thesis is a comparative analysis of Baltimore City's church architecture in the 18th and 19th century, focusing on five different denominational structures, the Catholic Cathedral, St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal and the First Unitarian Church of Baltimore. Through an urban topographical study, this thesis argues that stylistic choices in ecclesiastical construction reveal the relative ethnic and cultural identities of each group, within the societal tabula rasa context of the New World and the developing city of Baltimore.

In Baltimore, the period between 1800-1825 is of particular importance. Before 1800, and following the Revolutionary War, most denominations used the typical eighteenth-century meetinghouse building type as their main access to religion. These meetinghouses were typically smaller unassuming buildings located among other eighteenth-century Georgian private and public architecture. The important tipping point was the turn of the nineteenth century when Baltimore would become known as the "Monumental City."<sup>1</sup> How did the City gain such a moniker? In John Quincy Adams visit to Baltimore

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<sup>1</sup> John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary From 1795 to 1848 Volume 7*. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1874). 338.



City in 1827, he was noted as giving a toast to “Baltimore, the Monumental City,” referencing his appreciation for their kindness in hosting his visit. How, though, was the City monumental? By the time of John Quincy Adams’ visit in 1827, most of the City’s had completed its first wave of grand architecture, including the five churches that are a part of this study. What caused this swing in building across the city? The timing here is key. In the decades following the American Revolution, the City of Baltimore would grow exponentially, becoming one of the three largest cities in the United States, just behind New York and Philadelphia. This massive influx of people, in turn, caused rapid growth in infrastructure across the City, including the ecclesiastical architecture. Examining the City’s urban topography leading up to and during the 1800-1825 time period can provide the needed context to understand what was at play in the building of these structures.

The intent of this project is to causally link social conditions to the styles and locations of church architecture. An urban topographical study of Baltimore creates these links by analyzing various primary documentation to map the city’s growth and development at the start of the nineteenth century. The most important component of this urban topographical study is the Thomas H. Poppleton, *Plan of the City of Baltimore* created between 1812 and 1822. This map acts as the roadmap to show how the City of Baltimore evolved. The City of Baltimore hired Thomas Poppleton to survey its existing environs as well as to identify room for it to expand. This plan of Baltimore would shape the city’s geographic growth far into the nineteenth century. What is most significant about Poppleton’s Survey Map are the 37 architectural vignettes located around its border. Each of these vignettes are of buildings which Poppleton considered important and wanted to highlight in his work. These vignettes depict the structures at a detailed  $\frac{3}{4}$  view, as well as showing all relevant information about the structure, such as the title of the building, location on the map, who it was built for, year built, estimated cost of construction, and architect. This map, along with many others, act as guides through the history of Baltimore, helping the reader understand how each era evolved leading up to the construction of the churches. In Baltimore, buildings cannot be examined in isolation, and to be understood must be in conversation.

## Methodology & Historiography

I have lived just outside the City of Baltimore for 25 years. This project evolved from my interest in the City and her architecture. This thesis allows for an in-depth analysis of her history and neighborhoods to understand how they developed over the course of time, linking social conditions to architecture. Most of the work conducted for this project consisted of on-site analysis and archival research. I spent time at each church to gather information from current congregation members, as well as pictorial evidence of the structure's current interior and exterior. Interviews with members providing an understanding of the structure from the point of view of those who know them best. Like many buildings, over the course of time, changes have occurred, and exterior and interior historical fabric was lost. To fill in the gaps, archival research was conducted at the Maryland Historical Society, one of the largest sources for primary documents in the City. The Society's collection contains maps, journals, sermons, and letters that allowed for an understanding of the history of the great Maryland churches. In combination, both types of evidence have been able to uncover a better understanding of what the denominations were trying to present in their architecture.

The story of the history of Baltimore City has been well documented in numerous books, but her churches have not been given such attention. Although some churches in Baltimore have a wealth of knowledge, like the Catholic Cathedral, most of the others in this study have little to no information at all. The intention of this study is to fill in the gaps which currently exist between social history and architectural expression, and place each of the churches in conversation with one another, rather than being read as individual structures. In turn, this project will create a new understanding of the Baltimore religious architectural landscape as a whole, instead of looking at one singular building in the City.

Baltimore City's history has been substantially documented through studies of Maryland's political, economic, religious, and architectural histories. Although Baltimore City is always included, books relating directly to the City and its history lack in favor of works covering Maryland as a whole. One of these books is Robert J. Brugger and the Maryland Historical Society's 1988 book *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. This book was the most effective source for Baltimore's history in full.

Throughout this book, the City of Baltimore plays as a key figure in every aspect of the State's history. The book deals with both general knowledge as well as detailed accounts of personal interactions during the colony's earliest days. This book only briefly mentions architectural history and instead focuses on political, economic, and societal histories. Although mentioned, architecture is not key to the author's narrative. The book acts as an introductory cultural guide to understanding Maryland and her whole history.

As far as traditional architectural histories, one of the most influential sources has been Mary Ellen Hayward and Frank R Shivers' *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*, published in 2004. This book, although far shorter than Brugger's *Middle Temperament* focuses entirely on the history of the architecture of Baltimore. Looking at Baltimore as a whole, the author conducted a survey of the City from its foundation in 1730, until 2000 just before it was published, separated into manageable sections of 40-50 years. Each section examines the most prominent buildings of the era, with brief descriptions of their appearance, and discussions of those individuals involved. Although brief, this source is one of the few that mentions all the churches discussed in this thesis, while providing vital details about the architects and builders in the colony in its earliest years.

Regarding the individual churches, each had at least one source which was the most proficient guide on its history and appearance. For the Catholic Cathedral, Mathew E. Gallegos' 2002 dissertation *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*, looks at the cathedral, giving an in-depth analysis of the church's architecture and the meaning which, it represented. St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, Robert Alexander's 1974 book *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy* looks at the structure but, more specifically the architect Godefroy attempting to assign architectural ownership to the design of the structure. The German Lutheran Church has their own publication, *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore*, which includes congregation history focusing on the clergy, and only mentioning buildings when constructed or updated. The St. Paul's Episcopal church's best-documented history is the unpublished manuscript by Ethen Allen written in 1855. His book *Historical*

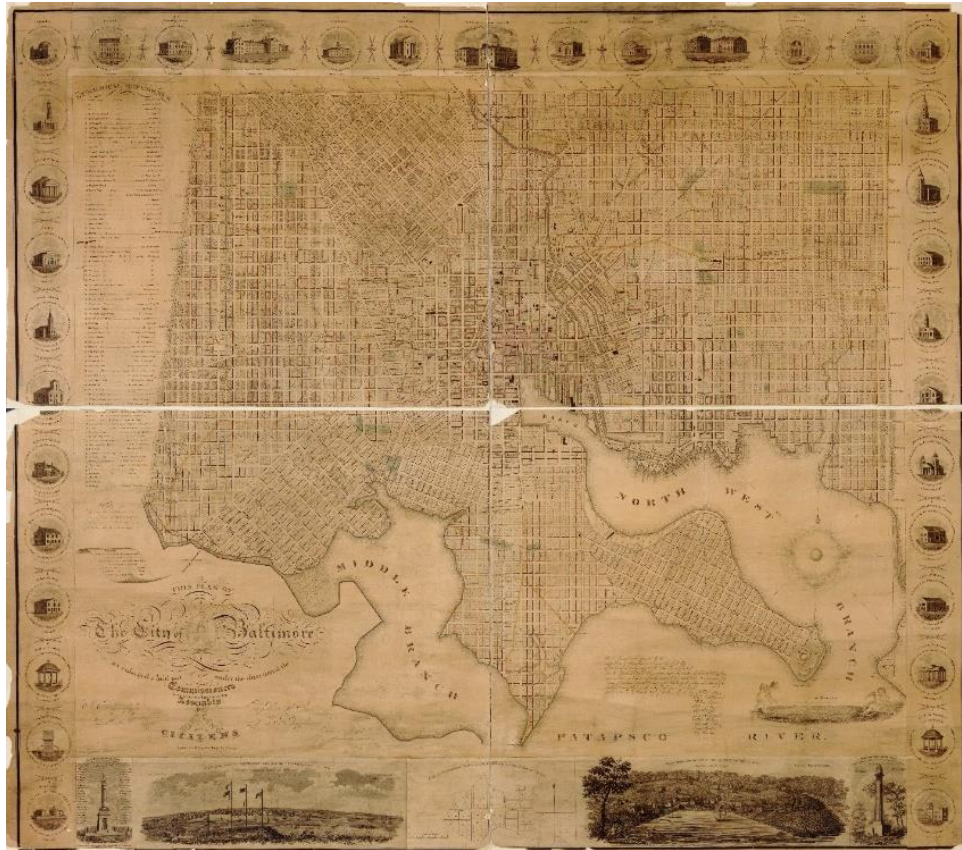
*Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland* looked at every known primary source on the church and its parish prior to 1855. This is crucially important because the church burned down in 1854. Finally, the Unitarian Church, like the German Lutheran, also has its own publication. *A Heritage to Hold in Fee*, published in 1962, looks mainly at Unitarian history after the construction of their church building, essentially passing over the foundational history as a whole.

The religion of Baltimore, unlike its architecture, has a wealth of related published scholarship. These sources examine everything from religious tolerance to religious violence in the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The best of these books is Terry Bilhartz *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. In his 1986 book, Bilhartz has created the most in-depth understanding of the Baltimore social religious landscape. His book explores the social and political constructs of the various denominations within the City, in relation to the 1830s' Second Great Awakening in Baltimore. His book reveals the present populations and estimated congregational sizes of the churches in Baltimore between 1790 and 1830. Where his book falls short is in connecting these social conditions to the built environment in which it happens. When architecture is mentioned, it is only to denote its physical creation, or to characterize a general location. On one or two occasions the author offers justification for a church's placement, but no explanation of its appearance, size, or stylistic character.

The intent of this thesis is to use a comparative analysis of Baltimore City's church architecture during the 18th and early 19th centuries, involving the exploration of five different denominational structures, in order to understand the critical role that social politics played in the origination of the stylistic themes of Baltimore's religious architecture. Using an urban topographical study, the Catholic Cathedral, St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal and the First Unitarian Church of Baltimore will be examined and put in conversation with one another, revealing the relative ethnic and cultural identities of each group. Chapter One consists of the urban topographical study of Baltimore and implements a series of historical maps to understand the history of the City. Chapters Two, Three, Four

and Five focus on the four denominations under consideration, attempting to understand what elements of their history influenced their architectural choices in the nineteenth century.

## Chapter 1: *The Mapping of the Urban Topography of Baltimore City*



Plan of the City of Baltimore. Thomas H. Poppleton, 1822

### Introduction:

When observing the architecture of Baltimore City from the first part of the nineteenth century, questions naturally arise. Why do these buildings look the way they do? What do these styles mean? In this thesis, the Catholic, German Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal, and Unitarian church architecture between 1800 and 1825 are analyzed in the context of these questions. In the city of Baltimore before 1800, most denominations had a single small church or meetinghouse. They built “monumental” structures only after the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> What caused this swing in church building? Analyzing the City’s urban topography leading up to and during this period of significance will provide some context. An urban topography, as defined by the Oxford Index, is “an interdisciplinary study of the

<sup>2</sup> John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary From 1795 to 1848* Volume 7. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1874). 338.

form, fabric, and layout of towns, drawing on documentary history, cartography, historical geography, town planning, architectural history, and archaeology.”<sup>3</sup> This study will follow this definition as a framework, by engaging with maps, documented histories, town plans, and architectural studies to understand how Baltimore’s religious landscape grew and changed between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. This type of mapping offers the opportunity to trace the cultural and social changes surrounding the construction of the five churches that are the focus of this thesis. This mapping will demonstrate the geographic and cultural distinctions and similarities between ethnic, social, and religious groups, creating a multifaceted map of the city of Baltimore.

Baltimore, Maryland has an extensive religious history steeped with conflicts between various sects of Christianity. After the Revolutionary War, congregations began building more religious architecture. In the 1790s, this wave of building began, resulting in President John Quincy Adams nicknaming Baltimore the “Monumental City.”<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, construction again increased as a response to a flow of European immigrants into the port city. This chapter will highlight and map the urban topography of Baltimore in these formative years, illustrating the multidimensional historical context that led to the construction of the five churches on which this study focusses.

Between 1700 and 1825, Baltimore built at least 49 churches, belonging to at least 12 different Christian denominations. Though there were only 12 denominations, there were a total of 40 different congregations who each built their own church building. Before the end of the American Revolution in 1783, the 8 existing congregations had built only 9 churches. The activity of the religious and ethnic groups populating the city was rapidly changing after the Revolution. The religious history of the city is divided into six periods of significance to help better understand the changing landscape of Baltimore. With each period of discussion, the scope narrows towards specific buildings. These periods are based on

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<sup>3</sup> “Urban Topography.” Urban Topography. Accessed April 15, 2019.  
<http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803114911292>.

<sup>4</sup> John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary From 1795 to 1848* Volume 7. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1874). 338.

important cultural events, eras of major construction, and most importantly, historic maps of both Maryland and Baltimore which illustrate the City's rapidly changing landscape.

### **Before 1700: (Insert Herrmann Map)**

The first period of the analysis is based on the foundation of Maryland as a geographic entity, and the importance of religion in these foundations. As mentioned in the Introduction to this study, Thomas Poppleton's map is used as a key framework, illustrating changes within the urban religious landscape of the City of Baltimore. In this first period, Augustine Herrman's 1670 map will act as a similar visual guide, but will instead frame the whole of Maryland's religious landscape prior to the establishment of Baltimore Towne (Figure 1). Herrman, a German immigrant, was the first person to create an updated map of the Chesapeake's boundaries after John Smith's original in 1608.

Maryland was remarkable in its foundation as a proprietary province based on the principle of religious liberty. Maryland, unlike the rest of the colonies, was not settled by the Anglican followers of the Church of England, or other Protestant Puritan or Quaker sects. Instead, the founding of Maryland in 1632, was under the authority of the first Lord of Baltimore, George Calvert, who was a Catholic. Although the Calverts were Catholics, the colony was created as a place free from religious persecution for all, providing refuge during the European wars and discrimination against religion. Although founded in religious toleration, the colony itself would become "[n]otorious for its irreligion," in the seventeenth century. When the Church of England was established in 1692, Maryland only had four or five church buildings.<sup>5</sup>

At first, the congregations lived in a brief period of peace under Lord Baltimore and his council. In this time, the Toleration Act of 1649 was created to reinforce Maryland as a place of religious freedom for all denominations. With this act also came the possibility for "aliens," or non-English citizens, to own land in the province and become citizens.<sup>6</sup> At this point in the seventeenth century, a majority of

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<sup>5</sup> Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990.) 107.

<sup>6</sup> Gregory A. Wood. *The French Presence in Maryland, 1524-1800*. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1978.) 16.



Maryland's settlers lived in the area surrounding St. Mary's City, seen on the upper right corner of the lower quadrant of the Herrman map. (Figure 2)

Although the colony began with intentions of religious freedom, the sects moved into a time of unrest starting in 1654, which lasted until the English Glorious Revolution of 1688. Control of Maryland would change back and forth between Catholic, Protestant and Puritan hands during this era. Puritans allowed into Maryland by Anglican Governor William Stone, came for refuge from Virginia, which had declared itself loyal to King Charles II, rather than submit to Oliver Cromwell's Parliamentary rule. The Puritans founded the city of Providence, better known today as Annapolis, not marked on Herrman's map. The approximate location would be on the bay, on the center of the upper left quadrant of the map, near the town of "Arundleton" and the small compass (Figure 3). Maryland allowed 300 Puritans to settle on the Severn River located just above "Arundleton". The Puritans disliked the Toleration Act, as it meant swearing allegiance to Lord Baltimore, who was under the "anarchist" Catholic Pope rather England's Cromwell.<sup>7</sup> This Puritan disgruntlement leads to the Battle of the Severn between Anglican Governor Stone, who was a moderate and sided with the Catholics, and William Fuller, leader of the Puritan forces and follower of Oliver Cromwell.<sup>8</sup> The Battle brought the issues from the English Civil War to the shores of Maryland. In the end, Stone was defeated by Fuller and his army, but Lord Baltimore would remain in control of Maryland. This would be the first many issues linked to religion in the state of Maryland.

By the end of the 1660s, Maryland's population had reached to about 2,500 persons, mostly due to the many religious refugees.<sup>9</sup> The Toleration Act was reinstated in 1657, which brought more religious sects into Maryland, including Presbyterians, Lutherans, Labadists, and Quakers.<sup>10</sup> In the 1670s, some of those who visited found that "Maryland is in a deplorable condition" due to the "mix of Maryland faiths."<sup>11</sup> According to Robert Brugger, another facet of this "deplorable condition" was the economic

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<sup>7</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 21.

<sup>8</sup> Edward D. Neill, *Terra Mariæ: Or, Threads of Maryland Colonial History* (Salem, MA: Higginson Book, 1997), 142.

<sup>9</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 22.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 28-29

<sup>11</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 36.

crisis in the 1660s to 1670s. These conditions caused tension among the religious sects due to a decreasing price of Maryland's cash crop - tobacco.<sup>12</sup> In 1692, four years after the Glorious Revolution, the Toleration Act was permanently revoked. Later in 1702, the Church of England gained complete control of Maryland until the American Revolution.<sup>13</sup> The non-Anglican sects at first did not fare well under this authority. Specifically, Catholics faced economic discrimination in the form of higher taxes. Two decades later in 1718, all unsworn persons not connected to any major religion were deprived of their voting rights.<sup>14</sup>

Nearly all religious architecture before 1700 is located in southern Maryland at St. Mary's City on the Eastern shore, visible in Herrmann's map (Figure 2). Baltimore City, then known as "Baltimore Towne," had very few inhabitants, and was a warehouse city for the shipping and storing of tobacco.<sup>15</sup> Unlike many new American port cities, Baltimore had a late start and would not flourish until after the Revolutionary War.<sup>16</sup>

### **1700-1730: (many maps)**

In this second period of significance from 1700 to 1730, there is no known construction of church architecture, and there are no contemporary maps of Baltimore Towne. At this point, Baltimore was just finding its feet as a settlement. The town, first surveyed in 1730 by Philip Jones, Jr., has no surviving drawings of his work. To show the evolution of Maryland and Baltimore, the Herrman, Poppleton, and G. Gould Presbury maps will be used to frame the movement of religion across the colony (Figure 1, 4, 5). Herrman once again acts as the initial guide to the state of Maryland. The Poppleton and Presbury maps will create a more focused view of Baltimore in its earliest stages of the eighteenth century. At the center of Poppleton's map, the original layout of the 1730 survey is shown in light red pencil. This 1730 map is

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 35.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 799.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 55.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). 1.

<sup>16</sup> Robert J. Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Press, 1996). 799.

reiterated at the bottom of the map with the original 60 lots numbered (Figure 6). This original shape of the region is reinforced by the 1780 Presbury map, which mirrors the red shape depicted in Poppleton's map (Figure 5, 7). Together these maps show the beginning evolutions of Baltimore.

In the first few decades of the eighteenth-century, Annapolis (Providence) and St. Mary's City would remain the most important urban hubs of Maryland. The associated ports were used for the importation and exportation of goods between the colony and England. At the end of the 1720s, a large cove was settled at the end of the Patapsco River north of Prince Georges County.<sup>17</sup> In Herrman's map, "Baltimore Towne" it is in the upper left quadrant, near the center of the right edge (Figure 8). This cove is very far north of both Annapolis and St. Mary's City. Baltimore Town established in 1729, used land purchased from the Carrols on the north side of the Patapsco River.<sup>18</sup> The location had the Bay to the south, and a swift-flowing fall to the east, which was good for milling, manufacturing, and shipping. The Town would grow up around these enterprises. Although small in the early eighteenth-century, Baltimore Town's population would grow quickly in the coming decades.

In 1730, Philip Jones Jr. first surveyed Baltimore into sixty lots of one acre, with the eastern border the Jones Falls River. The river was important to the city both for manufacturing as well as for the movement of goods into the surrounding county.<sup>19</sup> The approximate location of the original Baltimore Towne can be seen in Poppleton and Presbury's maps (Figure 4, 5). The small red colored space at the center of Poppleton lines up perfectly with the boundaries of the earlier Presbury map. In 1661, Quaker David Jones established a small 380-acre settlement on the eastern side of the Jones Falls River as a residence for himself.<sup>20</sup> The settlement would later become known as Jones Town, or Old Town, when it was officially established in 1732.<sup>21</sup> The settlement was much smaller than Baltimore Town, with only

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<sup>17</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 66.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 2.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Hubbard Howland, and Eleanor P Spencer. *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History*. [1st ed. Baltimore]] Johns Hopkins Press, 1953, 1953.) 3.

<sup>21</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 5.

ten-acres and twenty individual lots. Jones Town would come to thrive on its own thanks to the fresh water of the Jones Falls River. Unlike Baltimore Town, Jones Town is not marked on the Poppleton map but can be seen on Presbury on the right side. A third and final settlement was founded further down the Patapsco River by Quaker Edward Fell in 1726 and became known as Fells Point. The settlement was located on a small peninsula southwest of Jones and Baltimore Towns. The settlement would be established in 1763 as Fell's Point when Fell's son sold small plots of land; the town would then grow quickly.<sup>22</sup> The original settlement is not shown on Poppleton or Presbury's maps, but on Poppleton, the right center of the map has been highlighted to show where the settlement would have been (Figure 9).

In the early eighteenth century, all three settlements collectively contained nothing more than a few recorded houses, one mill on the river, and some tobacco sheds. Due to the purely commercial focus of the three towns, their populations would grow slowly over the next few decades. Jones Town is absorbed into Baltimore Town in 1745, with Fells Point following shortly after in 1773.<sup>23</sup> Prior to being combined with Baltimore Town, Fell's Point rivaled the smaller Baltimore in both population and trade.

### **1731-1752: (Sketch – 1752)**

The third period of significance is articulated through Phillip Jones Jr.'s 1730 survey, as well as the first known drawing depicting the city and its urban landscape. Although it is a vague primitive sketch, local Baltimorean John Moale's drawing provides a rare view of Baltimore and its environs in 1752 (Figure 10). The sketch gives a good representation of the town's basic plan, and how many structures were present by the end of this period of significance. Unlike Poppleton and Presbury's later representations of the town, this first drawing is not a map, plan, or survey, but is instead an artist's rendering of the town, and should be taken as such. Considering these limitations, artistic liberties may have been taken by Moale in the creation of his depiction of Baltimore Town. Once again, Poppleton's map will be discussed in contrast, creating a more vivid image of important locations.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Robert J. Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Press, 1996). 799.

Through the mid-eighteenth century, Baltimore became a merchant and trading town, with much of the county's population moving to build mills or shops along the bustling harbor. Before the American Revolution, little religious construction happened within the town limits; most religious practice happened in people's homes, or in discrete meeting houses. This was due in part to the small population of the towns, but in majority to the authority of Anglicanism as the only recognized religion in this period. Any religious structures that were built relied heavily on the builder-architect or carpenter in their design and construction. Between the first survey in 1730 and the 1752 sketch, only twenty-five buildings were within Baltimore Town's limits. Of these structures, only two were dedicated as religious buildings. The first was the Friends Patapsco meeting house on the northeastern portion of the Jones Town side of the river, built in 1713 just outside the city limits. If looking at Poppleton's map, the church would have been located off the map on the upper right quadrant, where C.B. No.17N and 18N are located on the border (Figure 11).

The only other church in town was the more prominent 1730 St. Paul's Anglican. Built at the start of this period of significance, in Lot 19, by the town's first builder-architect, Thomas Hartwell. Further analysis of this structure takes place in Chapter Four of this study.<sup>24</sup> There were other known denominations in town at this time, including Lutherans and Catholics, but due to religious persecution, and limited congregation size, they did not have any prominent structures for worship. Meetinghouses of the early eighteenth century were typically small and unassuming, blending into the rest of the surrounding Georgian and brick architecture. At this point, it is difficult to tell where certain groups of people were living in town, but the 1752 map demonstrates that homes were either made of wood or brick. The town had a few large-scale domestic houses, like Irishman Edwin Fotherrell's 1741 house, the first brick structure in town. Fotherrell's house was also the first significant non-religious structure in town. It followed Georgian Palladian ideals and used imported brick and materials.<sup>25</sup> On Poppleton's map, it is

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<sup>24</sup> Richard Hubbard Howland, and Eleanor P Spencer. *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History*. [1st ed. Baltimore]] Johns Hopkins Press, 1953, 1953.] 18.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Hubbard Howland, and Eleanor P Spencer. *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History*. [1st ed. Baltimore]] Johns Hopkins Press, 1953, 1953.] 4.

located on the northwest corner of Calvert and Fayette Streets, on the northwestern edge of the old city (Figure 12). The Baltimore County census stated that some 200 people, about 30 named heads of household, lived in Baltimore Town in 1752, of English, French, and German descent.<sup>26</sup>

### 1752-1781:

Although other maps exist from this fourth period, such as that of Frenchman Louis-Alexandre Berthier, this thesis will primarily implement Presbury's 1780 map showing individual streets in Baltimore Town and Jones Town (Figure 12, 5). To fill in remaining gaps for areas not included in these main town centers, the later Poppleton and A. P. Folie maps will be used to show the expansion of the city and the pronounced shifting of people, architecture, and religious groups in this era (Figure 4, 14).

After the 1750s, the town of Baltimore started to grow exponentially. By the end of 1757, the taxable population in Baltimore Town numbered 1,255, which was "...an increase in four years of 349..."<sup>27</sup> Less than twenty years later, in 1774, the town of Baltimore had expanded again, to 560 buildings, and almost 6,000 people.<sup>28</sup> This is a growth of about 280 people per year for seventeen years. In a 1754 trip to Baltimore, Governor Sharpe wrote a letter to Lord Baltimore stating that:

Baltimore indeed has the appearance of the most increasing Town in the province, tho it scarcely answered the opinion I had conceived of it: hardly as yet rivaling Annapolis in number of Buildings or Inhabitants; its Situation as to Pleasantness, Air and Prospect is inferior to that of Annapolis but if considers it with respect to Trade, the extensive County beyond it leaves no room for Comparison; were a few Gentlemen of fortune to settle there and encourage the Trade it might soon become a flourishing place but while few besides the Germans (who are in general Masters of small fortunes) build and inhabit there I apprehend it cannot make any considerable figure. <sup>29</sup>

Although Governor Sharpe's description is not entirely positive, it does show that Baltimore was growing, and had the possibility of greatness if people besides the "Germans" decided to settle and live

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<sup>26</sup> Thomas J. Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore: Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. (Baltimore: Turnbull Bros, 1874.) 58, and Mariana L. R. Dantas, *Black Townsmen: Urban Slavery and Freedom in the Eighteenth-Century Americas*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.) 55.

<sup>27</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen's Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society.) 94.

<sup>28</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 7.

<sup>29</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 4.

there. In Chapter Three, this long-standing issue between the Germans and English will be further examined. Sharpe's description also states that the town of Baltimore would come to outshine Annapolis in both size and commerce, which would become true in the coming decades.

Baltimore, early in its history, attracted immigrants from many different countries. Starting in the 1750s the first wave of French émigré came to Baltimore. The Acadians, from Nova Scotia, had over 1000 individuals come into Baltimore in 1756, discussed further in Chapter Two.<sup>30</sup> In the third quarter of the century, immigration was mostly dominated by those of German descent.<sup>31</sup> By 1755, the town's German population was large enough to construct their own church, finished in 1758 and located on the west bank of the Jones Falls River. On Presbury's map, it was located on Fish Street, right next to the falls which will discuss further in Chapter Three (Figure 15).

There was also a budding Irish and Scottish population in the Fell's Point area, who had a lucrative wheat and flour trade route with Europe.<sup>32</sup> The area of water between Fell's Point and the mouth of the Jones Falls River was known as "the basin" due to its shallow waters. This area of water led Fells Point to be the center of trade and shipbuilding later in the nineteenth century, as is evidenced by the many docks in the Poppleton map's lower right quadrant's top edge. The area around Fell's Point has deeper water than the basin and allowed larger ships to dock. The exact area of this "basin" has some fluidity. In A. P. Folie's 1792 map the area called "basin" is located just south of the protruding peninsula of Fell's Point, whereas in Poppleton's map it shows "the basin" just south of today's Inner Harbor (Figure 16, 17). Poppleton's map is a more accurate location of what would be considered "the basin" by historical accounts. Either way, the Fells Point port, and its deeper waters become particularly important during the later Revolutionary War building American ships and housing around 250 American privateers. The many jobs produced through shipbuilding would shift the urban landscape of Baltimore, dictating where large populations of working classes of people would live. The schooner ships built in

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<sup>30</sup> Gregory A. Wood. *The French Presence in Maryland, 1524-1800*. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1978.) 62.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 89.

<sup>32</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 59.

Baltimore were some of the best in the world in both speed and agility, which was crucial in the Revolutionary War. The port would house a number of shipping and industry merchants through the War who built factories to avoid reliance on English goods.<sup>33</sup>

Baltimore's Presbyterians mostly made up of Scotsmen, built their first temporary church in 1763 of wood, later replacing it in 1766 with a more permanent brick building. Although much of the congregation lived in the Fell's Point area, the church was instead built a mile north on the corner of Fayette and North street in Baltimore Town. The church's location, marked as "T" on the Poppleton Map and "K" on the Folie map (Figure 18, 19). The 1766 building had a 1771 addition to accommodate population growth throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>34</sup> As the population grew, Baltimore Town gained more large houses of note around the northern outskirts of the town, many showing Georgian influences. Baltimore aspired to be known as more than a collection of settlements, and made this known through its construction of public architecture such as an inn, and a 1768 courthouse.<sup>35</sup> The construction of a two-story courthouse and jail marked Baltimore town becoming the seat of Baltimore County, causing another influx of residences. In Folie's map, they are marked as "I" and "J" (Figure 19).

The Catholics discussed in-depth in Chapter Two, built their first church in 1770.<sup>36</sup> After the influx of Acadians and some Irish Catholics in the decade prior, there were finally enough people to create a proper congregation. A small lot was chosen just north of St. Paul's Anglican Church, and the church of St. Peters was constructed in brick on the outskirts of town, marked as "F" in Folie's map (Figure 20). In 1773, the Baltimore Baptist population had also grown large enough to construct their first house of worship on the east side of the city in Jones Town. The meeting house was built on the east bank of the Jones Falls River and is marked as "T" on Folie's map (Figure 21). In 1774 the Methodists constructed their first meeting house in East Baltimore, Fells Point, marked "W" in Folie's map (Figure

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<sup>33</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 127.

<sup>34</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 20.

<sup>35</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 19.

<sup>36</sup> Cornelius M. Cuyler, *The Baltimore Co-Cathedral, Minor Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Its History and Description* (Baltimore: Publisher Not Identified, 1951.)



22). Finally, in 1781, the Friends congregation built a second larger Meeting House in the Jones Town area in a Georgian style like the rest of the small town marked as “U” on Folie’s map (Figure 23).

### **1782-1800:**

In this period, the A. P. Folie map from 1792 and the 1799 Charles Varle map will be used in tandem to reinforce the changes happening across the city’s urban landscape (Figure 14, 24). These maps demonstrate that Baltimore was mostly developing to the east, west and south, but not to the north. Baltimore Town’s estimated population in the first Federal Census in 1790 was 13,503 people, more than double that of 1776, placing them just behind New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.<sup>37</sup> At this point, Baltimore’s population eclipsed Maryland’s other port city, Annapolis. The growing populous caused a series of market buildings to pop up in occupied hubs in Baltimore, Jones and Fells Point in the early 1780s, marked as “B”, “R” and “X” in Folie (Figure 25). Baltimore was one of the fastest growing places in the new nation in the 1790s, and the Town’s infrastructure could not keep up with the demand. It’s noted that “outsiders complained that the cost of living was higher than in London, and land values in the bustling harbor are climbed constantly.”<sup>38</sup> The city now had nearly 3,000 houses with almost half being two and a half stories built of brick and the rest of wood. With skyrocketing prices and immigrants moving into the city, diseases, like yellow fever, spread easiest in the slums. In Baltimore, the location of one’s residence was determined by both ethnicity and wealth.

According to Robert Brugger, ethnic Germans tended to live just west of the Jones Falls in the area surrounding the 1755 church building, shown as “L” on Folie (Figure 19). The French Arcadians and San Domingue colony refugees lived on the south-western edge. White construction laborers lived along Bridge Street, which passed from the west side of the Jones to the east (Figure 26). Artisans and laborers lived in the Jones Town area, along with the few Jews of the colony in the 1780s. The Irish also settled in the south-eastern portion of the city on the west side of the falls. Baltimorean settlement patterns were

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<sup>37</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 141.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 132

organized predominantly by ethnicity, and not necessarily strictly divided by wealth. This resulted in a “hodgepodge” pattern of settlement around the city.<sup>39</sup> Two economic dividers existed in the city. The Jones Falls river acted as a barrier between the newer settlers, and the more established families of Baltimore. Buildings to the north were commonly summer residences for elites. The wealthy held a distaste for the lower classes, and those who could afford the luxury built second houses outside the city in a Georgian style. By 1800, about 3,000 African slaves lived in the city, scattered among these elite houses on the north and west side of the city, some in their own lodgings.<sup>40</sup>

With the end of the American Revolution and the writing of the Constitution, established the separation of church and state. This led to the first era of major church construction. Baltimore was an anomaly among the nation’s growing cities. Most cities in the 1790s had one in ten people regularly attending church, whereas Baltimore was resting closer to four in nine nominal churchgoers.<sup>41</sup> It was only since the 1980’s that it became apparent, that the church going population rose from 1650-1850 rather than declined as had been previously put forward by “American political rhetoric from the 1840s to the present...”<sup>42</sup> In turn, four in nine appears as a relatively high outlier in comparison to most cities in America. In the 1780s and 1790s in the wake of gaining true religious freedom, many of the congregations in town either enlarged existing churches or built new structures to accommodate their growing population. In 1784, the Methodist congregation moved into their Light Street meeting house, marked “N” on Folie (Figure 27). Atop a previous 1774 log meeting house, they built a new church. In 1795, it was updated with a brick Federal-style church was built in the west portion of town. Lovely Lane referenced the earlier German Evangelical United Brethren (Otterbein) Church built in 1785 in its construction (Figure 28). Lovely Lane was a two-and-half story brick building with a front facing gable.

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<sup>39</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 144 -145.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 145, and Mariana L. R. Dantas, *Black Townsmen: Urban Slavery and Freedom in the Eighteenth-Century Americas*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.)

<sup>41</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 19

<sup>42</sup> Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990.) 4.

Steps led up to three doorways into the church. This church had no steeple, unlike Otterbein.<sup>43</sup> In the 1790s, the Methodist congregation would grow faster than any other denomination, from fewer than 900 members in 1790 to over 14,000 in the next few decades.

By 1784, the Anglicans finished the third rendition of their church, “H” on Folie (Figure 20). The 1785 Otterbein church, designed by carpenter Jacob Small Sr., was a Georgian-styled meeting house, two stories tall, with large arched windows and a front gable, located in the western portion of town, marked “A” in Folie (Figure 29). An elegant cornice encircled the structure and the two street-facing sides used a Flemish bond. The other two used common (or American) bond. In 1789 a squat square brick tower was added to the front gable with an octagonal belfry. In 1785, the German Reformed congregation built a new church on the Jones Falls, which was damaged by a flood in 1786, marked “S” on Folie’s map, representing “German Calvinists” (Figure 21). They moved to a new location and rebuilt in 1795.

The next major church building project was the First Presbyterian, with church construction starting in 1789 and marked “K” on Folie (Figure 19).<sup>44</sup> The Presbyterians were the largest and wealthiest of the denominations in the city after the Revolutionary War, thanks to the Scotch-Irish merchants having set up good flour and wheat trade with Europe from Baltimore port. In their First Presbyterian Church construction, the building would embody the community’s wealth and status. The church had a dramatic design different from the rest of the current religious buildings in the city and was in the northwestern portion of town right off the river. The building was two stories, with a temple front supported by four Doric columns; on either side of the façade were tall towers with octagonal belfries. In town, these towers could be seen from a distance. The church was massive, able to seat over 1000 people at full capacity. This structure was a statement of the strength of the Scotch-Irish population in town. In 1789 the American branch of the Church of England officially separated forming the Protestant Episcopal Church; in this process the Baltimore St. Paul’s Parish became Episcopalian. Later in 1789, John Carroll was

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<sup>43</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 61.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Hubbard Howland, and Eleanor P Spencer. *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History*. [1st ed. Baltimore:] Johns Hopkins Press, 1953, 1953.] 21.

ordained as the first American bishop for the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholics built another church in this period, St. Patrick's parish, founded in 1792 on the east side of the Jones Falls and built to cater to the working-class Irish and French Catholics living on this side of the river, marked "2" on Varle's map (Figure 30).<sup>45</sup> At the end of the century, the newly formed Swedenborgian religion built its Temple of New Jerusalem in 1799 on the east side of the Jones Falls, marked "17" on Poppleton (Figure 31).<sup>46</sup> The 1792 A. P. Folie map clearly shows the expansion of Baltimore Town since the 1780s maps. In the Folie map, the original three settlements (Baltimore, Jones, and Fells) merge as more blocks were added. Federal Hill was developed on the southern shore of the Potomac. Although building had been happening throughout Baltimore, it was not until the later 1790s that the town earned the name "Monumental city".<sup>47</sup>

What started this population jump through the 1790s into the 1810s? Baltimore as a port city was rapidly growing, with more European immigrants coming every year. The population of Baltimore Town doubled between 1790 and 1800 and then doubled once more between 1800 and 1810.<sup>48</sup> The city's imports and exports surpassed those of Philadelphia at the end of the nineteenth century. Individuals came from Germany, Ireland, Scotland, England, Wales, and France in the period. The largest of these populations were the English and Welsh, followed by Germans and Scotsmen, and finally Irish and French.<sup>49</sup> A second wave of French immigrants came to the city in the 1790s who were fleeing the Haitian revolution, moving into the "French Quarter" of Baltimore. Also, in this decade, French refugees fled the murderous French revolution. The immigrants mostly consisted of French Catholic Sulpicians and others associated with the monarchy. The Sulpicians establish their first seminary in the former Hookstown road

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<sup>45</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 148.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 149.

<sup>47</sup> John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary From 1795 to 1848 Volume 7*. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1874.) 338.

<sup>48</sup> Klaus Wust, *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955; the Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955). 13.

<sup>49</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 12-13.

One-Mile tavern in 1791, marked “A” in Varle (Figure 32).<sup>50</sup> Over the course of the 1790s, the Catholic population triples in size and became the largest single population.<sup>51</sup>

In the 1790s, many large-scale Federal building projects were in the works around the outskirts of town to the north. Also, some wealthy ship captains built large townhouses in the area around the town wharves, following a more delicate classical style than the mid-eighteenth-century Georgian style. With the many building projects happening around town, carpenters, artists, and other craftsmen moved their businesses into Baltimore, and many of the new immigrants were able to pick up labor jobs. It was generally recognized at the time that the French and Germans were some of the best workmen in the city.<sup>52</sup> By 1796 the most abundant occupation listed in the town directory was “house carpenter” followed closely by “masons,” indicating the pace which the city was expanding. Baltimore Town became Baltimore City in 1797, with an estimated population of over 20,000 persons, and over 3,000 houses. Baltimore was one of the most rapidly expanding colonies in the nation after the Revolution, and by 1800 rivaled New York and Philadelphia. Even George Washington, in his 1798 visit, said it was the “[r]isingest town in America.” Baltimore moved into a golden era of construction, and with this came professionally trained architects from Europe.

### **1800-1825:**

With the turn of the nineteenth century and the new City incorporation, came many new maps of the city. The map was first made in 1801, by Warner and Hanna, which published an updated version of the 1799 Varle, and was a Plan of the City of Baltimore and its Environs (Figure 24. 33). The map accurately shows the locations of the major downtown structures and surrounding estate houses and gardens. This was the first of many maps made over the course of the first quarter of the century. All these maps continued to update the changing cityscape and added important structures to the city block

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<sup>50</sup> Gregory A. Wood. *The French Presence in Maryland, 1524-1800*. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1978.) 91-147.

<sup>51</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 20

<sup>52</sup> Daniel W. Nead, *The Pennsylvania-German In the Settlement of Maryland*. (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co, 1975.) 62

references lists. It is also in this last period of significance that the Thomas Poppleton map was officially created to make an updated building plan for the city in 1822 (Figure 4).

The nineteenth century brought big changes for Baltimore City. The population continued to expand at breakneck speeds, reaching 26,614 people in 1800, and then almost doubling to 46,555 people in 1810. In 1815 the population growth of Baltimore slowed, but the city still gained another 16,000 persons. This population increase was thanks to Baltimore's many specialized industries, leading to economic success.<sup>53</sup> The city's exports hit record numbers in 1804, surpassing those in Philadelphia.<sup>54</sup> Between 1790 and 1810 Baltimore's ethnic composition changed completely, which also affected church attendance numbers. In 1799, a law was written that banned the new construction of wooden buildings within the city limits so as to avoid fire. This changed Baltimore's architecture, creating a reliance on brick and stone across the inner city. After the Revolutionary War, Baltimore not only built new structures but also rehabilitated older ones, including Fort McHenry (Figure 34). Baltimore port's expanding infrastructure would invite architects into the heart of the city from around the globe, as well as breed its own legacy of homegrown architects. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Maximillian Godefroy, Robert Mills, Robert Cary Long Sr., and his son Robert Cary Long Jr., who will all be discussed in the following chapters, would shape the city through the building of public and private structures.

One of the earliest projects of the nineteenth century was the 1805 construction started on a new courthouse, marked "D\*" on Poppleton, across the street from the old "courthouse on stilts" marked "H" on the 1801 Warner and Hanna (Figure 35). The new courthouse was designed by local builder/woodworker George Milleman in a Georgian-Federal style. This structure continued the stylistic work from the previous century as well as the reliance on the local builder/craftsman community. By 1800, the Jones Falls had 12 mills along its shores and continued to grow through the coming decades. In the nineteenth century, Baltimore continued to grow rapidly leading to increased church building across

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<sup>53</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 12.

<sup>54</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 175.

the city. In the book *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening* by Terry Bilhartz, Baltimore is called the “religious capital of the young republic.” He also states that this rapid growth would put pressure on the urban religious centers now having to cater to so many different ethnic and status groups located in the city limits.<sup>55</sup>

In Baltimore, the history of the African American Methodist church has some discrepancies, but it's known that white and black tensions were rising at the end of the eighteenth century. Starting in the 1780s, three small African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) congregations broke away from meeting at larger white organizations around the city.<sup>56</sup> Tired of their second-class status in the church, they “broke off from the white-dominated mother denomination...” These Methodists made up “one-seventh of the Baltimore black membership.”<sup>57</sup> The African community made up as much as 18% of Baltimore churchgoers in the early nineteenth century.<sup>58</sup> American church goes were mostly made up of Roman Catholic, Methodist or Episcopal religions. The three congregations which broke away were Strawberry Alley in 1785, Lovely Lane in 1787, and Sharpe Street, with an official date unknown but listed at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Sources agree that in the 1780s and ‘90s, most A.M.E. congregations met in people’s homes, and the first churches were not built until after the turn of the century.<sup>60</sup>

The first known black church built is believed to be in 1802, on Sharp Street, marked as “22” on Poppleton, and would come to include the first African School (Figure 36). This is reinforced in an 1803 directory that lists a single “African” church.<sup>61</sup> More commonly, the A.M.E. churches would rent spaces from other denominations or re-use buildings which has been churches for other congregations, like the old Lutheran church on Fish Street. This Fish Street building was purchased in 1816 and formed the Bethel A.M.E. congregation, marked “23” on Poppleton (Figure 37). On Poppleton’s map, there are four

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<sup>55</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 13.

<sup>56</sup> Ethel H. Russaw, *Call the Roll: Laity in the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2011.) 2.

<sup>57</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 32.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 32.

<sup>59</sup> James Handy, A. *Scraps of African Methodist Episcopal History*. (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern, 1902.) 24.

<sup>60</sup> Griffith, T. W. [from old catalog]. *Annals of Baltimore*. (1833, 1833.) 128.

<sup>61</sup> William Fry, Cornelius William Stafford, and John Mullin. *The Baltimore Directory for: Containing the Names, Occupations, and Places of Abode of the Citizens*, (Baltimore: Printed for the Editor by Warner & Hanna. 1803.) 74.

listed African American Churches, “20”, “21”, “22”, and “23” (Figure 36, 27, and 28). Buildings “20”, “21” and “23” are located in historically poorer regions of town. Building “22,” on the other hand, is located mid-city but still outside the historic heart.

In 1806, the reliance on the local builder and craftsmen started to change in favor of European trained architects for many of the city’s larger scale projects. In 1806, St. Patrick’s Cathedral in Fell’s Point was built, marked “R” on Poppleton (Figure 39). Soon after in 1806, the French Sulpicians started work on St. Mary’s church and seminary with architect Maximillian Godefroy, which will be discussed in Chapter Two. Also discussed in Chapter Two is the 1806 Benjamin Henry Latrobe-designed Baltimore Catholic Cathedral. This would be Latrobe’s first commission in the city of Baltimore. In 1808, shortly after construction of the Cathedral had started and St. Mary’s had been finished, two local builders began the Zion German Lutheran Church. This unique church is discussed further in Chapter Three.

In 1808, Elizabeth Anne Seton founded the first female academy in the city: St. Mary’s Seminary.<sup>62</sup> In 1810, Godefroy would also build his next commission in the city, the Commercial and Farmer Bank, marked “G\*” on Poppleton (Figure 40). In 1812, local builder turned architect Robert Cary Long Sr. would begin work on the University Maryland College of Medicine building, named Davidge Hall, marked “H\*” on Poppleton (Figure 41). The building was a domed structure with a front columned portico following the Neoclassical tradition. Long’s most well-known structure was the St. Paul’s Protestant Episcopal Church started in 1810, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

This first decade of booming progression across the city caused competition to build the best structures. Unfortunately, this boom would falter in the 1810s with the War of 1812 consuming its first half. Much of the architectural construction came to virtual a halt in 1812. Baltimore would play an important role in the War defending the nation from the British at Fort McHenry. The British called Baltimore “the nest of pirates,” as many of the city’s merchants took up arms with their own ships to

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<sup>62</sup> Gregory A. Wood. *The French Presence in Maryland, 1524-1800*. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1978.) 152.



defend the city.<sup>63</sup> Nearing the end of the War, some construction would continue in the city. In 1814 the Peale Museum, designed by Robert Cary Long Sr., was opened on Holliday street where a collection of oddities was displayed. In 1815 the United States would come to a victory. Shortly after, two monuments were started in the city's center. First was the Battle Monument, in remembrance of the Battle at North Point.<sup>64</sup> The second, designed by Robert Mills, was the first monument to George Washington in the United States.

In 1816, Thomas Poppleton was hired to create a new survey and map of the city, now expanded to ten square miles. His map is the central catalyst for this study. What makes Poppleton's map so spectacular are that small vignettes of the most important buildings in the city depicted around the border. The plan created a grid of streets indicating main, side and alleys around town. This hierarchy of streets also indicated the hierarchy of houses built, with the larger, more elite on the main thoroughfare streets, and immigrant housing relegated to alleys and side streets. Poppleton himself was an engineer-surveyor who would document and map every street and landmark building in the town.

In 1812-14, Godefroy had started work on the Masonic Hall of Baltimore, marked as "K\*" on Poppleton (Figure 42). It would not be finished until after 1819 due to the War. Godefroy and Latrobe would come to work together on their next commission for the 1815 Baltimore Exchange building marked "F\*" on Poppleton (Figure 43). Here their talents and designs would be combined into one structure. The last of the great churches in this period of significance were started in 1817. Of these, the First Independent (Unitarian) Church, marked as "N" on Poppleton, will be further discussed in Chapter Five (Figure 44). The First Baptist church by Robert Mills, which appeared as a Roman domed church, is marked "C" on Poppleton (Figure 45). In 1824, Baltimore's population had risen to about 70,000 people and reached 80,620 by the 1830 census, resting as the third largest city in America behind New York and Philadelphia.

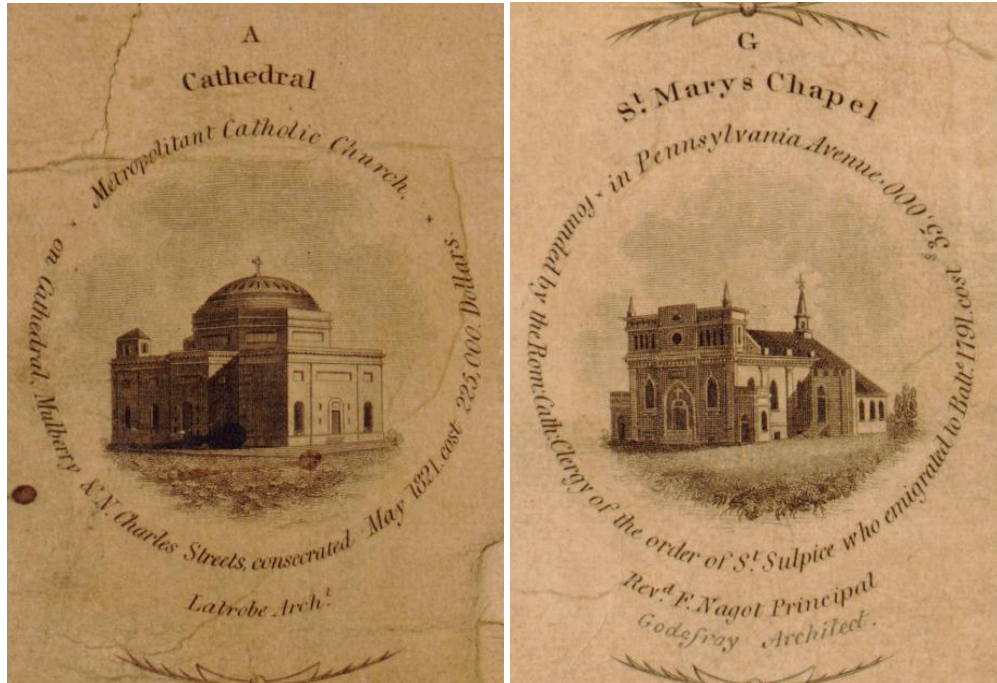
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<sup>63</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). 67.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 68.

Over two centuries of history, the City of Baltimore has long been home to a complicated legacy of struggle for religious prominence and power. By the nineteenth century, the city had amassed a wealth of people, knowledge, and culture, contributing to the designs of the buildings which would decorate its streets at the turn of the century. These buildings of the past and the present would influence the nineteenth-century architects as the city of Baltimore came into its own. Many who would come to visit the city over the following decades of the nineteenth century would complement the architects of the previous era for creating the city on the hill.

## Chapter 2: Catholic Architecture of Baltimore



Plan of the City of Baltimore. Thomas H. Poppleton, 1822; Vignette A & G of the Catholic Cathedral, and St. Mary's Chapel

The tumultuous social foundations of the Catholic religion in Maryland shaped the prejudiced treatment of the denomination for the next two centuries. This inegalitarian treatment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shaped the decisions the Catholics made during the nineteenth century when they started their first large scale building projects. Matthew Edward Gallegos' 2002 University of Virginia dissertation will be used as a key reference in this chapter. Gallegos studied Roman Catholics in Baltimore between 1789 and 1850, discussing how the political and religious landscape of the city, as well as European theological and architectural traditions, influenced the construction of the Baltimore Cathedral under the direction of Bishop John Carroll. In this study, Gallegos' information will act as a starting point, demonstrating a common narrative of the origins of Catholic architecture. In the following chapters, this information is put in conversation with Baltimore City's Protestant architecture. Through this comparison, relative identity in the Baltimore urban landscape will be revealed. As mentioned previously, church buildings in the nineteenth century is a manifestation of each denomination's group identity. In this way, this chapter will determine the social constructs and conditions that shaped the

stylistic and situational choices for Baltimore's Catholic architecture. What in their history, or period circumstances, led to these decisions, what would they have meant?

To escape religious persecution in England, the Maryland charter, approved by King Charles I in the 1630s, founded a religiously free proprietary colony governed by the Catholic Calverts. The practice of Catholicism was banned, due to the Crown's official support of the Church of England. Although Catholics were a minority in the colonies, they strived to create a place of peace in the New World. St. Mary's City, founded in 1632, was Maryland's first city. The Tolerance Act of 1649 established religious liberty for all those in the province. The colony lived in a brief period of peace before the Act was permanently revoked in 1692, four years after England's Glorious Revolution.<sup>65</sup> This Revolution caused turmoil for the Catholics because Catholic-sympathizing King James II was removed and replaced with Protestant monarchs William and Mary.

Without the support of the King, the still Catholic-leaning Maryland colony was in trouble.<sup>66</sup> Lord Baltimore attempted to contact the new monarchs, but his letter never arrived.<sup>67</sup> The Monarchy took this as a snub to their rule, and in 1691 declared Maryland a Royal Province, thus falling under Anglican control. This was assisted by the Maryland Protestant Revolution in 1689, also known as Coode's Rebellion, in which Maryland's growing Protestant majority came to blows with the Catholic Calverts over politics and religion.<sup>68</sup> In 1689, John Coode led an army of Protestants, displeased with Calvert's apparent lack of support for the protestant monarchs, against Colonel Henry Darnell and his army of Catholics. The Catholics outnumbered, surrendered to Coode. Shortly after in 1702, the Church of England became the established religion, forcing the Catholics into hiding. Between 1689 and 1715 a series of laws put in place prohibited Catholics from holding office, practicing law, or worshiping in public. Much of this hostility came from the idea that the Pope, and not the King, ruled the Catholic mind.

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<sup>65</sup> C. Ernest Smith, *Religion under the Barons of Baltimore; Being a Sketch of Ecclesiastical Affairs from the Founding of the Maryland Colony in 1634 to the Formal Establishment of the Church of England in 1692*. (Baltimore: E. Allen Lycett, 1899.) 3.

<sup>66</sup> Edward D. Neill, *Terra Mariæ: Or, Threads of Maryland Colonial History* (Salem, MA: Higginson Book, 1997.) 142.

<sup>67</sup> Antoinette Patricia Sutto, *Loyal Protestants and Dangerous Papists: Maryland and the Politics of Religion in the English Atlantic, 1630-1690*. (Charlottesville, London: University of Virginia Press, 2015.) Chap. 3, p. 40.

<sup>68</sup> Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Press, 1996.) 799.

Catholics found some safety in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Baltimore Town. The old Warehouse city flourished after the Revolutionary War in the 1770s and 80s.<sup>69</sup> The Catholic presence in Baltimore is determined through the construction of their religious architecture. Before the American Revolution in 1770, the Catholics only built one church. Prior to this most Catholic worship occurred in private homes. In the eighteenth century, the Catholic population grew larger thanks to English, French, and German settlers. One of the earliest migrations to Baltimore were the French in the 1750s. The French Acadians, at the start of the French and Indian War, fled British Control under Col. Charles Lawrence in Nova Scotia.<sup>70</sup> This migration was particularly important, with the historical precedent for unrest between the French and English home countries. These views translated to seventeenth-century Maryland, where in the 1680s-90s, English settlers had anti-French sentiments and suspicion due to the negative political and religious climate in Europe.<sup>71</sup>

At the beginning of the War in 1755, Canada expelled some 11,000 Acadians to America, Britain, and France. Maryland, during the “Grand Derangement,” took in an estimated 1,000 French Catholic Acadians into the Annapolis and Baltimore Town. Many moved into Baltimore’s southwest portion of town, then called “French Town,” near their original docking location.<sup>72</sup> This area on Poppleton’s map is located between Charles and Light streets within Old Town Baltimore; colored red by Poppleton (Figure 46). Like in the 1680s-90s, suspicions arose over the French, and British closely observed French Acadian Catholic worshipers and priests.<sup>73</sup> While suspicion and anti-Acadian and anti-Catholic propaganda was still present in Maryland, they fared somewhat better in Maryland than in some of the other thirteenth colonies due to the historic Catholic presence. Shunned at first, the Acadians, by the 1760s, found their place in the city through its expanding trade and merchant networks.<sup>74</sup> Upon their arrival, those who did not settle in “French Town” set up a temporary residence and chapel a few blocks

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<sup>69</sup> Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Press, 1996.) 799.

<sup>70</sup> Gregory A. Wood. *The French Presence in Maryland, 1524-1800*. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1978.) 65.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 30.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 62.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. 68.

<sup>74</sup> Carl A. Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginnings of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765-1803*. Louisiana pbk. ed. (Baton Rouge, London: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.) 35-37.

north in “Mr. Fotteralls deserted house” at the corner of Charles and Fayette streets on Poppleton’s map (Figure 12).<sup>75</sup> This temporary chapel is the “beginning of public services by the Romanists in St. Paul’s Parish.”<sup>76</sup>

After the French and Indian War, in 1770, Catholics built their first church in Baltimore, Old St. Peter’s. Built by local builder-architect John McNabb, and the church was located on Saratoga and Little Sharp Streets, marked “F” on Folie’s 1792 map. (Figure 20) This was on the northwestern outskirts of the city about one block northwest of the 1730 St. Paul’s Anglican church, marked “H” on Folie (Figure 20). The building was small and plain in appearance, blending in with the rest of the town’s architecture. The exterior of the building looked like other typical brick Georgian houses of the period because the Catholics did not want to be apparent to their Protestant neighbors. The building was red-brick, rectangular in plan, measuring 20ft by 30ft, two stories high, with no external ornamentation to indicate that it was a religious structure.<sup>77</sup>

The only known images of St. Peter’s are early nineteenth century paintings. In an 1801 Thomas Ruckle painting shows Old St. Peter’s and Old St. Paul’s side by side. (Figure 47) In 1784, the Catholic church had a rear addition, and rectory attached perpendicularly, to make room for the expanding congregation. In the 1801 painting, the church looks brick with white painted trim around the roofline. This image only shows the south and west sides of the structure. In the Maryland Historical Society’s 2016 rendering of the building, c. 1815, it more clearly shows the north and west sides.<sup>78</sup> (Figure 48) Francis Guy’s *View of Baltimore from Chapel Hill*, proves this render true showing the north and east sides of the structure. (Figure 49) The 2016 rendering more clearly shows the building’s two stories and west off-center entrance. The building is three bays wide on the west side, and two on the north. On the north, there are two first floor windows, and one tripartite-arch Palladian window in the gable. The

<sup>75</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen’s Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul’s Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society.) 94.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas W. Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1989*. (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.)

<sup>78</sup> “Early Baltimore,” Early Baltimore, accessed December 17, 2018, <http://bearings.earlybaltimore.org/>.

Cathedral, in this study, was eventually built one block north on Charles Street, “A” on the Poppleton map, and Old St. Peter’s was demolished in 1841.<sup>79</sup>

In the 1790s, a second and third wave of French emigre came to Baltimore. In the wake of the Haitian Revolution, hundreds of French Creoles fled to the States, many coming to Baltimore where the Acadians had found refuge just decades before. The final wave was due to the French Revolution, in which the Republic overthrew the monarchy.<sup>80</sup> The Catholic Sulpicians, as well as other supporters of the church, fled in fear of death under the new government. American Bishop John Carroll invited the monks to Baltimore after receiving a letter asking for a safe haven. Upon their arrival in 1791, they bought the One Mile Tavern building, located in the undeveloped northwest part of town. This would become the new French Quarter, or “Seton Hill,” as it is called today, and is found on the left uppermost corner of the 1792 Folie map. (Figure 50) The tavern became St. Mary’s Seminary College in 1799.<sup>81</sup> After the arrival of the Sulpicians, Bishop Carroll and his Assembly decided to build a new Cathedral to replace St. Peter’s, as well as a Seminary. In 1789, Pope Pius VI appointed Carroll the first American Catholic Bishop and chose Baltimore as the location of the first American diocese due to its history of Catholicism and religious tolerance.<sup>82</sup>

Before the Cathedral and St. Mary’s Chapel, there was no true American precedent for Catholic church architecture. Old St. Peter’s existed, but it followed the customs of most early American meetinghouses. All other Catholic buildings were in Europe. For the Catholics, the church was a space which promoted focused attention to the divine and facilitated religious ritual activity.<sup>83</sup> These spaces gave a sense of power, both social and divine, and with “every sacred space implies a hierophany.”<sup>84</sup> Catholics believed that the Lord was present in the Eucharist, which brought them closer to the Lord. This

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<sup>79</sup> Cornelius M. Cuyler, *The Baltimore Co-Cathedral, Minor Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Its History and Description* (Baltimore: Publisher Not Identified, 1951.) 1803.

<sup>80</sup> *Cathedral Records from the Beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Catholic Mirror Pub. Co.: Baltimore, 1906.) 7.

<sup>81</sup> Thomas R. Ulshafer, *The Life and times of François-Charles Nagot, P.S.S.: Founding Superior of the Sulpicians in the U.S.* (United States: Associated Sulpicians of the U.S., 2016.) 90.

<sup>82</sup> *Cathedral Records from the Beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Catholic Mirror Pub. Co.: Baltimore, 1906.) 14.

<sup>83</sup> Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.) 3.

<sup>84</sup> Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5.

meant that for Catholics, the church was the earthly manifestation of God and Heaven. According to Mathew Edward Gallegos' 2002 dissertation, the Catholic church followed a set of building protocols to create this presence.

Mathew Gallegos introduces Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones* to break down his understanding of the representation of the Catholic Church. This book was originally written in Latin in 1577 and had over thirty chapters explaining how and where a Catholic church should be constructed.<sup>85</sup> The church clergy would have been fluent in Latin and understood the work.<sup>86</sup> Thirty chapters specifically on church design outline location, size, plan, where bells and doors should be located, how many of these features, and the decoration both for the interior and exterior. Some regulations included placing the church on an elevated location, natural when possible, away from commercial areas, and free standing. The Latin or cruciform plan was preferred, and the sanctuary must face east. Gallegos explains that *Instructiones* would have provided the ideas for Bishop Carroll to hire Benjamin Henry Latrobe to design and build the Cathedral as it looks today. Although Gallegos is correct in saying the Clergy and Bishop would have been able to read *Instructiones* in its original Latin, there is no evidence proving that this book was in the Cathedral's or Carroll's library. In Gallegos' own study he states that:

The document's publication history and the authority of official Church decrees such as those derived from the *Instructiones*, establish that the ecclesiastical elite such as Carroll were familiar with the publication or with the ideas it contained.<sup>87</sup>

Although this is a fair point, the lack of citation or explanation for the *Instructiones*' "publication history" in the United States, and lack of direct reference to any instance of Bishop Carroll's own documents containing language from the *Instructiones*, destabilizes his argument's veracity. There is no certainty that this book would have directed Carroll's decisions.

It is not certain that any copies of the *Instructiones* existed in America, let alone the state of Maryland, in 1800. There are currently no records of Carroll or the church owning the book, and records

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<sup>85</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 40.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 147.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.



of the book's print and distribution history in American have not been published. In the United States, it was not until 1797 that the first American book on architecture, Asher Benjamin's *The Country Builder's Assistant*, was published. Re-prints of earlier British builder's guides and architectural books were present as early as 1786, like John Norman's *Town and Country Builder's Assistant. Instructiones* would have been printed in Latin, as an English copy was not translated until 1857 in London. Based on these facts, the assumption that Carroll, in fact, owned a copy of the book *Instructiones* does not seem to be true. Gallegos wrote in a later paper that "Until the late 1960s the architecture and furnishings of most Catholic churches throughout the world were consistent with the *Instructiones*' directives."<sup>88</sup> This statement from Gallegos can imply two different conclusions. First is Gallegos' own argument, the assertion that that Bishop Carroll had to have used *Instructiones* in the construction of his Cathedral simply because the building looks like almost every other Catholic Church in the world. The alternative is that Bishop Carroll may never have seen *Instructiones*, but would have seen other Catholic architecture across Europe where he was educated from the age of thirteen, and lived until he was almost forty. Carroll spent over thirty years living and learning in Europe. After thirty years, there is no doubt that the surrounding architecture and culture would have had an influence on Carroll's perception, and in turn, influenced his choice in church architecture in America.

In 1795, the Catholics made up 7% of the Baltimore's 44% church-going population, and the Maryland Assembly approved of the construction of a new church.<sup>89</sup> The first lot the church chose was on the east side of the Jones Fall's River, as opposed to near Old St. Peters on the hill. The new lot was in the heart of the city on Queen (Pratt) and Exeter Streets. For the second half of the seventeenth century, Baltimore had been expanding only to the south, west, and east, and not at all to the north, as seen in the 1799 Varle map of the city (Figure 24). Due to this, a majority of their population would have lived near Exeter and Queen. Shortly after the decision was rescinded, the plot was sold, and a new one was

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<sup>88</sup> Gallegos, Matthew. "Articles | Charles Borromeo and Catholic Tradition." The Institute for Sacred Architecture. Accessed April 14, 2019.

<sup>89</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 127.

purchased in 1805 from John Eager Howard, with the assistance of church subscriptions from the congregation and French Sulpicians.<sup>90</sup> The new lot was in the new fashionable part of town, to the north back at the top of the hill. Baltimore was well-known for its stunning topography in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with its most defining feature being a hill on the northern side of the city. It was here where many of the elite families built their second homes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Evidence of these old homes and their gardens can be seen in the 1799 Varle map (Figure 24). By the nineteenth century, many of the city's elite still lived on or just beyond this hill, and their upper-class status would redefine this district as fashionable because of their influence. Baltimore's population rivaled that of New York and Philadelphia in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and in response, the city began to expand in all directions, including finally to the north.<sup>91</sup> Many period paintings of the city would be made from or towards this hill.<sup>92</sup> The hill became the location much of prominent church architecture, with artists like Francis Guy naming it "Chapel Hill" (Figure 49).

This Cathedral on the hill was to be the face of the Catholic Church in the United States, and this played heavily into its planning and design. To help pay for the building, subscriptions and a lottery system for the church's pews were bought by congregation members. Trustee members purchased most of the subscriptions, as that wanted their input on the church's final layout.<sup>93</sup> The trustees believed that the design of the church embodied the values of its members. The first-choice builder for the project was Dr. William Thornton, an untrained gentleman architect, who had been working on the design and construction of the Washington D.C. Capitol building. A series of letters between Benjamin Henry Latrobe and Carroll paints a picture of Thornton's intended design. In 1804 Thornton made his first sketch while he was working on the D.C. Capitol. The design was to be a cross-plan with a large dome, using the Neoclassical style, with a series of fifty-four 30-foot columns. One of Latrobe's companions in

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<sup>90</sup> Thomas R. Ulshafer, *The Life and times of François-Charles Nagot, P.S.S.: Founding Superior of the Sulpicians in the U.S.* (United States: Associated Sulpicians of the U.S., 2016.) 90

<sup>91</sup> Mary Ellen. Hayward and Frank R. Shivers, *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). 69.

<sup>92</sup> *Cathedral Records from the Beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Catholic Mirror Pub. Co.: Baltimore, 1906.) 22.

<sup>93</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America.* (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 130.

Maryland, Louis de Mun, sent Thornton's designs to Latrobe in 1804.<sup>94</sup> After seeing Thornton's design, Latrobe offered his services to the project free of cost because he saw quite a few problems in the engineering, similar to what happened at the U.S. Capitol building. Some of his critiques included that dome on the crossing had inadequate support, and the columns alone would cost the church over \$54,000.<sup>95</sup>

Latrobe was a London trained architect living and working in the United States at the close of the eighteenth century. Latrobe's earliest education came from an apprenticeship in London. Although he spent his formative years in Germany, most of his architectural inspiration came from his time in London. After the death of his wife and his financial ruin in London, he arrived in America in 1796.<sup>96</sup> Upon his arrival in America, Thomas Jefferson took note of his talents and invited him to work on his Capitol project. Latrobe became familiar with Baltimore while he was searching for stone to use for the Virginia Capitol. Latrobe's work on the Baltimore Cathedral would become his most well-known building project. At the start of the project, Latrobe created two designs, one Gothic and one Roman (Figure 51 & 52).<sup>97</sup> Both designs were given to Carroll, who favored the Roman design, in opposition to Latrobe who favored his Gothic. Latrobe used known Catholic Liturgy in both of his designs of the cathedral, including elements like the "light of God" coming from the windows located around the Roman dome's skylights.<sup>98</sup> Latrobe included a letter of explanation where he "remarks on the proposed erection and on the designs submitted."<sup>99</sup>

The letters between Latrobe and Carroll, show the intent in Latrobe's designs to appease the Catholic Clergy. The gothic design was described as:

A Cathedral of the Latin Church has a prescribed form, form from which that propriety, which ought to be uniform in the practice, to produce that respect which is always given to consistency – does not permit the architect to deviate.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe: The Man and the Architect* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1942.) 234.

<sup>95</sup> *Cathedral Records from the Beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Catholic Mirror Pub. Co.: Baltimore, 1906.) 30.

<sup>96</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward and Frank R. Shivers, *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 70.

<sup>97</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 135.

<sup>98</sup> Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe: The Man and the Architect* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1942), 234.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. 234.

<sup>100</sup> Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe: The Man and the Architect* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1942), 236.

The first section of the letter Latrobe shows his choice to follow the “consistency” of Catholic Church architecture, which he would have encountered during training in Europe. Based on this original design, the church would measure 177 ft in length, making it a huge edifice in young Baltimore’s landscape. Although large for the city, the design would have been “a small dimension, compared to the length of any European Cathedral with which I am acquainted.”<sup>101</sup> The second proposed design Latrobe called “Roman,” and was squat compared to his Gothic design. “In the second design, I have very considerably contracted the length of the nave, the style of the building admitting it better than that of No. 1” this design would have only been a total of 141 ft end to end.<sup>102</sup>

After commenting on the dimensions of each church, Latrobe explains each design’s style in his own terms. Of his Gothic design, Latrobe states that:

The Veneration which the Gothic cathedrals generally excite..., by their peculiar style, - by the associations belonging peculiarly to that style, and by the real grandeur, & beauty which it possesses, has induced me to propose the Gothic style of building in the first design submitted to you.<sup>103</sup>

He similarly explains the Roman design saying that “the Gothic style... is impractical to the uses of common life, while Greek & Roman architecture has descended from the most magnificent temples to the decoration of our meanest furniture.”<sup>104</sup> Latrobe left the final choice to Carroll and his trustees. The Roman option was chosen but underwent another five iterations before the cornerstone was laid in 1806. Once the building project was underway, Baltimore locals were chosen to oversee the project. The builder, one of the Cathedral trustees, was John Hillen, and the project’s clerk was George Rohrbeck. Both men were of German descent.<sup>105</sup> It took fifteen years before the cathedral was completed, mostly due to the interruption of the War of 1812, which halted all work until 1817. Even after the building was consecrated in 1821, the front porch and towers remained unfinished until the 1830s.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Benjamin Henry Latrobe to Bishop John Carroll, April 27, 1805

<sup>104</sup> Benjamin Henry Latrobe to Bishop John Carroll, April 27, 1805

<sup>105</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward and Frank R. Shivers, *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). 71.

The cathedral was made of local granite from Ellicott City, and the final design was a cruciform structure.<sup>106</sup> The front portico faced Cathedral Street and had an Ionic order pediment. (Figure 52) Just behind the pediment are a series of three domes, the first small, proceeding the largest central dome, and finally a third small dome on the rear. This largest dome gave the building its distinctive and dominating appearance on the Baltimore landscape. Leading up to the Ionic columns are stairs spanning the whole front façade. There are many large arched windows on the ground floor of the structure, as well as smaller windows; skylights, located at the top of the dome for added illumination. The cathedral's sanctuary was enlarged in 1879 and an apse was added in 1880. The interior lost much of its original context during later renovations but has been righted by a 2006 project which restored the interior to Latrobe-era colors and paintings. Finally, there is a vaulted crypt which was unburied in 2006 and uncovered the building's intricate support system.

The second structure of importance in Maryland's nineteenth-century Catholic landscape is St. Mary's Seminary Chapel. (Figure 53) Although a much smaller work, it is still of high importance to the national landscape. The St. Mary's Seminary Chapel was built for the French Sulpicians émigré in Baltimore, and is marked as "G" on Poppleton (Figure 54).<sup>107</sup> It was determined at the end of the eighteenth century that if Catholicism was going to have a firm foothold in the new country, there needed to be a location to train new clergy members. The French Revolution in the 1790s brought the Sulpicians to Maryland. The Sulpicians noted at the time of their arrival Baltimore, "...had only about 15,000 inhabitants and no significant architecture."<sup>108</sup> In comparison to Paris, Baltimore would have been small and unassuming. In 1791, head of St. Mary's Seminary, Francois-Charles Nagot, wrote letters to other Sulpicians stating he was "focusing their energy entirely on the building of a spiritual edifice."<sup>109</sup> Through this seminary, he intended to create a new Saint-Sulpice to replace the one lost in Paris. The biggest

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<sup>106</sup> National Register of historic Places, Old Roman Catholic Cathedral (Basilica of the Assumption), Baltimore, Maryland, National Register #69-10-19-0010. 2.

<sup>107</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 182.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas R. Ulshafer, *The Life and times of François-Charles Nagot, P.S.S.: Founding Superior of the Sulpicians in the U.S.* (United States: Associated Sulpicians of the U.S., 2016.) 87.

<sup>109</sup> Thomas R. Ulshafer, *The Life and times of François-Charles Nagot, P.S.S.: Founding Superior of the Sulpicians in the U.S.* (United States: Associated Sulpicians of the U.S., 2016), 95.

problem during the Seminary's first ten years was low attendance, and in 1800 Bishop Carroll pointed out the need to build a college to compete with those in Europe where the Americans had been enrolling. The establishment of a college would feed new seminarians to the American Catholic institutions.

Other issues which lead to low American enrollment was the changing opinion of the French during the 1790s. At the start of the French Revolution, most American citizens supported the spirit of the revolution but were soon shocked by the violence which followed in 1792. By 1793, when France had declared War on most of Europe, George Washington declared America neutral, breaking the contract from the American Revolution. The French Revolution also spurred slave revolts in Haiti, leading to the eventual loss of the colony for the French, because of the loss of American support. Many of the Haitian would flee to America. Even with these unfavorable conditions, the Sulpicians moved forward in planning their Seminary Chapel in the nineteenth century. The chapel was designed by Maximilian Godefroy who was born and trained as an architect-engineer in Paris, France, where he lived and worked until his capture in 1803 by the French Revolutionary police.<sup>110</sup> He was released nineteen months later in 1805 and escaped to the United States. Once in America, he came to work at Baltimore's St. Mary's Seminary College as a director of architecture, and soon after started his first American building commission, the St. Mary's Seminary Chapel. Although Godefroy was still new to the city when he started his commission in 1806, he would have been well aware of other building projects happening across the city.

The Chapel Godefroy designed in 1806 had a 90ft by 70ft rectangular plan and was made of local brick in a Gothic-revival style (Figure 53). The building is three bays wide, four bays deep, one-and-a-half stories high, and has a gable roofline. Most interesting is that all windows and doors have pointed arches giving a Gothic appearance. The "neo-gothic false front" façade is the building's most impressive attribute, looking as if it was stuck onto the nave of the building.<sup>111</sup> Due to this awkward appearance,

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<sup>110</sup> Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 3.

<sup>111</sup> National Register of Historic Places, St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, Baltimore, Maryland, National Register #1024-0018

some evidence suggests this façade may have been built onto an earlier gable fronted building.<sup>112</sup> The main door, topped with a gothic key, into the nave is centrally planned and is reached by walking up a flight of stairs. On either side of the door is an engaged column made of molded bricks. These columns are mirrored on each corner end of the front façade. On either side of the door is a gothic arched niche. The chapel has an intricate cornice line using a gothic design around the whole of the structure. Above the cornice is a rectangular parapet supported by rear flying-buttressing. This parapet has a singular central window flanked by twelve gothic arched lancets. This parapet shields the gable roof of the nave from view. On either side of the front façade are small square architectural elements. Each has a pointed-arch doorway and intricate diamond detailing. The east face of the church was rounded for the apse. The structure finally finished in 1808 differed from Godefroy's original drawings, with many details removed by the Sulpicians during construction including statues, and extra ornamentation on the façade, as a way to save cost. The original design also included pink, yellow, and blue glazing, and an "M" located over the doorway as a representation of Mary.<sup>113</sup>

After reviewing the history and appearance of both the Cathedral and Chapel, the drastically different architectural approaches of two Catholic buildings in the same city architecture becomes apparent and curious. What social constructs led to the choices made by each congregation, and how do they compare to the rest of the city's religious denominations? Regarding the design of the Cathedral, when choosing between Gothic and Roman Classical, there was more than aesthetics on the agenda. The Catholic Church wanted to present a united front and be seen as unimposing to the Protestants of Baltimore. The conscious choice of style and location needed to convey both a symbolic and practical applications for the church's identity. This building would not just represent Catholics' identity at the moment of creation, but far into the future.

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<sup>112</sup> Alexander, Robert L. *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.) 42

<sup>113</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 182.

As mentioned at the start of the study, Gallegos' 2002 dissertation serves as a starting point and demonstrates a now-common narrative of the origins of Catholic architecture. Gallegos presented the Cathedral, the architect Latrobe, and commissioner Bishop Carroll in a single conversation as an attempt to find an architectural meaning. Gallegos used Borromeo's *Instructiones* as Carroll's influence. Gallegos found that the Baltimore Cathedral followed many of these criteria. This study agrees that items aligning with *Instructiones* are present, but are not taken specifically from Carroll's reading of Borromeo's doctrine, but instead came from Carroll's and Latrobe's own knowledge of Catholic architecture through their European travels and study. The second part of Gallegos' argument is that the church encompasses the new American architectural ideals, and uses Protestant church planning in its design to blend into the "aesthetic and social accommodation" of the American landscape.<sup>114</sup>

Catholics would have held a marginal status during the planning of the Cathedral, and Gallegos' argument shows them appearing less intimidating to the Protestants by blending in with the rest of the public buildings. The Catholics used Neoclassical as a means to project an American identity on to the rest of the city. The design would have likely taken influences from the U.S. Capitol building, and Thomas Jefferson's Virginia Capitol. Both buildings would have been known by Latrobe, and likely Carroll as well. These set a precedent for the American aesthetic using classical principles of hierarchy and embracing Anglo-Palladianism, French Neoclassical and progressive Neoclassical styles.<sup>115</sup> The Bishop wanted the church to look American and the Neoclassical embraced these ideas. If Bishop Carroll had chosen Gothic, there was a chance it would have come across as too Catholic, and be read as the Pope infiltrating the new nation, due to the Gothic style's strong association with early Medieval Catholicism. The final point Gallegos brings up is that the Cathedral uses elements of the "Protestant Plain Style" particularly in the interior layout.<sup>116</sup> According to Gallegos, Protestant plain buildings had gable ended temple front façades, with the pediment as a focal point and no portico. Above the portico, a singular bell

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<sup>114</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 292.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* 132.

<sup>116</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 127



tower or spire sat on the gable's ridge. Inside these buildings would be a single unified space, have no iconography in favor of text on the walls, and maybe a cross. The Cathedral incorporated these principles through minimal devotional imagery, and no defined separation between nave and sanctuary creating the same unified space according to Gallegos.<sup>117</sup>

This study offers one final layer of analysis of Catholic architecture which Gallegos does not cover. The argument agrees with Gallegos that the Catholic church, trying to appear unthreatening to the Protestants, used Neoclassical architecture to look American. By creating this single American Neoclassical identity, Carroll's architecture segregated the non-English speaking sects of Catholicism from the church, in turn creating a church of English-American identity. Why was this? To the Protestant observer, the Neoclassical design emits an embracement of the new post-Revolution American English-speaking identity. Unfortunately, in using Neoclassical rather than Gothic, Carroll did not unify the Catholic church but instead divided its members. His own fear of retaliation from the English Protestants in the city denied him the ability to embrace a Catholic religious identity, instead choosing an American nationalistic identity. The American identity he chose derived only from the English-speaking context, and did not include any of the other various European ethnicities who attended Old St. Peter's in the eighteenth century. In John Tracey Ellis' book, he touches on immigration and the Catholic church in the mid-nineteenth century. After the American Revolution, the Catholic population started to grow rapidly, and the current British priests could no longer keep up. In turn, congregations had to turn to "foreign" born Frenchmen or "erratic" Irishmen to give their sermons.<sup>118</sup> These new priests spoke in broken English and gave non-traditional sermons, which concerned the devout English-speaking churchgoers.<sup>119</sup> Perhaps, if the church had grown more naturally, instead of rapidly, the following issues may never have happened.

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid. 195.

<sup>118</sup> John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics In Colonial America*. (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965.) 49.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. 49-50.

Strains from the growing population led to issues within the various Catholic European ethnicities which worshiped at St. Peter's. Ellis believes that even with these differences and strains, the Catholic church was able to move forward becoming one American community by the mid-nineteenth century, while still holding onto their non-American lineage through the church's schools, charity and press.<sup>120</sup> In a second study, Terry Bilhartz claims that Bishop Carroll was also known for his "community spirit" and "ardent nationalism."<sup>121</sup> Bilhartz also notes that the influx of Santo Dominican Catholic refugees to Baltimore in the 1790s constituted an uncomfortably large population of immigrants for the Protestants of Baltimore.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Catholicism was banned by the established Church of England, Catholics had to worship in private either within their own homes or with a small group of trusted families. Although in hiding, this was a period of peace for the Catholics. As the population grew, Old St. Peter's was built to allow a more to come together for worship in the unassuming building. All Catholics in Baltimore City peacefully worshiped St. Peter's from 1770 until 1790. Even though the Catholic population was made up of people from many countries including England, Ireland, Germany, and France, there are no recorded problems within the church. By the 1790s the Catholic population had tripled in size, leaving St. Peter's crowded. At this point Baltimore's small Catholic parishes emerge around the city, including St. Patrick's in 1792, and St. John's in 1799. By 1810 Catholicism was the largest denomination in the city, with about 4,000 members.<sup>122</sup> By 1821, Baltimore had built five Catholic churches, St. Patrick's (1806) in Fells Point which was primarily Irish and French, "R" on Poppleton, St. Johns (1800) which was primarily Germans marked "9", St. Mary's (1808) which was primarily French marked "G", St. Peters (1770) which leaned English marked "10", and the Cathedral (1821) which this study argues was built in favor of the British Catholics of Maryland marked as "A" (Figure 39, 55, 54. 56 & 57).

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<sup>120</sup> John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics In Colonial America*. (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965.) 49-51.

<sup>121</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986). 122.

<sup>122</sup> Thomas W. Spalding *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1989*. (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.) 30.

At the turn of the century, just before the construction of the Cathedral, problems between the English and German speaking Catholics had emerged. Historically, the British and Germans in Baltimore had problems, one record case previously discussed was Governor Sharpe's letter to Lord Baltimore in 1754. He believed Baltimore:

Were a few Gentlemen of fortune to settle there and encourage the Trade it might soon become a flourishing place but while few besides the Germans (who are in general Masters of small fortunes) build and inhabit there I apprehend it cannot make any considerable figure.<sup>123</sup>

Sharpe's description of the Germans is far from positive. He blamed the Germans for the lack of substantial growth of the city and eludes that the city will only grow to be great "Gentlemen" settled. These gentlemen referred to were other Englishmen, placing himself on a higher pedestal.

More issues arose between the British and German Catholics in the years leading up to the construction of the Cathedral, and lasted until the German Father Frederick Rueter was run out of town in 1805 after verbal and physical abuse.<sup>124</sup> Most scholars blame Rueter as the cause, but this study takes a neutral stance, instead originating blame to both parties. Rueter arrived in Baltimore in the early 1790s, with issues between the English and German Catholics following shortly after.<sup>125</sup> Rueter, a Franciscan monk, came to preach to the local German population in their native tongue. He was appointed as a minister by Carroll soon after arriving and won popularity with the Germans. After a short time in Baltimore, he left, only to return in 1799 with a letter from the Archbishop Brancandoro indicating Bishop Carroll had been neglecting the German Catholic citizens by refusing German services at St. Peters, which at the time was the only Catholic complex in the city. Rueter asked for the construction of a church in the city where Germans could worship together in their native tongue. Carroll was "affronted" and refused to answer Rueter.<sup>126</sup> Carroll's argument was supposedly that "...that there were too few

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<sup>123</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 4.

<sup>124</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986). 124.

<sup>125</sup> Gellner, Charles R. "Ecclesiastical History of the Catholic Germans in Maryland." *Society for the History of Germans in Maryland* 26(1945.) 37-48.

<sup>126</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986). 124-25

Germans to support a pastor, and that it might interfere with his plans to erect a cathedral.”<sup>127</sup> The Baltimore Germans, without Carroll’s reply, formed their own congregation, St. John’s, today known as St. Alphonsus, and believed that Carroll was attempting to “stamp the German out of them” and “change us all into Englishmen, rapidly and violently.”<sup>128</sup>

The Germans purchased a lot, beginning the construction of a church without the permission of Carroll. In 1802 the church was completed and the congregation urged Carroll to consecrate it. He agreed, on the “pledge” that the congregation, and Rueter, would submit to his authority. A year later, in 1803, Bishop Carroll suspended Reuter for scandalous conduct and Carroll appointed Father Brosius in his place. Rueter still had the support of the congregation and refused to leave. The case went to court in 1804, which heightened passions among both parties. After Rueter’s property was ransacked and destroyed, a verbal battle followed between Reuter’s supporters and those who had accepted Bishop Carroll and Brosius. The congregation was spilt until 1805 when Rueter was driven from town, which supposedly made “German Catholics became far less sensitive of their ethnicity.”<sup>129</sup>

Based on this disagreement among churchgoers, this study believes that Bishop Carroll, during a time of uncertainty, refused to create a German house of worship in favor of his goal to make a single American front for Catholics Protestants who were already on edge after the arrival of more Catholics, like the Santo Dominicans, in the 1790s. Carroll needed to tread carefully. The first refusal, followed by the ensuing arguments, followed by the blatant disregard for Carroll, followed by the appeal to Rome, not only showed unrest among Catholics, but reinforced a reliance on the Pope to the Baltimore Protestants. Also, following the American Revolution, the United States had been founded as an English-speaking country, and Rueter’s German Catholics, in Carroll’s mind, blatantly disregarded this by wanting to create a German-speaking congregation. Carroll, using American Neoclassical instead of the old religiously

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<sup>127</sup> Charles R. Gellner, "Ecclesiastical History of the Catholic Germans in Maryland." *Society for the History of Germans in Maryland*, (1945), 37

<sup>128</sup> V. J. Fecher, *A Study of the Movement for German National Parishes in Philadelphia and Baltimore: 1787-1802* (Roma: Università Gregoriana, 1955), 112.

<sup>129</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 125.

associated gothic, is a direct assault towards the German Catholics, pushing them to Americanize, as they had initially suspected. In Gallegos' dissertation, he noted Neoclassical as less intimidating, blending into the city's English Protestant community and public buildings. Carroll would have seen both Classical and Gothic buildings during his European studies and would have known what each represented to the American viewer. Carroll copied the architectural style of the new American republic, embracing a nationalistic Anglo identity based on language and culture, rejecting an all-encompassing pious Catholic religious identity.

What led to so many disagreements within the Catholic church in Baltimore, but not to Protestants in the United States? To begin, Catholics, unlike the Protestant denominations in Baltimore, had to hide their religious identities for almost a century after the establishment of the Church of England in 1692. Because they had to hide, Catholics only worshiped in small groups of trusted people in buildings which blended in with the rest of society. Once they did finally build a church in 1770, everyone, no matter their background had to worship together. Although they had grown, they were still a small congregation in comparison to the Anglicans, and could only build a single church, and accommodate a small number of pastors. These limitations forced Catholics of all background to worship in perceived harmony. Compare this with Protestants in Baltimore in 1770s and 80s. First, there were multiple Protestant denominations, it was not just Anglicans in the city. Although the Anglicans were established, other Protestant religions were allowed and had lighter taxes than those on the Catholic citizens. Second, the Protestant denominations were already separating by ethnic backgrounds, the German Protestant's had two choices, Lutheran or Reformed church. Finally, because there were more options congregations grew more naturally, and created more buildings around the city as they needed.

By the end of the 1780s, the Catholics had more people than most Protestant denominations, and still only had St. Peter's. It is here that the infighting begins between the Germans and English, and requests for new congregations appear. Why the 1792 St. Patrick's congregation was approved and the German 1799 St. John's was not is not entirely clear. The 1792 St. Patrick's was in an area of town with a heavy French presence, was founded one year after the arrivals of the Sulpicians, it is likely the good

relations between the Sulpicians and Carroll lead to its approval, as well as the fact that the request came almost a decade earlier. Had Carroll simply allowed both congregations to form, many problems could have been avoided, but it also could have created many more in the process. Instead, Carroll had an entire city of people against him, causing him to choose to Americanize his church under an English identity instead of embracing the religious roots of their religion.

As for St. Mary's using Gothic architecture as their identity, what in their social history causes this decision? In his study, Edward Mathew Gallegos stated that although prior studies say the Godefroy and the Sulpicians were in charge for the design of St. Mary's Chapel, he believed that Bishop Carroll himself chose the design. This defense was based on the fact that Carroll laid the cornerstone, and then consecrated the church, showing his involvement in the project.<sup>130</sup> Gallegos also argues that the chapel fits too well into Borromeo's explanation of a proper Catholic church, also meaning that Carroll must have been involved. This study instead agrees with previous scholars that Godefroy and the Sulpicians monks oversaw the architectural decisions for the chapel. This is based on Poppleton map evidence, which lists "Rev.<sup>d</sup> F. Nagot Principal" and "Godefroy Architect" under St. Mary's Vignette, as well as the many changes made specifically by the Sulpician fathers, in the construction and design process of the chapel. The changes made to the design were primarily in regards to funding of the new chapel, but still indicated their involvement in the design and construction process.

This study proposes that the choice of the Gothic came from the fact that the Sulpicians were French-born and had been forcibly removed from France by the new revolutionary government. According to Robert Alexander, Godefroy, being from France like the Sulpicians, would have drawn influence from his travels in Europe before coming to America. Having these two French sources come together created a perfect moment where the Gothic could re-emerge in religious architecture, unlike with the construction of the Cathedral where the American style of architecture had been seen as necessary. The chapel was also in Seton Hill, which was the City's new French Quarter. Furthermore, through the

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<sup>130</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002.) 192.

architecture, the Sulpicians called back to the home they had in Paris before being exiled. This is further supported by Richard Guy Wilson's lecture at St. Mary's Chapel in 2014, when he stated that it was "very well documented in Mr. Robert Alexander's book, that one of the fathers kept very extensive notes very unusual for this time, but shows the involvement, very much the involvement of the community."<sup>131</sup>

This chapel from start to finish had many hands involved in its design and final product. What does the decision to build a Gothic church represent in a city which in general has embraced an American Neoclassical identity? Why did the Seminary Catholics, unlike the Catholics of the Cathedral, use Gothic? As Richard Guy Wilson puts it, "why did they build something so unique and unusual?" In his lecture, Wilson offers the argument that the French Sulpician were reflecting a pious religious identity onto the structure they made.<sup>132</sup> The gothic, as mentioned in the Cathedral section, is inherently religious, because it has been used for Catholic cathedrals throughout the medieval period across Europe. Neoclassical, on the other hand, was inherently pagan with non-Christian associations in architecture because it was inspired by ancient Greek and Roman traditions, which were based around multiple "pagan" gods.

Richard Guy Wilson argues that Godefroy while creating the design for St. Mary's, did not make it on his own, and instead was directed or influenced by the religious piety of the French monks. In his argument, an issue arises when the idea of accessibility to reference material is considered. Wilson counters that Godefroy, while he lived in France at the end of the eighteenth century, would have seen many old gothic structures around the city as well as many Neoclassical, of which he was more familiar. This thesis agrees with Wilson but concludes that it was not the French exuding a Gothic European religious identity, but rather the French as a minority group in Baltimore expressing a new, unique American identity, instead of adhering to their previous European identity. The goal of the French after being exiled from their home was to build a new identity for themselves in America. The French used

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<sup>131</sup> Richard Guy Wilson. "Maximilian Godefroy and St. Mary's Chapel: The Invention of the Gothic Revival for America" lecture, St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, Baltimore, MD, October 11, 2014.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid

their Catholicism as the means to form this identity in tandem with their own Frenchness as a means to create an American identity, which is what influenced the use of Gothic in their church.

Robert Alexander claims that the French took little interest in the Gothic Revival style at this time in the nineteenth century, unlike some of their neighbors like the English, who used this revival in their picturesque country works. He also claims that Latrobe may have piqued some interest in the Gothic through his proposal of a Gothic-esque style for the new Cathedral.<sup>133</sup> Finally, Alexander claims that when Godefroy designed the church he could have had Paris' Notre Dame Cathedral in mind for the Chapel's front façade, and refers to Blondel's print of the structure.<sup>134</sup> He explains the use of Gothic under Godefroy was an "eighteenth-century French effort to achieve the high spacious interior of Gothic cathedrals in Neoclassical churches" and chose to "profit by the climate in Baltimore favorable to a modern Gothic church which Latrobe had provided."<sup>135</sup>

The first piece of evidence for the argument that the Monks were in charge of the construction of the chapel comes from the 1822 Poppleton map of the city. Looking at the small vignette of St. Mary's Seminary chapel the French Sulpician monk Rev. F. Nagot is listed as "Principal" before Godefroy is listed as the "Architect" (Figure 54). Why would they include Nagot if he was not involved in the design of the church's architecture? Every other building which Godefroy worked on list him as the architect, and lists no one else involved. His name is listed as "Godefroy Architect" in pencil or a lighter ink, evidence of it possibly being an afterthought, instead of "Godefroy Arch." or "M. Godefroy Arch." like on the Unitarian church, Masonic Hall, and Battle Monument. This is also the only building which lists two people in the architect/builder section under the main vignette. Finally, this is also the only building to list a religious figure in the architect section, even Archbishop John Carroll is not listed with the Cathedral. Why list a Sulpician monk among architects? This put forward an answer to this debacle, as

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<sup>133</sup> Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 66.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid*. 68-69



being he had to have been involved in the design and construction process of the Chapel based on the period Poppleton map.

Based on the map, Godefroy had to have a certain level of involvement with the design process of the chapel, but firmly believes the Sulpicians took much more control than has been previously argued. Godefroy as an artist was particularly fond of the new Neoclassical style, using it for every other structure he designed or contributed to in the city, like the Unitarian church and Masonic hall. Also, John R. Dorsey states that “[w]hether Godefroy saw Latrobe’s Gothic design before he submitted his design for the building isn’t a matter of record, but it’s not unlikely that he did.”<sup>136</sup> Although he says it was “not unlikely” he saw the work it is not in the record that he did, and is based entirely off the strength of the friendship between Latrobe and Godefroy which formed from 1805 forward. Importantly here, when Godefroy designed the Chapel, Latrobe was not yet in Baltimore. Now assuming Nagot and the monks oversaw the design of the Chapel, and it was not entirely Godefroy, why did they choose to build their church in a Gothic style? Why didn’t the monks push for Neoclassical design which was so prevalent across both Baltimore and Paris during this time period?

When the monks were exiled from France, the structure they left behind was St. Sulpice, a late eighteenth-century building. St. Sulpice was completed in 1739 and was a Neoclassical structure in the heart of Paris. St. Sulpice was within walking and viewing distance of Sainte-Chapelle, Notre Dame Cathedral, and a variety of other medieval and Gothic structures in Paris. Although the Sulpicians’ own building in Paris was Neoclassical in origin, many spoke fondly of other buildings found in the city. It was recorded by Sulpician treasurer Father Tessier “with obvious satisfaction the stages of work on the basse chapelle, and the idea of two levels in the building may have evoked the image of Saint-Chapelle in Paris.”<sup>137</sup> Sainte-Chapelle was the Crown’s own private chapel in the heart of Paris not far from Notre Dame. Alexander claims that “no matter how freely Godefroy adapted the motifs, evocations of Parisian ecclesiastical architecture could only delight the exiled French priests and give the building more favor in

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<sup>136</sup> John R Dorsey, and James DuSel. *Look Again in Baltimore*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 138.

<sup>137</sup> Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 66.

their eyes.”<sup>138</sup> Although never built, the chapel was supposed to have a tall spire coming from the roofs which also looks heavily inspired by Saint-Chapelle. Gothic architecture is inherently religious in nature, which is why in the Catholic Cathedral chose not to have this association. Gallegos briefly argued that the chapel’s design was a clear distaste by the Sulpicians for the new American republic’s government, because they were run out of France by a republic. He also states this was done to adhere to the Catholic building traditions as seen in Borromeo.<sup>139</sup> This study wishes to push his notion further that in choosing the Gothic style, a building tradition of their home country, over the new American Neoclassical of their new country, it shows both an adherence to religious Catholic traditions, but truly as a unity among the Frenchmen living in Seton Hill. The choice was not made as an affront to the new American republic, but rather as a statement of unity of the Frenchman living in the new nation. Their architecture reflected their own identity apart from Anglicizing America, but not as a threat against the republic.

Unlike their brethren at the Cathedral, who were still fighting among themselves at the time of the chapel’s planning in 1805, the French had already separated themselves from the rest of the Catholics in the city. Upon their arrival in the 1790s, the French created a distinctly separate identity from the English and Germans. After 1790, the French mainly lived outside of Baltimore proper, to the northwest, creating a separate place of worship, marked “G” on Poppleton (Figure 54). Those not living with the Sulpicians lived about two miles east of the Cathedral and the heart of Baltimore in Fell’s Point where they landed at the start of the 1790s. This group of Frenchmen underwent a similar transition forming their own congregation in 1792, and building a church which loosely resembled St. Mary’s Chapel in 1807, marked “R” on Poppleton (Figure 39). How did the French manage this when their German brethren were denied so many times in the same period? First, both churches were outside the heart of Baltimore City. St. Mary’s though was past the 1790s city limits, in an undeveloped part of the city where the prying eyes of Protestants could not reach them. Thus, giving the French much more freedom of stylistic choice than the

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<sup>138</sup> Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 68.

<sup>139</sup> Matthew E. Gallegos, *Domus Dei Americana 1789-1850: Challenges to the Roman Catholic Imagination in Building the City of God in America*. (Charlottesville, VA: 2002, 2002. Thesis (Ph. D.) --University of Virginia, 2002), 197

Cathedral which was on the hill in the middle of downtown, marked “A” on Poppleton (Figure 57).

Second, the foundations of French new chapel were in the name of the education of the Catholics of America, and Carroll favored these French compatriots because through the education of new clergy they would unite, and create a strong Catholic foothold in the American Baltimore landscape. This, in turn, allowed the French more freedom under Bishop Carroll’s authority than the other non-English sects of the religion, allowing them two places to congregate away from the English. Thus, the French embracing their own identities as both Frenchmen and religious Catholics created the chapel as a space of worship which emitted an entirely un-American, un-nationalist identity through Gothic architecture. Instead, they chose an ultra-religious Catholic standpoint, because they had more freedom, by lived outside of the city away from prying eyes of the Protestants and were trusted by Carroll at a time of uncertainty for the religion.

Overall, in conclusion, the Catholics and Baltimore have a very intertwined history leading to the use of two styles of architecture, Neoclassical and Gothic. These two styles were used for different reasons, one to hide within a city of Neoclassical columns, and the other as an embrace of the Catholic religion and French identity. These architectural choices were determined based on the social conditions Catholics faced between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The Cathedral, the face of the Catholic religion in Baltimore, like many buildings in town, was built in a Neoclassical style of architecture. This was done as a representation of the Catholics’ embrace of the English speaking American nationalistic persona. Unfortunately, this nationalistic identity was a way for Carroll and English-speaking Catholics to exclude those of different European ethnicities, most ardently the Germans. The identity formed through Neoclassical is in its essence is one of English American nationalism and not of the Catholic religion. If the church wanted to embrace a religious identity through their architecture, they would have chosen the Gothic style. In comparison with the Sulpician monks who did, in fact, use the Gothic style for their structure, what were they telling the rest of Baltimore? Why did they choose Gothic when Carroll did not? The French, as an ethnic and religious minority in the city, built a structure according to their own needs, and priorities without fear of the Protestant other. They built in a style which best adapted their own

French identities within the new American landscape. Living outside the city, and being favored by Carroll allowed the French the freedom to embrace their own religious identity rather than an American identity. In conclusion, to understand what shaped the stylistic and situational choices for the architecture of the Catholics, the buildings must be put in conversation with the city of Baltimore as a whole.

### Chapter 3: German Lutheran Architecture in Baltimore



Plan of the City of Baltimore. Thomas H. Poppleton, 1822; Vignette F of the German Lutheran Church

Similar to the Catholics, the German Lutherans are one of the oldest continuous congregations in Baltimore City. Due to this age, they have a vast amount of German language primary documentation about their church. Much of this information has been compiled into a book of their own publication titled *Zion in Baltimore 1755-1955*. This book, along with others from the mid-twentieth century, have painted the known picture of the German Lutherans in the City of Baltimore. Their story, like many of the other religions, includes congregational schisms and problems with other denominations within the city leading up to the construction of their first nineteenth-century church. The German Lutheran church, unlike almost every other church built in the early nineteenth-century landscape, used a Gothic-esque style, standing out from its counterparts. What social constructs or conditions influenced this stylistic and situational decision? The following chapter delves into the story of the Baltimore German Lutheran community and their journey through the City following their interactions with other denominations, as well as with themselves, shaping their views on the city's changing landscape, and putting them in conversation with the rest of the city's architecture. This journey reveals the church's relative identity through their attempts to preserve their own identity as German, whilst also attempting to create their new

American-German identity which would inform the architectural style of the church built within the “Monumental City” landscape of Baltimore.<sup>140</sup>

The German Lutherans were some of the earliest settlers in Maryland. Based on documentary records, the first recorded German in the colony was Augustin Herrman. Herrman, a noble from the German upper-class, was quite important to the Maryland province. Herrman has played an important role in this study because of the map he published in 1670, of Maryland’s known boundaries. This was the first updated map of the Chesapeake since John Smith’s in 1608. His map was used as a base for all later surveys of Maryland until the 1750s. Although Herrman is the first recorded German in the province, it is likely that Germans were in Maryland earlier in the seventeenth century. Many Germans who immigrated to Pennsylvania also moved into Maryland throughout the seventeenth century, but it is unrecorded if and how long they stayed. Also, Germans being mostly of the Protestant religion, preferred states like Pennsylvania, New York, and Virginia over the Catholic controlled Maryland, even with its religious tolerance, when first settling in the New World.<sup>141</sup>

As Maryland entered the eighteenth century, the focus shifted from tobacco to other crops, inviting more Germans into the province, bringing their various religions with them including Lutheran, Reformed, Catholic, Moravian and Labadist. In the eighteenth century, it is estimated that two-thirds of Pennsylvania-Dutch settlers were Lutheran and the other one-third was Reformed and many of these settlers continued to move into Maryland. Most moved to Western Maryland though to avoid the British enforced tax to the Anglican Church.<sup>142</sup> Since 1692, Maryland had been a Church of England royal province, outlawing other religions in the state. Despite this, the Lutherans were still active in Frederick, western Maryland with their first minister by the 1730s. Not long after, in 1743, they built their first

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<sup>140</sup> John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary From 1795 to 1848 Volume 7*. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1874), 338.

<sup>141</sup> Dieter Cunz. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 12-23.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. 47.

church, a log structure.<sup>143</sup> The German population was largely located in rural Western Maryland, but starting in the 1730s they began to move to Baltimore Town, which was primarily settled by English.<sup>144</sup>

In the eighteenth century, as German Lutherans moved to Baltimore, many of the English settlers took as a threat to their own culture and politics. Germans came to the town through its ports, and from the countryside to the north. Baltimore quickly became the largest center for German residence outside of Western Maryland. The earliest mention of a German in Baltimore was a 1741 listing for the city's first butcher, Andrew Steiger.<sup>145</sup> Later in 1752, the preliminary directory lists at least thirty named Germans of various trades who had moved into the growing port town for work opportunities. In Governor Sharpe's 1754 visit to Baltimore, he wrote a letter to Lord Baltimore, stating:

Baltimore indeed has the appearance of the most increasing Town in the province, .... were a few Gentlemen of fortune to settle there and encourage the Trade it might soon become a flourishing place but while few besides the Germans (who are in general Masters of small fortunes) build and inhabit there I apprehend it cannot make any considerable figure.<sup>146</sup>

It's made quite obvious by Governor Sharpe that the Germans were prominent in the city's population. But, as seen earlier in the study, this German density, in the eyes of the Governor gave him little confidence that this town would ever prosper without the arrival of (English) Gentleman. In 1767, a petition was written to the Governor and signed by forty-three Germans stating that their English neighbors were taking advantage of their inability to read English and taxing them unfairly. The petition stated that they should have a German-speaking representative in the government.<sup>147</sup> It is unknown what happened after the petition was sent to the governor, but its existence shows that there was continued strife among the German and English through the eighteenth century. This distaste for the British rule continued into the era of the American Revolution, with many of the youth of the Lutheran church signing

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<sup>143</sup> Dieter Cunz. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 65.

<sup>144</sup> Daniel W. Nead, *The Pennsylvania-German In the Settlement of Maryland*. (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co, 1975), 51.

<sup>145</sup> Dieter Cunz. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 98.

<sup>146</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.), 4.

<sup>147</sup> Dieter Cunz. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 121.

up to fight against the British.<sup>148</sup> This earlier instance reinforced a constant problem within the German community, they did not agree on how to best hold onto their identity and use their native language.

Although the English may have had a negative outlook on the Germans, the population flourished and established more permanent ties to the city. Early on, the German Lutherans practiced their religion like most other small denominations, in their homes with the patriarch of the house leading sermons. This would eventually grow into multiple families practicing together.<sup>149</sup> During this time the German Lutherans and German Reformed worshiped together, as both sects were too small to exist individually. Early in the 1750s, both groups briefly joined the St. Paul's Reformed Anglicans at their house of worship. This arrangement was made because the population was too small and poor to construct a building of their own. This practice ended with creation of the first German Lutheran congregation in 1755, named the "Evangelical Lutheran Congregation at Baltimore Town."<sup>150</sup> Once a formal congregation was set, the need for a church building became a greater concern. In a document noted in Dieter Cunz's book, *The Maryland Germans*, from the German Reformed archives, "In the year 1756 or 1757, the congregation purchased a lot on which to erect a church..."<sup>151</sup> After some debacles with the members of the Reformed congregation, the Lutherans decided to test the strength of their smaller flock and stand on their own building their first house of worship. The construction of their first church was under the instruction of the second pastor John Kasper Kirchner, who had been ordained in Germany before coming to America. In 1762 the first Zion German Lutheran church was constructed on the corner of Fish Street, now Saratoga, by an unknown builder, marked "L" in Folie's 1792 map (Figure 19). This was the first church in town built by non-English and non-Anglican persons.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 26.

<sup>149</sup> Cynthia G. Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*. (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.) 133.

<sup>150</sup> Klaus Wust, *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955; the Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955). 21.

<sup>151</sup> Dieter Cunz. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 98. The date of 1755 was also when the church accepted its first preacher a Reverend Georg Bager who frequently passed through the Maryland and Pennsylvania area. After some convincing Reverend Bager accepted and visited the fledgling congregation, of about 11 people, six times a year for the payment of five pounds.

<sup>152</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen's Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 94.



This first church was a simple wooden structure located at the top of a sandy hill near the Jones Falls River, making access difficult for the older generations of churchgoers. In a quote from an anonymous manuscript, it was stated that:

the lot on which this church building is built, is upon a hill rising very steeply and is somewhat inconvenient for old people. If, however, a church with a steeple should be built upon it, it cannot help being seen from afar and will make a fine appearance.<sup>153</sup>

The pastor Kirchner preached in this church in native German until 1763 when he left for Pennsylvania, leaving the church without a preacher. The church would remain without a preacher until 1765 when Kirchner returned to Maryland permanently. This small church building worked well for a time, but within a decade of being built, the building had become dilapidated and needed repair or replacement.<sup>154</sup> By the early 1770s, the Lutherans could afford a more permanent structure and the old wooden church was torn down and replaced with a simple brick building which would be later used as a school building in the late eighteenth century.<sup>155</sup>

In the mid-eighteenth century, as the Wars on Religion in Europe continued, causing the Lutheran church to grow as many German Protestants moved to the Americas for a new start and avoid Catholic rule. It is also at this point in the Lutherans' history that the aforementioned community and language problems start to appear within the congregation and with other Baltimore denominations. In the summer of 1771, member Dr Wiesenthal, one of the elected elders, sent out a deed for the church building to the congregation stating:

Daily experience taught us that our children, almost entirely, learned and understood the English language quicker and better than our German tongue, and, in the case of many, there was reason to fear that the language would be lost entirely and the religion with it. Now to build a church for the propagation of our Lutheran religion for our children and our children's children was our chief objective. It was, therefore, our duty to see that, in case this should happen, there should be no ill-considered clauses in the deed, by which our children would be subjected to unnecessary litigation and might even lose their share in the church.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Julius Hoffman, *The Germans of Maryland During the Colonial Period*. (Baltimore: Printed by Schneidereith & sons, 1914.) 15.

<sup>154</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 23.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.* 25.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

Dieter Cunz reports that in this first deed, Wiesenthal was making a few claims to his community. First, that the congregation was already showing signs of changing from German to English speaking as early as 1771. Second, since a majority of the congregation was of the working-class, Dieter Cunz concluded that those members were quicker to hold onto their roots, in comparison to the more elite members like Dr Wiesenthal, who supposedly wanted to adopt some customs of their English neighbors, and anglicize.

Unfortunately for Dr Wiesenthal, the congregation did not take kindly to his suggestion to speak in English, even only partially, as a fear of losing the German language had been present since they settled the new city. The congregants worried that as Wiesenthal said: “the language would be lost entirely and the religion with it.”<sup>157</sup> They insisted that “it was a German church and should remain such!”, very intent that the English language should be avoided in their teachings.<sup>158</sup> Cunz argues that Wiesenthal pushed for the use of the English language because he, as a wealthy person, had become Anglicized. To this point, this study disagrees, in alignment with Cynthia Falk’s analysis of Pennsylvanian German culture. This claim is an antiquated viewpoint on the history of German-American society. In Falk’s book, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, she explains that the Germans expressed their societal status in a way which has been stereotypically associated with the English architectural material condition. She argues that these styles, while superficially appearing to be English, actually represented generic gentility found in the United States in the eighteenth century. Wealthy Germans, like wealthy members of other cultural groups, simply had a strong desire to exhibit their wealth in a popular manner.

Wiesenthal was one of the earliest people in the congregation to realize that the Germans were better off perpetuating their unique German heritage and culture, even if this meant losing some of their language in the process. Future architectural choices of the congregation would reflect this desire for overall cultural retention. Wiesenthal and George Lindenberger resigned from their positions as elders in the church, as most disagreed with their proposed ideas. The congregation saw the German language as

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<sup>157</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955), 18.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

their strongest and only asset of commonality in this pre-revolutionary period. What Wiesenthal realized sooner than most is that there were already threats in the city to their unique identity as Germans and to their religion. He understood that the steps he took, while controversial, were necessary for the perpetuation of the German-ness within the Lutheran religion itself. It was not so much that he was interested in piety but instead used it as a means to create a German community in the city of Baltimore. He wanted to create a unique new-world German identity and this is evident in the text of his deed.<sup>159</sup>

In their book *Zion in Baltimore 1755-1955*, Wust briefly mentions a different conclusion about the purpose of Wiesenthal's deed. Wust saw Wiesenthal's plan of action as a way to protect Lutheranism from general English hostilities, placing the religion above Germanness. This deed to an extent was intended to protect the religion from the British or English Lutheran infiltrators moving to Baltimore. However, it more-so attempted to create a place where the specifically German Lutheran religious traditions were not forgotten by future generations, regardless of the choice of language. Wiesenthal wanted to ensure that these native Germanic traditions stayed in the German community. He believed this could be done through the Lutheran church's community and through the religion itself, whether they spoke in German or in English, as long as it was held by those of German-blood in the colony. The continuation of a German identity in America through a shared means like the church and religion is what would allow the community to live on into future generation. In a rebuttal statement from 1771, he says that:

there might be some who without any special love for religion and inclined to quarrel, might deny the right of using the English language to those who need it for their edification, under the pretext it had been stipulated that it was to be a German church, even if there were only ten Germans.<sup>160</sup>

Wiesenthal criticizes those who may disagree with his first statements, of which many did. He emphasizes that within the German community some may rely on the English language now as their only means to understand German "Lutheranism" in their new home country and that they should not be

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<sup>159</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 19.

<sup>160</sup> Dieter Cunz. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 120.

shunned from the community as they are still of German blood. The church itself was meant to house the community whether they spoke English or German. The education of Lutheranism for those of German blood was more important than anything else in Wiesenthal's mind. Why reduce the church to ten true Germans, referring to those who only spoke German, and deny education to many more in the colony who still wanted to connect with their heritage through the religion? Although, he is stating that Lutheranism as the binder for the German identity in the New World; he was really referring to the tradition and heritage that the church could perpetuate to those who attended. By being part of the German Lutheran church and learning Lutheranism with other people of German blood, in turn, the true German identity and heritage is perpetuated into the future.

In September of 1771, Wiesenthal wrote the second rendition of his deed in response to the criticism of the first:

that is to say that all the said piece or parcel of ground shall be and continue to be a place of public worship for the Evangelic Protestant Congregation of the unvaried Auspurg (sic) Confession of the faith Commonly distinguished by the name of Lutheran and also a Burying place for said Congregation for the use of the High German Lutheran Inhabitants in Baltimore Town and their Descendants for ever who do or shall hold to the said Confession of faith. But whereas it may happen that the Children of the members of the said Congregation will in process of Time become more perfect in the English Tongue than in the German Language, it is hereby covenanted and agreed that whenever that Majority of the members of said congregation shall deem it necessary, they may at any time introduce the English Language in Preaching, etc., still admitting the German tongue to be preached to these that do not understand the English if occasion requires (that is to say, who do or shall hold or continue to hold and confirm to all Essential Articles of the Unvaried Auspurg (sic) Confession of the faith, provided always that non person shall be deemed to belong unto the said Congregation until he has steadily attended the public worship of God in said Congregation for the Space of Twelve Months and shall have regularly Contributed towards the Support of the Ministry and other Charges of the same according to the usage of said Congregation....<sup>161</sup>

He has again reiterated the importance of the "Lutheran" tradition staying within the German community whether it is spoken by them in German or in English as time progresses. Specifically identifying Germans and their descendants, Wiesenthal declares that the land would forever belong to those of an ethnically German background and not anyone else. His emphasis on land ownership and burial is another

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<sup>161</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955), 20.

indicator of their new German-American identity. They had no plans to leave and go back to Germany and instead adapted to their new world. Shortly after the publication of his response, Wiesenthal resigned from his position as an elder in the church. With his resignation from the church, he was no longer allowed to associate with the congregation until the church decided he was forgiven for his actions. The community shunned him, believing that their strict adherence to the German language was what was best for the Lutheran congregation as a way to perpetuate the German identity. These sentiments though were based in a misunderstanding of Wiesenthal's intentions. Word of these disagreements reached as far as the Pennsylvania Lutheran congregation, where they too were concerned that Wiesenthal was attempting to "suppress the German language" and "make our church English!" through his actions.<sup>162</sup>

Despite the widespread doubt in his intentions, Wiesenthal became the first president of the German Society of Maryland in 1783. This organization was formed for the sole purpose of welcome the booming numbers of German-born citizens immigrating the city, bringing them into a proper German church community. He again is using the church itself as the binder of German identity by helping others their community in the Americas. Despite disagreements on method, Wiesenthal expressed his continued dedication to the German community in Baltimore. His society would be very important in the coming decades.<sup>163</sup> This has been the first of many schisms among the German population about language, Lutheranism, the church, and the German community, as a representation of German identity.

Not long after this debacle, the new church building was completed in 1773, marked "L" on the Folie map, and with the new building arrived a new pastor, Johann Siegfried Gerock, also ordained in Germany (Figure 19). Gerock wrote the second constitution of the new American Lutheran church in 1773, and the 145 members at the time signed the document. This indicated the significant growth of the congregation in just over a decade in Baltimore.<sup>164</sup> As a whole, over 80,000 German Lutherans and Reformed had come to the British American colonies by 1776, most of which were concentrated in the

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<sup>162</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955), 21.

<sup>163</sup> Dieter Cunz. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 179-181.

<sup>164</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955), 25.

mid-Atlantic region.<sup>165</sup> Gerock also guided the Lutheran church through the Revolutionary War, where many members of the congregation held significant roles, showing they were here to stay and leading themselves to freedom.

After the Revolution, the German church was relieved from paying annual funds to the Anglican Church of England, which had been disestablished. The Germans could now devote their money to their own edifice. To accommodate the growing size of the congregation, an addition was made to the Lutheran church in 1785 and would be the first year the church was formally named the “Zion” Church of Baltimore.<sup>166</sup> Although this was a celebrated event like the previous construction project, it caused more problems to occur within the congregation regarding what it meant to be a German Lutheran congregation in an American city. Over the next two years, quarrels would happen within the congregation over the choice of a new pastor. The current pastor Johann Siegfried Gerock was in competition with the younger Johann Daniel Kurtz. The problem came that half of the congregation had become unhappy with Gerock and preferred the teachings of Kurtz, and threatened to leave the congregation. In 1787 it was decided that Kurtz would act as the second pastor with Gerock as a move to hold the congregation together as one. A few months later Gerock would die and Kurtz would take over as the head of the Lutheran Church and become one of the most influential men in the congregation’s history.<sup>167</sup>

Although the country was seeing a decline in growth between 1789 and 1815 due to European Revolutions, Baltimore continued to be an anomaly.<sup>168</sup> The city grew rapidly in these years, almost quadrupling in population. The city growth came thanks to two thriving harbors and a successful trade network with Europe and the new Western territories. The German citizens had a particular impact on Baltimore’s rapid growth. In 1796 the First Directory of Baltimore City was published, and about 10% of the 3,000 names had German origins. Their names also were most commonly associated with trade,

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<sup>165</sup> Cynthia G. Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*. (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 116.

<sup>166</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955), 29.

<sup>167</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988), 149.

<sup>168</sup> Dieter Cunz. *The Maryland Germans: A History*. (Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 157.

shipping, and craftsmanship jobs. As Baltimore's population continued to grow through the end of the eighteenth century so did the German Lutheran congregation.<sup>169</sup>

Though the late 1790s the congregation grew not only in baptism of new children but also with new Germans coming from the "Motherland" Germany to America looking for a new life. Additionally, Germans moved south from the countryside of Pennsylvania and east from Western Maryland to Baltimore. In 1790 the German Lutheran church held onto about 7% of the Baltimore churchgoing population.<sup>170</sup> The church alone had the purpose of caring for the poor and new Germans who entered the city. The 1783 German Society of Maryland became a very popular way of introducing the many new Germans to the city, and more importantly into its German churches. The Lutherans, in particular, were very involved with welcoming new members to their flock through this society. Unfortunately, as with many new American urban cities, due to the rapid growth, the many new bodies brought urban diseases which spread throughout the poorer immigrant neighborhoods. Many of these neighborhoods housed the new Lutheran citizens and the church lost over 400 members by 1796 due to the poor health concentrated on the right bank of the Jones Falls near Fells Point.<sup>171</sup> This area of town, East of the Jones Falls River, was where a majority of the new immigrant societies were located, as it was the poorer side of Baltimore. For a majority of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Fells Point was used to welcome Baltimore immigrants, and even today holds many prominent ethnic populations. Those with more wealth moved up to the west and north side of Baltimore town, leaving the poorer population in the lower ports. This trend continued and by 1806 the church lost another 600 people to the poor health in the city. In both instances, nearly half the deaths were children under the age of four.<sup>172</sup> Even with its losses by 1806, the membership of the Zion church had doubled and 1785 church addition had also become too small.

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<sup>169</sup> Klaus Wust, *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955; the Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955), 11.

<sup>170</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 19.

<sup>171</sup> Klaus Wust, *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955; the Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955), 37.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.* 37

Starting in 1803 Pastor Kurtz came to realize the church was too small and desired a house of worship that would be large enough to house the future generations of Zion followers. Issues came because a majority of the members of Zion were of the poorer classes and had very little wealth for themselves. Over the next few years, Pastor Kurtz preached to the community the importance of building a new church in an attempt to keep the community together under one roof.<sup>173</sup> In September of 1806, plans were finally announced to construct a new church. At the turn of the nineteenth century in Baltimore, many new buildings were in the works across the city. From 1806 to 1807 over \$12,000 was raised in conscriptions for the construction of the new building.<sup>174</sup> In 1807 a new plot of land was purchased off of Gay Street, “F” on Poppleton”, not far from their old Fish street location, “L” on Folie, and the cornerstone of the new structure was laid. The builders, George Rohrbach and Johann Machenheimer, were also members of the church community (Figure 58 & 19). They together created the design and supervised the craftsmen on the project. Although little else is known about these builders, it is known that Rohrbach did work on other projects around the city including the St. Mary’s Seminary chapel on the other side of town. In her book *The Architecture of Baltimore*, Mary Ellen Hayward claims that his brief work on this structure is the reason Zion has Gothicized windows. She claims that Rohrbach did measurements to create their own “copy” of this building.<sup>175</sup> It is important to note that for a short period from 1806-1811, Rohrbach was also the local builder in charge at the Baltimore Cathedrals construction. Both Rohrbach and Machenheimer’s fathers were members of the original 1755 congregation of Zion. The building they finally constructed was like many German Lutheran Churches in the United States in the nineteenth century. It had a small rectangular shape but peculiarly followed a Gothic influence. Signifiers of this style on the building are the pointed window arches, and pointed steeple or a tower over the church. The Zion German Lutheran church possesses both of these features and is likely one of the earliest to exhibit these qualities in the States.

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<sup>173</sup> Klaus Wust, *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955; the Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955), 39.

<sup>174</sup> National Register of historic Places, Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Maryland, National Register #10024-0018, 5.

<sup>175</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward and Frank R. Shivers, *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 70.



German Lutheran was the earliest non-Catholic protestant religion, being founded by Martin Luther in the 1500s in the German territory of Europe.<sup>176</sup> This meant that these churches grew out of the Roman Catholic tradition in the early years and carried over some of their architectural traditions. It is unknown if there were any original drawings for the German Lutheran Baltimore, but some information was lost in an 1840 fire that also destroyed the building's interior. The appearance of the interior nave is known based on archival evidence.<sup>177</sup> The sanctuary is where the font, lectern, and pulpit were located, which are all integral to the Lutheran church's services.<sup>178</sup> These items were placed differently from their Catholic counterparts, having the pulpit placed on the right-side wall of the church, taking center stage for services with frequent preaching and readings from the scriptures.<sup>179</sup> Like most other Lutheran churches, the Zion had an organ which they brought over from the old 1785 church. The organ was wood and was adorned with German carvings. The instrument would have been played along with the traditional hymns.<sup>180</sup> The interior of these churches would be entirely empty of anything which blocked the view of the faithful of the sanctuary. The whole congregation must be able to see and hear the worship, so these churches tended to be small open hall planned buildings. These tactics were implemented when they came to the Americas at the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century.<sup>181</sup>

Looking to the well-documented Pennsylvania German Lutheran, the original layout of the Zion church can be assumed to be based on common Lutheran principles. Typically, interiors of Lutheran churches of the nineteenth century would follow an auditory seating arrangement with pews facing the elevated pulpit which in Zion was to the right (north side) and a gallery above the pews. Churches of the Lutheran faith in Philadelphia were described as "the most elegant churches in America" because of the

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<sup>176</sup> *German Lutheran Churches*. 2005. Accessed December 6, 2018.

<https://digital.films.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=98131&xtid=35323>.

<sup>177</sup> National Register of historic Places, Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Maryland, National Register #10024-0018, 14.

<sup>178</sup> Timothy J. Wengert, Mark Alan Granquist, Mary Jane. Haemig, Robert Kolb, Mark C. Mattes, and Jonathan Strom. *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Traditions*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2017

<sup>179</sup> *German Lutheran Churches* – 2005. Accessed December 6, 2018.

<https://digital.films.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=98131&xtid=35323>.

<sup>180</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 41.

<sup>181</sup> *German Lutheran Churches*. 2005. Accessed December 6, 2018.

<https://digital.films.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=98131&xtid=35323>.

focus on the material details.<sup>182</sup> The German Lutherans were detail and ornamentally focused people and this would often manifest these ideas in their church designs. The size and ornament of the Lutheran churches made them easy to demarcate within the cities in which they were built, such as Philadelphia and Baltimore.

The original church was 99 ft by 75 ft, with a shallow pitched gable roof, and was two stories high. There were then three bays on the short side and was six bays on the long side. The main entrance to the building faces east towards N. Gay Street. The front façades most significant element was the short squat square tower over the central door, which held the bell which called the members to worship. This tower was lost in the 1840 fire. The main entrance and side entrance had rounded arches in the 1822 Poppleton vignette, but show pointed arches in the 1830 John H. B. Latrobe drawing (Figure 59). These rounded door arches were a stark contrast to the pointed arches found over the window on the first and second floor.<sup>183</sup> These pointed arches were on every window of the church including those on the square bell tower, which had at least three round windows based on the 1822 Poppleton vignette (Figure 58).<sup>184</sup> Around the pediment was a wooden cornice which evoked a medieval look using a series of arched brackets. This cornice also encircles the rest of the building's roofline. The Flemish bond brick was laid in thick and thin sections across the front façade causing the walls to have sections of recessed stone.<sup>185</sup> Although the inside burned in the 1840 fire it is noted that the east side had an organ gallery and the west was the location of the pulpit. Like many German churches, the pulpit was lifted off the ground and hovered above the members. In this church, the pulpit reminded many of a "crow's nest" from a ship.<sup>186</sup> This reference to a "crow's nest" made sense as a majority of the population worked as shipbuilders in the nearby harbors. After the fire of 1840, the interior of the church was changed, and the pointed roofed tower was removed in favor of a flat crenelated tower at the center front. Upon its competition, the

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<sup>182</sup> Cynthia G. Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*. (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.) 134.

<sup>183</sup> National Register of historic Places, Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Maryland, National Register #10024-0018, 13.

<sup>184</sup> Poppleton, Thomas H, Joseph Cone, and Charles Peter Harrison. *This plan of the city of Baltimore*. [Baltimore, Commissioners, 1823] Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/77691538/>.

<sup>185</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 75.

<sup>186</sup> National Register of historic Places, Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Maryland, National Register #10024-0018, 13.

structure, and the lot it was built upon cost the church \$36,750.69 with \$28,250.69 of it being for the building itself. A majority of the \$28,000 went to the exterior of the building and the paying for the carpentry, masonry and blacksmithing. Through solid financial choices, the Zion, unlike many other churches in the city, were out of debt by 1817 even with its overall poorer congregation.<sup>187</sup>

When it was completed in 1808, the Zion church would have stood out as a stylistic anomaly in Baltimore City. Other than Zion, the only other church in the city using Gothic was the Catholic St. Mary's Seminary Chapel on the other side of town. In Maryland and the rest of the east coast, the Gothic style was not commonplace until the mid to late nineteenth century, setting the Baltimore apart. In this case, the material culture of the structure acts as a window into the imaginations, ideals, and intent of the German Lutheran population in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The material culture as defined by Cynthia Falk is the "physical manifestation of the personal identity" through man-made objects.<sup>188</sup> Essentially this is the way in which a population defines itself through its own works.

An obvious question arises regarding the Zion church building: Why would Baltimore Germans choose Gothic details over the steadfast Georgian, or the new and prominently growing American Neoclassical? And why was their building smaller and less ornate than many of the other structures being built around the city at this time? To answer these questions, both tangible building data and primary written documentation have been analyzed. In the case of the German Lutheran church, it is the social frameworks leading up to the church's construction which dictated the use of the Gothic style, as opposed to Georgian or Neoclassical. A building is the physical manifestation of the culture which resides in its walls, meaning that this building would represent those who built it. The German population in this period was finding their own identity in the changing landscape of Baltimore. The New World, without existing cultural and class, divides, presented the Germans of Baltimore an opportunity to invent and express a unique cultural identity. They used their own architecture as a way to define themselves as

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<sup>187</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 44.

<sup>188</sup> Cynthia G. Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*. (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.). 5.

distinctly non-English, non-American, and instead a German-American hybrid. They refused to be acculturated and Anglicized, yet did not simply desire to express native-German identity. Through their religious architecture, they found a way to shape this unique identity as a minority in the Baltimore religious landscape.

As early as the eighteenth-century, travelers remarked on their unified German culture through their language when speaking of the population as a whole. They mentioned how the German population held onto their mother tongue even as they lived surrounded by English speaking neighbors.<sup>189</sup> The German population was so prevalent in the United States that at the end of the Revolutionary War, German was almost chosen as the nation's second language behind English. At the turn the nineteenth century two decades later, there were over 270,000 individuals (about 13.36 %) who identified themselves as of German descent in the mid-Atlantic region.<sup>190</sup> In the Zion church until the first World War, the only language used for teaching and preaching was their native German.<sup>191</sup> This is important, as in Baltimore the German language stayed in use much longer than most other states. Not only because of the prevalence of the Zion Church, but also due to a later 1873 law from the city council that required all legal advertisements to be translated into German and printed in German newspapers.<sup>192</sup>

Even as late as the mid-1930s, a provision remained on the books mandating the translation and publication of all state laws and Baltimore City ordinances in at least one German-language newspaper...<sup>193</sup>

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the German Lutheran population have had issues among themselves and with their majority English neighbors since the early eighteenth century, and were forced to come to terms with their identity in the New World. These arguments arose over various issues, from taxation, property disputes, and language. For the German population in Maryland, they were “determined to

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<sup>189</sup> Cynthia G. Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America*. (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.) 16

<sup>190</sup> Hermann Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadsides and Their Meaning for Germans In North America, 1730-1830*. (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.) 142

<sup>191</sup> Klaus Wust, *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 51

<sup>192</sup> Felix Reichmann, *German Printing in Maryland, a Check List, 1768-1950*. (Baltimore, 1950.) 7

<sup>193</sup> Andrew Holter, "Our Town: What the Rise of Nazism Looked like in Baltimore during the 1930s." Citypaper.com. February 15, 2017. Accessed April 15, 2019.

maintain their culture” according to Terry Bilhartz. For the Germans, the church building was integral to how they interacted with their own community.<sup>194</sup> The church was not just the “center of their community” as Bilhartz argues, but it defined their community. In turn, how they designed the structure and where it was located showed the rest of Baltimore who they were as German-Americans. In the city, all denominations of the early nineteenth century had to make a choice and ask: What did they want the city to think of them? And how did they want to be perceived?

For the Germans, the church functioned as the community’s “primary public arena” for the discussion of traditions, family matter and more.<sup>195</sup> Bilhartz argues that due to this community, “few were delinquent in their religious obligations” placing religion as the “sanctuary” or center of their community.<sup>196</sup> If the church was their center the 1806 construction needed to exhibit these roles. Although more people in the city spoke English by the turn of the century, the German population still held a strong connection to their traditions through the church building, and community. This study argues that it was the emphasis on having one community built through the church which allowed the Germans to hold onto their traditions and language longer than other ethnic-religious communities in the city. For the Germans, expressing and strengthening their own identity as Germans was almost more important than the religion itself. How did this desire relate to the use of the Gothic style for their new church?

According to the *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Tradition* by Timothy Wengert, original foundational German Lutheran groups in Europe would take up the use of old German Catholic gothic cathedral buildings for their own purposes. These first churches would be longitudinal, with an altar located on the east end. Lutherans would often keep the Catholic decoration and statues, adding their own visuals on top over time as “for Luther, visual art merely supplied the imagination with an illustration.”<sup>197</sup> It was not until the 1540’s that the Lutherans built their first church. After this, it was still rare for new churches to be built, but those that were followed the preference of the congregation. These new buildings

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<sup>194</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.) 20.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> James Wetzstein. "Articles | Early Lutheran Church Architecture." The Institute for Sacred Architecture. Accessed April 14, 2019.

were always distinctive in the landscape.<sup>198</sup> For the Lutherans the “impulse is...to gather the community of the faithful in proximity to the word and sacrament and provide an environment for their song of response to God’s gifts of grace,” as stated by James Wetzstein in Volume 33 of the *Institute for Sacred Architectures Magazine*. Wengert, in agreement states, architectural style changes “naturally...according to time and place” and would often take the form of the popularized architecture.<sup>199</sup> Lutheran buildings were intended to be a place where “people can come together, pray, and give thanks to God.”<sup>200</sup> But they were also a place where prayer, art, and architecture could come together to tell a single narrative.

In the church’s doctrine, the building’s style or design was not dictated. As Wengert stated, Lutheran architectural styles would adapt to “time and place” and use popular styles.<sup>201</sup> In Baltimore however, the Lutherans did not use the popular Neoclassical style instead of choosing the virtually non-existent Gothic. Instead, the unique “time and place” of Baltimore resulted in a unique American German Lutheran cultural expression. Instead, the church’s design is not common. It is unique, and an outlier in the city’s landscape. The building, free from any stylistic rules or constraints, could be a visual, tangible manifestation of their specific Baltimorean German Lutheran ideals.

Although an outlier, it was not the only building in the city following a gothic tradition. Built only a year prior was the French Catholic Sulpician monk’s St. Mary’s Chapel. The French, like the Germans, were a minority to the majority British settler in Baltimore. In Chapter One it was determined that by placing their chapel outside the city they had more freedom in architectural styles than their Catholic Cathedral counterpart, which in turn allowed them the choice to exhibit both religious piety as well as personal identity in the Gothic style of their church. They created their own French-American identity through the use of the older European Gothic instead of the American Neoclassical, reconnecting to ethnic roots and historic religious tradition. Religion was the logical vessel for cultural expression, and

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<sup>198</sup> Timothy J. Wengert, Mark Alan Granquist, Mary Jane. Haemig, Robert Kolb, Mark C. Mattes, and Jonathan Strom. *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Traditions*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2017.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid

<sup>200</sup> Ibid

<sup>201</sup> Ibid

the church's location allowed the architecture to put forth a face of unique French-American identity. The same would be true of the German Lutherans.

Like the Catholics, the Zion German Lutheran church was the only Lutheran community in Baltimore. As a result, all ethnicities and nationalities of Lutherans worshiped together in the single church located by the river. This was true until 1824 when a second church was opened. Bilhartz argues that by 1800 immigrations decreased due to the Napoleonic Wars, and fewer first generation German immigrants living in Baltimore meant more German-Baltimoreans had assimilated into the English-speaking society. Due to this, arguments over language were constantly present amongst the church members. Would the church adapt to recent changes and use the English language, as Wiesenthal proposed almost 30 years earlier?<sup>202</sup> By 1800, there were new requests among the members to start preaching in the English language, and not just in German. These requests came from both British Lutherans of the congregation and German-Americans living in Baltimore. The German Lutheran church did not take well to this and the council voted down to this proposal.<sup>203</sup>

Due to this a portion of the congregation left to join various English speaking non-Lutheran churches. As Wiesenthal had predicted the church lost members due to its stubborn adherence to the German language as its only teaching method. At this point, the congregation consisted mostly of American born children and grandchildren of original church members and spoke a mixture of German and English. As the nineteenth century progressed, the urban-based church faced more problems with its English-speaking members.<sup>204</sup> More left due to its refusal to have English services in preference of solidarity as the only "truly German Lutheran Church."<sup>205</sup> Discontent continued into the 1810s after the 1808 Gothic church. Finally, in 1823 the English-speaking Lutherans left and built their own church on Lexington Street just east of Howard. This church is not visible on a map until the 1851 Sidney & Neff

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<sup>202</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.). 20.

<sup>203</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 21.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid. 50.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid. 51.

map. The church's beratement by the English speakers at the turn of the century forced the Lutherans to find how to retain and express its identity and "remain a German congregation for a long time to come."<sup>206</sup>

Later visitors to Baltimore painted the city emphasizing the hill of domes and spires. The view made by William H. Bartlett was iconized as the "Constantinople view," due to his exaggerations of the domes and steeples that rose atop the large hill of the north side of the city (Figure 60). When the Germans built their newest church in 1808, their building was distinctly different from the rest of the ecclesiastical architectures. Not only did the Lutheran church look different, but it was also located away from the nineteenth-century churches of the hill. Between 1800-1810, most turn of the century churches primarily purchased land at the top of the "Constantinople" hill on the northern part of the city. In this area of the city, 12 new churches were built after 1800-1825, joining another 8 churches located around this hill from the late 1700s. In total, including the German Lutheran church, 21 churches were built in this section of town. Although the German Lutheran Church was on the west side of the Jones Falls River, it was almost two blocks away from the nearest church in this study. The German Lutherans never tried to build a church atop the "Constantinople" hill, while the English Lutherans built their first edifice here in 1824. To the German Lutherans being close to their community in the historic location of their church was more important than the prominence of the top of the hill. The Lutheran church, unlike the rest of the city, was not part of the race for attention to attract newcomers like many of the other denominational buildings found around the city. The Germans, in their architecture, made the conscious choice not to express themselves as one of the large, powerful churches in the city, as found on the hill. Rather, the church wanted to hold onto its German identity alone by staying close to its community, and keep other non-German populations out of its doors.

The Lutherans, as mentioned earlier, were very involved in the German Society of Maryland, where they would source new congregational members. Due to this, their society they did not need a large

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<sup>206</sup> Klaus Wust. *Zion In Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland*. (Baltimore, Md: Zion Church of the City of Baltimore, 1955.) 52.



and ostentatious “Constantinople” styled church to invite new members into their community. They stayed at the bottom of the hill, lowering themselves away from the rest of the city. They chose a Gothic style to show that they were ethnically and culturally different from the rest of the Americans in the city. They used builders from their own community instead of the classically-trained European “architects,” as they trusted their own carpenters and builders to create exactly what the congregation needed in the nineteenth century.

Overall, the German Lutheran church is the opposite of every other major denomination found in the city during the nineteenth century. The church is smaller, unassuming, located outside of the main church ring, and of a Gothic style. The German Lutheran congregation, unlike the majority of the denominations in the nineteenth century, was more focused on staying true to their German roots and focusing on their Lutheran traditions, than in attracting new members from across the city. They did this by only sourcing new members through the 1783 German Society of Maryland, but also eventually committed to German as their sole language of communication, and by also using Gothic details in the design of their church. The Gothic style would set the church apart as a specifically non-American, in a time when the city was gaining a continental architectural identity of its own. Surrounding the Lutheran church were many buildings of the Jeffersonian or American Neoclassical style, meant to follow the fashionable public architecture of the budding country.

The Germans in America, however, looked back to a much older form of Lutheran architecture, the European Gothic. They did not follow the direction of their religion and did not bow to new American cultural norms. Not common popularity, nor strict piety, informed their Baltimore church construction. They chose to use the Gothic style. It was the congregation’s attempt to create their own unique American German Lutheran tradition. They took a page from the French congregation across town, who also used Gothic in their design to represent a unique and separate identity. Together, these two non-American congregations formed minority identities of their own in a city which was slowly Anglicizing in the nineteenth century. They used religion as a means to bring their ethno-cultural communities together and used church architecture to express their identities as unique groups in the American landscape. The

German choice to build a Gothic church represents a minority's resistance to the group in power and a resultant commitment to shaping and expressing a unique German Lutheran identity in the New World. The Baltimorean Lutheran Germans looked inward to themselves and their own unique history and identity to inspire and direct the architectural style of their own church building.

## Chapter 4: *Episcopal Architecture in Baltimore*



Plan of the City of Baltimore. Thomas H. Poppleton, 1822; Vignette F of the German Lutheran Church

The thesis thus far has presented three case studies showing the effect of Baltimore City's development on the religious architectural landscape during and prior to the nineteenth century. Through these previous studies, it has been argued that the City's religious architectural landscape must be analyzed as a whole. In the cases of the Catholic and German Lutheran churches, existing buildings could be referenced. For St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, however, there is no surviving nineteenth-century building. St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal was lost to fire in 1854. How can the architectural appearance of a building be studied if it no longer exists? The answer is found through Thomas Poppleton's 1822 map of Baltimore City. As mentioned previously, this map is a visual representation of the spatial relationships between each church, and its surrounding streetscape. The border vignettes on the map include St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal as it looked in 1822 (Figure 61). This is the earliest interpretation of the church which was completed in 1817. Through this map, as well as a series of other visual and descriptive sources, the story of the St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church can be mapped out and put in context with the rest of Baltimore City's urban history. The following chapter will place the church in conversation with the City of Baltimore. This comparison will reveal the church's relative

identity within the urban landscape, and determine what social constructs and conditions shaped the building's stylistic and situation choices.

The Episcopalian church is the “daughter of the Church of England,” also known as the Anglican Church.<sup>207</sup> The term Episcopal arose just after the end of the American Revolution when the United States spilt away from the English monarchy. St. Paul's, one of Maryland's oldest Protestant Episcopal Parishes, was founded in 1692, predating Baltimore Town by almost forty years. Although the Parish dates back to 1692, there have been Anglicans in Maryland since the mid-1630s. The Anglican church was most prominently in the Chesapeake Bay region of Virginia and Maryland. The first evidence of an Anglican settlement in Maryland was as early as 1629, as a northern extension of the Virginia Colony.<sup>208</sup>

The Augustine Herrman map from 1670 shows the meshing of the Maryland and Virginia territories in the seventeenth century. (Figure 1) The Anglicans first settlement was on the Island of Kent, called Claiborne's Trading post, located on the Chesapeake Bay as seen on Herrman.<sup>209</sup> Founded by Anglican, William Claiborne, who was also a Puritan sympathizer, came to New World in 1621 as a surveyor. Shortly after arriving, arguments arose with the Calverts over the creation of a new colony, which included his trading post. In 1631 Claiborne had been given permission by the Royal Government to found his Kent Island trading post. A year later in 1632, the Calverts received a charter from the King to create the Maryland colony, and in 1634 set sail with over 120 settlers. Claiborne's trading post came under the authority of Catholic Calverts, causing distress to Claiborne, and fueled his hatred for the Catholics. This was the beginning of animosity between Protestants and Catholics in the Maryland Colony that persisted into the next centuries.

Although Maryland was founded as a Catholic colony, a majority of first settlers were Anglican Protestants, which elite Catholics like Calvert, had brought as indentured servants. They came looking for

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<sup>207</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore: Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. (Baltimore: Turnbull Bros, 1874), 313.

<sup>208</sup> Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1939*. [S.l: s.n, 1939.] 5

<sup>209</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore: Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. (Baltimore: Turnbull Bros, 1874), 314.

a new start outside of England.<sup>210</sup> Maryland, due to its religious tolerance, invited people of all Trinitarian backgrounds into its borders. Like Pennsylvania, Maryland was a “proprietary” province, meaning the land essentially belonged to the proprietor, Calvert, rather than the English crown, and “some clauses in the charter, indeed appeared to give to the owner the most absolute power.”<sup>211</sup> Although, under Calvert’s jurisdiction, laws made had to align with, and be approved of, by the crown and the “freemen of the province,” who were both controlled by the Church of England.<sup>212</sup> This became the colonies’ strength and weakness in the coming decades.

Though the Anglican population grew, there were no priests until the 1650s in St. Mary’s City, located on the lower left quadrant of the Herrman map just of the Bay (Figure 2). The small congregation built a church in the City, it’s unknown what it looked like, but it was likely made of wood frame or log as this was typical in early American construction.<sup>213</sup> In 1650, almost two decades after their arrival in St. Mary’s, the church gained their first minister, Reverend William Wilkinson. This lack of leadership was due to European Anglican priests not wanting to journey to the new colony. The Church of England received no support from Maryland due to the Toleration Act, and the Anglicans on their own could not support their leaders. The Anglican priests saw no gain in crossing the Atlantic to go to Maryland.

Twenty-five years later the congregation only had three ministers, and Reverend John Yeo, who had arrived in 1675, wrote a personal letter to the Anglican Bishop of Canterbury in 1676 expressing his concern about the “sad state of the Anglican Church in Maryland.”<sup>214</sup>

The province of Maryland is in deplorable condition for want of an established ministry. Here are ten or twelve counties, and in them at least 20,000 souls and but three Protestant ministers of the Church of England. The priests [i.e. Roman Catholics] are providing for...but no care is taken to build up churches in the Protestant religion. The Lord’s day is profaned; religion is despised, and all notorious vices are committed.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Antoinette Patricia Sutto, *Loyal Protestants and Dangerous Papists: Maryland and the Politics of Religion in the English Atlantic, 1630-1690*. (Charlottesville, London: University of Virginia Press, 2015.) Chap. 2 P. 24

<sup>211</sup> James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*. (New York: Scribner, 1951) 32

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Antoinette Patricia Sutto, *Loyal Protestants and Dangerous Papists: Maryland and the Politics of Religion in the English Atlantic, 1630-1690*. (Charlottesville, London: University of Virginia Press, 2015.)

<sup>214</sup> John H. Seabrook, "The Establishment of Anglicanism in Colonial Maryland." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 39, no. 3 (1970), 288.

<sup>215</sup> James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 33.

He requested assistance in establishing the Church of England's authority, as well as for more clergy to be sent by the archbishop to fix the neglect the colony faced by the Catholic government.<sup>216</sup> Further, the letter states that "many daily fall away either to Popery, Quakerism, or Phanticism..." asserting his flock was converting in Maryland's already diverse religious landscape. James Addison explains that "[i]f the Church of England was poorer for having lost the Puritans in the Seventeenth century, it was again poorer for losing the Methodist in the century which followed."<sup>217</sup> The new branches of Protestantism attracted members with their more emotional preaching, and these principles did not fit within the reserved Anglican church. Although one new clergyman was sent over, Reverend Yeo's plea was all but ignored by the Archbishop in England.

The Calverts began to feel pressure in the 1680s from Protestant citizens, and the crown, over Maryland's stance on religious tolerance. Following the Glorious Revolution and William and Mary's establishment in 1689, Maryland was made a Royal Province. This established the Church of England and Annapolis as the new capital.<sup>218</sup> The institution of Anglicanism separated the colony into 30 parishes in charge of collecting taxes, in support of the clergy and church. St. Paul's, formerly known as the Patapsco Parish, is one of these original parishes (Figure 62).<sup>219</sup> In the unpublished 1855 manuscript *Historical Sketched of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County, Maryland* by Reverend Ethen Allen there is a hand-drawn map of Baltimore County showing each Parish's boundaries. The Patapsco Parish is marked in on the lower part of the county stretching from the Middle River to the county's western limit (Figure 62). It's unknown when the first church was built, but it was likely just after 1692.<sup>220</sup> Baltimore Town was laid out in 1729, and in 1730 St. Paul's bought "Lot 19", as seen in vignette "Plan of Baltimore Town in 1729..." at the bottom of the Poppleton map (Figure 6).<sup>221</sup> It was purchased after the General Assembly

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<sup>216</sup> John H. Seabrook, "The Establishment of Anglicanism in Colonial Maryland." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 39, no. 3 (1970), 288.

<sup>217</sup> James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 25.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid. 33.

<sup>219</sup> Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1939*. ([S.l: s.n, 1939.] 6.

<sup>220</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen's Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 20.

<sup>221</sup> Richard Hubbard. Howland and Eleanor Patterson. Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), 21. Annotation: This was not the first-choice location for St. Paul's church. In 1729 the Vestry had petitioned the General Assembly for the construction of their church on Edward Fell's land, also known as Fell's Point, east of what would become

passed a 1730 Act “for the building of a church in a town called Baltimore Town, in St. Paul’s Parish.”<sup>222</sup>

The lot was at the top of the hill to the north of town, overlooking the bay, as seen in John Moale’s 1752 sketch.<sup>223</sup> Building started in 1731 and was completed in May of 1739.<sup>224</sup> It was built by the town’s first builder-architect, Thomas Hartwell.<sup>225</sup>

A depiction of the church can be seen on John Moale’s 1752 sketch, and more clearly in William Strickland’s 1817 engraving based on the sketch (Figure 10 & 63). In John Moale’s sketch the church appears unfinished by the artist, but still shows what it may have looked like before it was torn down in 1786. In William Strickland’s engraving, he has given the church more details, but he likely took liberties in the appearance, as the building was torn down thirty years earlier. In Moale, it’s the most prominent building in size and location, sitting slightly separated, above the rest of town, on the hill showing its importance. Both depictions show an end gable façade with an arched doorway, and a second door on the south side. In both Moale and Strickland, the church does not follow Ethen Allen’s description of only having six windows. Moale does not indicate any windows, while in Strickland there are too many windows with seven on the south and west sides alone. Also, Moale shows a lightly drawn wooden fence and gate around the church, which is not in Strickland, but is mentioned by Allen, as being replaced by a brick wall in 1762.<sup>226</sup> Strickland includes a chimney, and bell tower, with a cross, on the gable’s ridge.

Ethen Allen notes the church as 50ft long by 23ft wide, 18ft high to the ceiling, and made of brick. The Vestry spent 40 Pounds on the brick, lime, and sand for the project, as well as another 90 Pounds to Charles Wells for 100,000 more bricks. The church’s features were based on other Parish churches around Baltimore County, including St. Johns in Joppa, Maryland. In 1730, Moale was consulted on the purchase of rafters, six windows and two doors. The doors, like in Moale’s drawing,

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Baltimore and Jones Towns. (Also see Reverend Ethen Allen’s Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul’s Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 54.)

<sup>222</sup> Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul’s Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1939*. ([S.l: s.n, 1939.] 6.

<sup>223</sup> Richard Hubbard Howland and Eleanor Patterson. Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), 18.

<sup>224</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen’s Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul’s Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 69.

<sup>225</sup> Richard Hubbard Howland, and Eleanor P. Spencer. *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History*. [1st ed. Baltimore:] Johns Hopkins Press, 1953, 1953), 18.

<sup>226</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen’s Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul’s Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 96.

were placed one on the end, on the south long side. Allen partially describes the interior, as having eight pews, four on either side of the nave. In 1745, St. Paul's and the Patapsco Friends meetinghouse were the only known public worship buildings in Baltimore. In 1751 a gallery space, bell and organ were added to the 1730 church in response to the expanding congregation.<sup>227</sup>

Just prior to the Revolutionary War, in 1773, the taxable inhabitants of Baltimore County were 10,498.<sup>228</sup> Baltimore City had about 6,000 people in 1774. In response in 1779, a new brick church was planned.<sup>229</sup> Discussions for a new building started as early as 1766, when the church was growing beyond its means, filling the 1751 gallery. In 1766, the building was at capacity, and new members, like John Beau Bordley, were rejected when they applied for pews.<sup>230</sup> In 1771, a petition followed by a pew lottery were sent to support the construction of a new church.<sup>231</sup> The church, started in 1779, was intended to house the pre-American Revolution Anglican congregation of about 315 people. The Baltimore congregation continued building, finishing the structure in 1784, unfortunately, as the war progressed, the population who supported the Crown fled, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Thomas Ruckle's painting captures one of the few pictures of the 1784 brick structure (Figure 64). The image clearly shows the church and its surrounding churchyard. The church had a gable roof, with white trim surrounding its entirety, as well as a pedimented front facade. Here, like St. Peter's Catholic church, the Maryland Historical Society's 2016 rendering helps to paint a clearer picture of what Ruckle intended in his painting (Figure 48). The windows are Roman arches and are all of equal size and width. The front of the building has three bays and the long sides have six bays. Ethen Allen describes the look and location of the 1784 edifice. The structure was built just in front of the 1730's church on the high hill. St. Paul's east end had one large window, and "[the building] had three large doors, more imposing than any belonging to either of the structures to which it had been compared." One door was on

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<sup>227</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen's Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 56, 57, 60, 86, 90.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid, 100.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, 111 and 99.

<sup>230</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). 70.

<sup>231</sup> Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1939*. ([S.l: s.n, 1939.] 9.



the west end, and two were on the south side; of these only one was usable, the other (eastern side) was plastered shut.<sup>232</sup> The interior was described as having five aisles, and square box pews. The north side housed the chancel rail, pulpit and alter. The organ was placed in the west gallery.<sup>233</sup> This church remained in use until Robert Cary Long Sr.'s St. Paul's Church was built in 1812.

The Revolutionary War brought the church to a state of uncertainty. Prior to the War, Anglicanism was one of the largest expanding congregations in Maryland, consisting of 26.5% of the 211 congregations in 1776.<sup>234</sup> In the decades following the 1688 Glorious Revolution and leading up to the American Revolution, Anglicans only bought British furnishings, china, and tea to hold on to their English identity.<sup>235</sup> Anglicans had painted a picture of themselves as British Loyalists through these habits and the church's direct connection to England. Once the war started their actions further supported this picture, when many of its clergy and congregation members sided with Britain. Americans deemed the church to be loyalist territory, even after the War.<sup>236</sup> It was evident that these decisions would be a disaster as "no other religious body was seriously injured by the American Revolution" but "[t]he Church was almost destroyed."<sup>237</sup>

The Anglican establishment had always been a disadvantage; although, at first seen as positive because the church received state funding, and a consistent flow of English citizens. In truth though this funding was through taxes, and did not mean the loyalty of members. Historically, the Anglican church taxed non-Anglican individuals higher than those of the faith in Maryland. For example, Catholics were taxed almost double Anglicans and were not allowed to vote on political matters.<sup>238</sup> In turn, non-Anglicans may have become Anglican to avoid harsher taxes and treatment. Colonel Charles Calvert of the historically Catholic Calverts converted to Anglicanism in 1720, shortly after some of the harshest

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<sup>232</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen's Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 115.

<sup>233</sup> Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1939*. ([S.l: s.n, 1939.] 9.

<sup>234</sup> Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 280.

<sup>235</sup> Antoinette Patricia Sutto, *Loyal Protestants and Dangerous Papists: Maryland and the Politics of Religion in the English Atlantic, 1630-1690*. (Charlottesville, London: University of Virginia Press, 2015.) Introduction, p. 16

<sup>236</sup> George Hodges, *Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America*. (Philadelphia: Published for the Missionary Thank Offering Committee by G.W. Jacobs, 1906), 77.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid. 78

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

laws were introduced. Through this conversion, he regained control of the colony, and his leadership reduced problems between Catholics and Protestants left over from the 1688 Revolution. This led to a period of relative peace. According to James Addison, the greatest challenge was the lack of Bishops in the colonies, because, without this organization, the church could not properly flourish, and was unified in its endeavors.<sup>239</sup>

In the 1770s, there were 495 parishes in the thirteen colonies.<sup>240</sup> Most of the 318 Anglican clergy resided in the south, with more than half between Maryland and Virginia where the religion had been long established. Maryland was an anomaly among the states. In Nancy Rhoden's work she discovered that of Maryland 58 clergy, 11 proclaimed themselves to be Patriots, 17 were Loyalists, and 30 were Neutral in the war.<sup>241</sup> Many ministers chose to remain neutral avoiding politics altogether, rather than choosing a side in the fighting. Neutrality was a defense mechanism to avoid "[v]iolence and imprisonment [which] proved excellent incentives for a quiet demeanor."<sup>242</sup> Ministers were watched by Patriots in the community due to their religious ties to England.<sup>243</sup> Maryland held sentiments similar to the High-Churches of the north, but also were long-term established like very patriotic laity from Virginia, who had backed their local signers of the Declaration of Independence, like George Washington.<sup>244</sup> Maryland's laity were almost evenly split Patriot and Loyalist, putting the state in a precarious position between the two sides, being neither one nor the other. Still, the fact that almost a third of the 58 clergy were Patriots, and a third were Loyalist is important to Maryland's social demographic in the years following the war.

The new constitution of 1776 disestablished the Anglican church, causing this schism. Mentioned previously, in 1776 there were 58 clergymen in Maryland, and by the end of the War in 1783, at least 27 ministers had fled or died.<sup>245</sup> Between 1776 and 1783, seventeen (29%) ministers fled Maryland. Another

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<sup>239</sup> James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 50.

<sup>240</sup> Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 25.

<sup>241</sup> Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 89.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*, 104.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid*, 96.

<sup>244</sup> David Hein, and Gardiner H Shattuck. *The Episcopalians*. (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2004), 43.

<sup>245</sup> Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy During the American Revolution*. (New York University Press, 1999), 89.

ten (17%) ministers died during this same period.<sup>246</sup> In turn, churches closed during the War, leaving Anglicanism in a state of flux throughout the country. In the thirteenth colonies, most who had affiliations with the monarchy fled to England through the War.<sup>247</sup> Why did these clergy flee? The church had always been a place of social and political conversation. This meant a minister's preaching had an effect on the congregation, and the church, in turn, could be used as a place of political influence once the War began. An Anglican minister before the War was a position of high respect. This respect was lost after the War. Although most of the truly passionate ministers left for England at the start of the War, American Patriots were left wary of those who stayed of being English affiliates. In short, Anglican clergy were unpopular even after the War in American cities.

Following the war, the Anglican Church faced more problems in Baltimore. First, after the disestablishment of the church in 1776, non-Anglican churches flooded the city, setting up more preeminent congregations, and giving more religious options for citizens. Next, the leaders of the Revolution, through disestablishment, created a complete separation of church and state, and the Anglican church no longer had any support of the state government.<sup>248</sup> Overall, the church, no longer supported by foreign aid, or local government, and with many leaders and congregation having fled, was barely surviving.

In 1780, Maryland held a conference of laity and the term "Protestant Episcopal Church" was first used to describe the church, shortly after in 1783 Maryland officially adopted the term.<sup>249</sup> It was adopted by the rest of the states through the mid-1780s, in thanks to a 1782 publication "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered" by William White of Pennsylvania. Ideas from this document were included in the new Constitution of the Episcopal Church, unifying what was left of the once Anglican churches. In 1789 the Protestant Episcopal Church formally separated from the Church of

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<sup>246</sup> Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy During the American Revolution*. (New York University Press, 1999), 103. The affiliation of the ministers who died between 1776 and 1783 is not listed as Patriot, Loyalist or Neutral in Rhoden's book.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid. 90

<sup>248</sup> James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 57.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

England, and the first Bishop Thomas John Claggett was elected.<sup>250</sup> Through these steps the Episcopal Church created new roots in the American religious landscape, giving them the ability to compete with other denominations in the coming nineteenth century.

Though members were fewer after the war, only about 10,000 in the whole country in 1790, the presence of the church was still felt in larger cities like Baltimore, where more people could come together for worship.<sup>251</sup> In 1790, Baltimore Town had 13,503 people and harbored one of the largest Episcopalian populations after the War.<sup>252</sup> Around the country, Addison states that between 1790-1811 was the lowest period of spirituality in the nation's history.<sup>253</sup> Finke and Stark's study shows that the Episcopal Church fell from 15.7% adherents in 1776 to only 3.5% adherents in 1850.<sup>254</sup> Terry Bilhartz states that in 1790 the population of Anglicans was about 1,000 people and around 8% (a drop from the 26.5% Finke and Stark estimated in 1776) of the 44% churchgoing population of Maryland. This was also about one-twelfth of the total church-going population, and the largest single congregation in the city even after the war. This made the Episcopal population the largest of the English Protestant churches which made up 24% of the city's total church-going population. Although 8% seems small, they were still 100 people more than the next closest English Protestants, the Methodists, which were 7% of the total. Since 1810, the population had only risen to 3,500 people, but still only held about 8% of the English Protestant population. In 1810, this 8% placed them behind the quickly growing Methodists (10%), the German Protestants (11%), and the Catholic religion (12%).<sup>255</sup> These numbers show that in twenty years the Episcopal congregation had only grown by about 2,500 people. In comparison, other religions like the German Lutherans grew from 900 to 3,300 people, the Catholics grew from 900 to over 5,550 people, and the Methodists grew from 900 to 4,500 people in that same amount of time. Although still growing

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<sup>250</sup> James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 67.

<sup>251</sup> David Hein, and Gardiner H Shattuck. *The Episcopalians*. (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2004), 59.

<sup>252</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen's Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 133.

<sup>253</sup> James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931*. (New York: Scribner, 1951), 77.

<sup>254</sup> Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 55.

<sup>255</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 157.

consistently, these increases were slow when likened to the other major groups in the city. According to Finke and Stark, this was due to their inability to adjust to the new “religious free market” after the War.<sup>256</sup>

As mentioned previously, a third of Maryland’s Anglican Clergy stood in support of American independence, and his connection is likely what allowed Baltimore to hold onto its larger congregation than other places in the nation after the War. Their adherence to liberty meant that more of their congregation stayed intact instead of leaving with the other 75% of their population.<sup>257</sup> This allowed growth, albeit slow, post-War.<sup>258</sup> Essentially, those still in Baltimore no longer felt connected to Britain, and instead felt American, opposing the views of outsiders who believed them to be left over Loyalists. Growth was slow between 1790 and 1800, but from the turn of the century until 1810 it picked up speed, the congregation finding its feet and making “significant inroads into the city...”.<sup>259</sup>

As early as 1793, there were plans in the works to expand the size of the 1784 church due to the “great demand for pews...” by the leftover St. Paul’s congregation.<sup>260</sup> Although the congregation had lost members, St. Paul’s was still the only Episcopal church in town at the start of the 1780s. To help accommodate the slow growth of the congregation, three more churches opened, Christ Church in 1797, St. Peter’s Episcopal in 1804 and Trinity Church in 1806. Later in 1810, Baltimore’s population had risen to 46,555 people, and the idea of building an additional church, or addition to St. Paul’s was proposed.<sup>261</sup> In 1810 plans were drawn up by Nicolas Rogers, using the old-fashioned English Baroque style. It was intended to look like a “Temple of Divine Worship” and followed the typically over-decorated style. It was described as having a “projecting entrance, balustrade with statues of saints, and an enormous four-stage steeple, each with its own heavy decoration” according to Mary Ellen Hayward.

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<sup>256</sup> Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 57.

<sup>257</sup> Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 206.

<sup>258</sup> George Hodges, *Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America*. (Philadelphia: Published for the Missionary Thank Offering Committee by G.W. Jacobs, 1906), 78.

<sup>259</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 20.

<sup>260</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen’s Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul’s Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 155.

<sup>261</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen’s Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul’s Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 199.

Later in April of 1811, new plans were drawn and presented to the Vestry, needed a lot of 110ft facing Charles Street and 147ft down St. Paul's Street.<sup>262</sup> Due to the intended size, issues arose over where to put the new church. If kept in the current lot the old church would need to be torn down, and the bodies of the dead moved to another lot. Also, the present lot was collapsing in on itself even with the assistance of a barrier wall. The dramatic drop next to the church can be seen next to the left side wall in Thomas Ruckle's 1805 painting. (Figure 64) The ground level had changed drastically around St. Paul's, and it now sat above the adjacent street.<sup>263</sup> Shortly after in June 1812, the War of 1812 was declared against the British, halting all work on the building. With the rise of a second war with Britain, would similar sentiments arise over the loyalties of the Episcopalian church?

To many, the War of 1812 could be considered a second War for Independence. By the start of the War, a new generation had grown up in America and had a new perspective of the Episcopal church. In the previous War, some 60,000 Loyalists left America.<sup>264</sup> In Nancy Rhoden's book *Revolutionary Anglicanism*, she states that "the War of 1812 found bishops and ministers of the Episcopal Church more united in their support for the American cause than in 1776."<sup>265</sup> With the majority of those loyal to the crown having already left, and many of the nation's Founding Fathers being members, at least in name, of the previously Anglican church, sentiments, in general, had come to accept that Episcopalians as no longer British, but American.

Once the War ended with the defeat of the British in 1814, a new design was created for the St. Paul's Episcopal church and the cornerstone laid. Local builder-architect Robert Cary Long Sr. had been chosen to design, build, and furnish the new Neoclassical building. Robert Cary Long Sr. was the first native-born architect in Baltimore City. Long was the owner of a local lumber yard and workshop which helped him rise to prominence within the city. His work has been described by historians as leaving his

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<sup>262</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen's Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 201.

<sup>263</sup> William Edward Wyatt, *A Sermon Preached in Grace Church, On Sunday Morning, April 30th, 1854, the Day After the Destruction of St. Paul's Church by Fire*. (Baltimore: Published by request of the congregation, Printed by Joseph Robinson, 1854), 29.

<sup>264</sup> Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 358.

<sup>265</sup> Nancy L. Rhoden, *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy During the American Revolution*. (New York University Press, 1999), 91.

“...own legacy of landmark building. He produced work influence[d] by both Federal and Latrobean Neoclassical styles, blending conservative and daring elements in unexpected ways.”<sup>266</sup> Long’s work prior to St. Paul’s was a mixture of dwellings and public architecture, and St. Paul’s would be the only church he designed. His son Robert Cary Long Jr. would be the first native-born professionally trained architect in Baltimore.

In May of 1814, Rev. W. E. Wyatt laid the cornerstone of the church, on the corner of Charles and Saratoga marked “B” on Poppleton (Figure 61). Construction continued until 1817 when it was finally completed, except for the tiered steeple on the front. Upon its completion, Ethen Allan states that Reverend Dr. James Kemp spoke of the church as “‘perhaps the largest and most elegant building of the kind in the United States’ and at the time it was probably so.”<sup>267</sup> The building cost \$142,500 dollars when complete, making it one of the most expensive churches in Baltimore for the period just behind the Cathedral at \$225,000 and some of the other large-scale public buildings, as listed on the vignettes of the Poppleton Map.

When completed, the church was massive compared to the rest of the City’s religious architecture. It was 84ft across the front and 176 ft long. Once the steeple was completed, the church stood 126ft high, making the church very imposing compared to the rest of the city’s religious architecture, save for maybe the Catholic Cathedral which was finished four years later in 1821 and was only 105ft tall. In an 1847 article by Hugh Davey Evan, the church is described as “the largest and most spacious church edifice in the City of Baltimore, and capable of seating the greatest number of persons.”<sup>268</sup> The church stood until 1854 when it was destroyed by a fire. Due to the fire, there are no known photographs of the whole structure. One daguerreotype “View of Baltimore Harbor from Federal Hill” by H. Clarke ca. 1850, shows the steeple of the church in front of the Cathedral’s dome, on the left-

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<sup>266</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). 87.

<sup>267</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen’s Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul’s Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society), 199.

<sup>268</sup> William Edward Wyatt, *A Sermon Preached in Grace Church, On Sunday Morning, April 30th, 1854, the Day After the Destruction of St. Paul’s Church by Fire*. (Baltimore: Published by request of the congregation, Printed by Joseph Robinson, 1854), 30.

hand side of the image (Figure 65). With the building destroyed, and limited photographic evidence, descriptions and period drawings were used to understand its appearance before the fire.

The most important source to effectively put St. Paul's into the religious landscape of Baltimore is the 1822 Poppleton map. The map is the first contemporary image of the church as it appeared in 1822, in vignette "B" (Figure 61). Poppleton's map is important as it places St. Paul's in a visual relation to the other structures in town on the map and in the vignettes. On the map itself the square representing St. Paul's shows it larger than most structures in town but on par in size with places like the Cathedral or the Zion German Lutheran. Although the sizing of these boxes could be exaggerated for emphasis by the artist it does put the building into perspective. The boxes were drawn and sized according to how Poppleton saw the buildings around town. When looking to the vignettes themselves, a lot of detail about the town's architecture can be observed. Although small, each image is detailed enough to create a basic picture of what the churches looked like in 1822. The image of St. Paul's is on the upper left quadrant of the map just below the corner of the paper. Each church is surrounded by all associated information including name, denomination, date, street location, cost, and architect. The image St. Paul's is shown at a three-quarter view to the west façade and north side is visible. From this depiction, it gives the viewer a good idea of what the building would have looked like.

The structure five bays wide and eight bays in length, and was only one story tall. The front façade uses the Grecian Doric order for the four sets of double columns in front of the covered portico. Inside the portico are three arched doorways, whether each is a door is unclear in Poppleton's image. On either side of the portico is an arched niche the same height as the portico's doorways. These windows are surrounded by what is likely carved stone. Surrounding the whole structure is a partial entablature. Over the portico section of the entablature is a frieze of metopes and triglyphs. Above entablature of the portico is a raised section with three round windows. These window line up with the three doorways of the portico. Finally, on the facade above the whole portico is the steeple. The steeple is three tiers high with each appearing to be a different classical order. The final tier is capped by a domed cupola with a cross at its center. Behind the façade is a gable roof. The rear of the structure is not visible. The knowledge of the



church's appearance, although primarily based its depiction in Poppleton's map, is further expanded by a more detailed depiction in John H. B. Latrobe's 1832 book, *Picture of Baltimore*. The book is a collection of descriptions and images of Baltimore by John H. B. Latrobe, son of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, and Fielding Lucas Jr.

In this book, the church's exterior and interior are described in some detail. The exterior of the church was described as Neoclassical using Grecian influence. The church in the book is also shown from the three-quarter view like in Poppleton's map, but far more detailed. Although the book is from 1832, it's not known when Latrobe made the sketch of the building. It is possible Latrobe or Poppleton copied from one another's images, as they are very similar. A quote from the Latrobe book states that:

‘The style of architecture is Grecian Doric. The steeple is in three different division; Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, respectively. The body of the edifice, and the steeple, are built of bricks, the architectural parts, principally of marble and freestone.’ ‘The interior of the church, consist of a vaulted nave, separated from the aisle and chancel, by ranges of columns, and supporting the vaulted ceiling and galleries. This church contains a noble organ.’ In front, over the frieze and architrave, are two *alto relieve* figures, representing Christ and Moses, sculptured by Capellano.<sup>269</sup>

This description is relatively close to the watercolor image presented along with the text. From this depiction, some details are further expanded from the Poppleton map. Material is determined with the body of the building being of brick and the details of marble, which is reinforced by the watercolor image. Red is used for the brick on the path and the body of the church. The rest of the structure is shown in a light tan or off-white to represent stone. More detail is given to the two front arched niches and shows they are also found on the north façade on either end in the corner projecting bays. Also uncovered in this image is that the frieze of triglyphs and metopes is repeated on the north side. It is found on each end above the niches in the corner projected bays. The Grecian Doric columns are shown to be fluted resting on the recessed portico behind the stone steps leading up to the church. Finally, what is visible in Latrobe's drawing, but not Poppleton's, are the orders of the steeple. The first tier is clearly Ionic, and the

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<sup>269</sup> John H. B. Latrobe, (John Hazlehurst Boneval) and 1500-1926 Sabin Americana. *Picture of Baltimore: Containing a Description of All Objects of Interest in the City and Embellished with Views of the Principle Public Buildings*. F. Lucas, jr, (1832), 133-34.

second is Corinthian, but unfortunately, in the image, the so-called Composite third tier is not depicted as such. Above the third tier is the dome copula and a cross. The cross has two crossbars resembling St. Andrews cross mounted on a central post. It is likely that Latrobe was trying to present perspective here and showed both the front and side view of the cross.

As mentioned previously, at its completion St. Paul's stood as one of the most "handsome" buildings in the city according to contemporaries.<sup>270</sup> St. Paul's was the largest and most imposing structure of its kind on the "Chapel Hill" in 1817. The intent of the St. Paul's structure, like the rest of the churches in this study, was a way to allow the Episcopal church to project their desired identity to the surrounding City of Baltimore. This can be done by looking at the social conditions leading up to its construction. After separating from the English Anglican Church, the now Episcopalians had not had the easiest start in the city. Many of the other Protestant and Non-Protestant sects after the Revolutionary War believed them to still be left over English Loyalists. After a few decades, and following the War of 1812, the Episcopalians had been able to gain a generally good reputation in the city. In these decades the Episcopalians built more denominational churches including St. Paul's, and the architecture of St. Paul's was made as a final projection of their intentions in the new United States. Why would a congregation once considered Loyalists build something so ostentatious? Why did they build in the Neoclassical style, and not the originally proposed English Baroque? Why make it so large when it rested on a hill which already dominated the north side of town? All of these answers can be discovered through the analysis of the history of the architecture and its surrounding contexts.

First, the history of the Episcopalians and their church building in Baltimore reveals much behind the intent of the St. Paul's structure. Their history, presented in this chapter, is similar to many of the other religions being discussed and has consisted of a series of difficulties leading up to their nineteenth-century buildings. For the Episcopalians, these came from the initial establishment, later disestablishment,

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<sup>270</sup> Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore: With a Statistical Sketch of All the Commercial, Mercantile, Manufacturing, Literary, Scientific, and Religious Institutions and Establishments, In the Same, and In Its Vicinity for Fifteen Miles Round : To Which Is Added, a Detailed Statement of an Excursion On the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road to the Point of Rocks, Giving an Interesting Description of Said Road, &c., and an Advertising Directory*. (Baltimore: S. Young, 1833), 47.

and then the overall distrust from its neighboring religions. Starting after the Revolutionary War the church struggled to hold onto its once prominent place within the city, once its religious adherence rate dropped it would never truly recover, no matter how hard they tried.

Between the end of the revolution in 1783 and 1825, some 40 new religious buildings belonging to at least 12 Christian denominations, and the 40 individual congregations were built. Baltimore, in this same time period, quadrupled in population reaching just over 60,000 people between 1790 and 1820. The Episcopal church, having lost all of their support from England, followed by the loss of Maryland's governmental support, and finally losing part of their congregation in the Revolution found navigating their way in the rapidly growing city difficult. What was the Episcopal church to do in a city that was slowly forgetting about them?

Following the desertion of up to 75% of their population across the country in the War, the Episcopal church struggled to grow like the other protestant denominations.<sup>271</sup> In Baltimore, it had trouble keeping up with other newer protestant denominations in the city. This influx came after the Episcopalians' aforementioned disestablishment, allowing the city's development of a diverse mix of religions. Before the Revolution in 1776, Finke and Stark estimated that 12-17% of Maryland's population attended church. This variation comes from whether the adherence rate is of the total population or just white adherence.<sup>272</sup> Though 12-17% seems small, America was still, even by the 1770s, a frontier settlement compared to well-established England. Many areas were still relatively new settlements and had not yet experienced a boom in population. Baltimore did not boom until after the American Revolution when Bilhartz states that by 1790, 40% of Baltimoreans were churched. Before this boom and American Revolution though, Baltimore, like the rest of Maryland, was a small merchant and warehouse town. "On any given Sunday morning there were at least as many people recovering from late Saturday nights in the taverns of these seaport towns as were in church" states Finke and Stark.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 206.

<sup>272</sup> Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 30.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

It is unknown if the 1774 estimate of 6,000 people included the free and enslaved black population present in Baltimore in this period. The free and enslaved black community percentage in Baltimore is not exactly known. In Marina L. R. Dantas book, *Black Townsmen: Urban Slavery and Freedom in the Eighteenth-Century Americas* she concluded that in 1776, enslaved blacks made up 8% of Fells Point's 821-person population. The surrounding Baltimore County, in this same period, the enslaved made up some 19-26% of the total county population. Because the exact percentage of slaves in Baltimore Town at this period is unknown, the study will use the 8% from the Fell's Point to calculate what an estimated Town population may have been in 1776. It can be determined that perhaps some 480 blacks were present in Baltimore Town in 1776. *Black Townsmen* does not list what percent free blacks made up the city at this point. Although, it could be assumed 8% of the 6,000 people in 1774 were black, for the purpose of this study, because it is unknown if the 6,000 did or did not include blacks, the 6,000 will be presumed to be the total white population of Baltimore.<sup>274</sup>

Finke and Stark's white adherence rate of 17% will be used to determine the size of the Episcopal population in 1776 in Baltimore, assuming Baltimore prior to the American Revolution followed the trend of the rest of Maryland.<sup>275</sup> Between 1774 and 1790 the Baltimore population rose to 13,503 people, this is an increase of 7,503 people in 16 years, or about 469 people per year. Based on this, in 1776 the 6,000 people from 1774 would now be about 7,000 (6,938) people. Of these 7,000 people, only 17% went to church equaling about 1,190 people total in Baltimore. A second statistical study by Finke and Stark concluded that in Maryland in 1776 an estimated 26.5% of people were on the Anglican faith, assuming that Baltimore followed these same trends some 315 people adhered to the Anglican faith in 1776 in Baltimore.<sup>276</sup>

Starting in 1784 just after the end of the American Revolution, St. Paul's Episcopal church finished building its newest structure which accommodated their leftover population and clergy in

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<sup>274</sup> Mariana L. R. Dantas, *Black Townsmen: Urban Slavery and Freedom in the Eighteenth-Century Americas*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 56.

<sup>275</sup> Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 55.

<sup>276</sup> Rodney Stark, and Roger Finke. "American Religion in 1776: A Statistical Portrait." *Sociological Analysis* 49, no. 1 (January 1988), 47.

Baltimore. This church replaced the smaller 1730s building. The church originally was built with the intent of holding the larger pre-War Episcopal population of Baltimore, the 315-person growing population. In Maryland after the War, the building's intent changed, and now was made to hold the post-War population together as one unit through its constructions at the heart of the expanding city. After the War, adherence rates across the country dropped in response to the violence.<sup>277</sup> When looking at the 1792 Folie Map, St. Paul's newest structure is marked by "H" and is seen just north of the developed downtown area by the loop of the all-important Jones Falls River (Figure 19 & 20). Being placed on the hill which overlooked the city kept their intended purpose, to be the most important structure in the city, and could be seen from all directions. At this time the only other church on this hill was the Catholic's St. Peters which sat further north and outside of the city limits. All other religious buildings sat towards the bottom of the hill or on the other side of the river. This can be seen in the 1802 painting by Francis Guy from "Chapel Hill." St. Paul's sit at the center overlooking its city below (Figure 49).

Twelve years later in 1796, the St. Paul's Vestry purchased the recently completed German Reformed Church. This church would become the Episcopal religion's second edifice in the city, named Christ Church. This church remained a "daughter church" to St. Paul's until 1829 when it separated, becoming its own congregation.<sup>278</sup> In these early years, Christ Church was protected by its "mother church" St. Paul's.<sup>279</sup> In the 1801 Warner and Hanna map, it is marked as "R," and is located on the other side of the river from St. Paul's church (Figure 66). By creating these new buildings in the eighteenth century, the St. Paul's congregation was attempting to re-assert their dominance over the city after having lost its grasp in the American Revolution. Why was this done, and how? First, after religious adherence dropped following the American Revolution, in the 1780s and 1790 new "vigor" was brought into the church congregation, according to John Butler's book *Awash in a Sea of Faith*.<sup>280</sup> It turn,

<sup>277</sup> Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 223.

<sup>278</sup> Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1939*. ([S.l: s.n, 1939), 11.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>280</sup> Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 223.

although adherence dropped after the war, by 1800 Finke and Stark estimate they were back to 14% and growing.<sup>281</sup> This new “vigor” caused churches to be built to house the incoming population of the city.

The Episcopalian response was making St. Paul’s the “mother church” to the congregation of Christ Church creating a single large congregation. These churches were placed in distinctly sperate parts of the city, with the intention to hold onto the entirety of their current church-going population under a single congregation, not lose those living on the other side of the bridge to other denominations, and to invite new people into the church. By 1790, according to Bilhartz, the Episcopal congregation had grown to about 1000 people across the city.<sup>282</sup> Although this seems a huge increase from the previous 315 congregants in 1776, they now only held 8% of the total church-going population rather than 26.5%. Also, Bilhartz uses a 44% adherence rate rather than 17% based on his argument that Baltimore after 1790 had a higher church-going population than most cities. Other churches in Bilhartz study, like the Methodist and the Catholics, shrank as well, but not from such a high percentage, instead from about 10-15% (in Finke and stark) to 7% in 1790.<sup>283</sup>

By 1810, Bilhartz claims the Episcopal congregation was 4,500 people, making it the third largest church in Baltimore just behind the Catholics and the Methodists. Since the turn of the nineteenth century the Episcopal church had also built a third church St. Peter’s, to the Southwest of St. Paul’s. The Episcopalians now had three churches each in a different part of the City. In Bilhartz’s book, he claims that the Episcopal church made these three new congregations in the city to accommodate the different classes of people within their current congregation. Bilhartz states that St. Paul’s originally split into Christ Church in the eighteenth century, followed by St. Peter’s, and finally Trinity church in the nineteenth century. Christ Church split from St. Paul’s, and the population was originally evenly split between the two churches. When Trinity in 1812 was built in Fells Point was to “...appeal to the middle and lower social ranks than either the St. Paul’s parish congregations....” Referring to Christ Church and

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<sup>281</sup> Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. “Turning Pews into People: Estimating 19th Century Church Membership.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25, no. 2 (1986), 189.

<sup>282</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 157.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

St. Paul's.<sup>284</sup> Bilhartz claims 1801, St. Peter's though was due to an internal dispute as a Low-church to St. Paul's High-Church. A High-Church meaning it focuses more on ritual, sacraments, and the authority of clergy. He also claims St. Paul's also had a distinctly upper class populous, compared to the other three congregations in 1810.<sup>285</sup>

This study agrees that St. Peter's was built as a Low-Church to the St. Paul's High-Church based on arguments which arose in the congregation at the turn of the century. But it disagrees that Trinity Church was necessarily built to house the lowborn congregants living in Fell's Point. It is true that Fells Point had a high percentage of working-class persons then the north side of the city, but this study does not believe that this was its true intent. Churches were built in various parts of Baltimore by the Episcopalians, but this could also easily be said of any of the denominations in the nineteenth century with expanding post-War religious "vigor."<sup>286</sup> Baltimore's ports allowed the city to grow quickly, rivaling New York and Philadelphia, and with this also came many new church members. As this church population grew so did the reaches of each denomination's congregation beyond their original eighteenth-century means. This can be seen first with the Methodists who already had two congregations, Lovely Lane, and Strawberry Alley one on each side of the river, before the end of the American Revolution. This does not mean each church was built for one type of congregation or another depending on which side of the bridge it was located. For space alone having two locations in the city made more sense and it would also invite more bodies to join. Once the turn of the century came more denominations followed suit building second, third and even fourth congregations in the city. Based on this information it was not just the Episcopalians building across the city, it was most denominations including the Catholics, Methodist, and Presbyterians. Each of these congregations were creating footholds across the city to place themselves in both the city's heart and outskirts. These footholds would allow the churches to entice new congregant from all levels of society, and in all part of the city into their door. The Episcopalians, by

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<sup>284</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 24.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 223.

building four churches by 1811, were attempting to expand their churches grasp, and invite more people into their pews.

The main goals of the Episcopal church in the first part of the nineteenth century was to invite people to join their congregation and re-unify themselves. Through the church building, they were inviting in congregants. How would they unify themselves? The Constitution created in the 1780s reunited all of the congregations in the country, and in Baltimore, all of St. Paul's daughter churches would do the same. Each of the new congregations was a daughter church to St. Paul's at its time of inception, creating a vast network across of Episcopal churches across the city, under one "mother church."<sup>287</sup> These churches were all ministered by the St. Paul's clergy and built to both unify and expand the Episcopal church in Maryland. These multiple churches would allow for a natural growth of their population across the city, instead of just the Northwest hill. Having multiple buildings across town would invite people from across the city to join Episcopalians rather than one of the other Protestant denominations.

Between 1811 and 1825 the Episcopal congregation grew by another 2,500 people and built three more new buildings in this period including the 1,600-seat new St. Paul's from 1812-1817.<sup>288</sup> Looking at the total population of the Episcopal church between 1790 and 1825, the Episcopal church had only grown by 5,000 people.<sup>289</sup> Now compared to the other Baltimore religions like the Baptists, and Quakers this was much more, but not nearly as many as the Methodists or Catholics. Yet, between 1800 and 1825, the Episcopal church is tied with the Methodist for church building in the city, both building five new churches after 1800.

The question then arises, why would the Episcopalians build the second most churches in the city, and cap it with St. Paul's ostentatious neoclassical design, when they were only third, and shrinking, in adherence rate? The argument for this is that the Episcopal church thought through their architecture they

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<sup>287</sup> Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1939*. ([S.l: s.n, 1939), 18.

<sup>288</sup> Reverend Ethen Allen's Unpublished Manuscript of Historical Sketches of S. Paul's Parish in Baltimore Country, Maryland, 1855. (Reproduction of original manuscript. Library of the Maryland Historical Society.) 104.

<sup>289</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 157.



could reclaim their dominance in the City of Baltimore during the turn of the nineteenth century. They hoped through the building of six churches across the city they would regain their prominence in the city and higher religious adherence. In turn, when St. Paul's was finished in 1817, this was at a time of growth for the population and was used as a statement of this reclaiming of the city. This building was their attempt to compete with their surrounding religions, and claim a truly American identity in the city through the Neoclassical style.

This Neoclassical style at this point was the style of architecture associated with the American public. Washington D.C. had used this domed and columned style, and so followed most architecture around cities and private homes. Originally when St. Paul's was proposed in 1810 an "English Baroque" style was proposed as a "Temple of Divine Worship" in the eyes of the architect and congregation.<sup>290</sup> Why then did the church draft a second set of drawings from Robert Cary Long Sr.? The church realized that this English Baroque design would project the wrong identity. The identity evoked would have been English rather than American, an identity that the church had been desperately trying to shed since after the Revolution. After the end of the Revolution, the Episcopalians were disliked by the majority of people in the City of Baltimore, but through decades of hard work, and a second War with England, the Episcopalians were able to regain some of the respect they once had. In the War of 1812, many prominent Protestant Episcopal fought for the Americans at Fort McHenry, in September of 1814, including Francis Scott Key who wrote the Star-Spangled Banner, and Lt. Colonel George Armistead commander at Fort McHenry, both buried in Old St. Paul's Cemetery. Through the War, they showed their loyalties were with Americans, and this unity allowed acceptance into society. In turn, they also chose a Baltimorean American local architect for their second design after the end of the War of 1812.

Now that the city knew that the Episcopal church was no longer a British envoy, the church needed to create the appearance of complete dedication to the America ideas. They, in turn, created this monument to the Neoclassical movement rather than their previous plans for a "Temple of Divine

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<sup>290</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 93.

Worship.” The church, however, still held the magnificence imagined through the first baroque design, but in an American way. Scholar Hayward mentions that the church acted “as if to compete with the Presbyterians and Catholics” in the book *The Architecture of Baltimore*.<sup>291</sup> The Presbyterians and the Catholics at this point had the only other large and imposing edifices at this time, both in the northwest side of the city. It is true, the church was a huge marble and brick temple to religion in the city, taller and longer than any edifice, including the Catholic Cathedral being constructed down the street. Not only was the church larger, but it was placed at the top of the hill to the north side of the city. By choosing this hill for the site of their church, it placed them at the most important spot in the city, helping their congregation’s public image into the nineteenth century.

In short, this study argues, yes, St. Paul’s was competing with the city using its appearance and location, but not just with the other tall and imposing buildings, but with other larger and imposing congregations. St. Paul’s emits the Episcopalian ideals of Americanism and Greatness, wanting to be part of society, and no longer associated with old England. They use the massive and imposing structure of St. Paul’s as their new beacon on the hill of the expanding city. This hill placed their beacon high above everyone else, as a temple of American Episcopalianism with the true intent of unifying their congregation through its symbolism and attracting people into the Americanized congregation with its magnificence. Through this beacon they built during the revitalization of religious “vigors,” they hoped its show of greatness would bring in more congregants, and grow their population at pace with the city, and compete with the other congregations. Between 1790 and 1810, the population grew by some 5,000 people, which was massive compared to the rest of the denominations in the city. This was built just after this boost, showing the Episcopalians believed this new building would continue their upward progression. Their regained confidence is embodied in the building of St. Paul’s as their unifying beacon of religion. But, unfortunately for the Episcopalians, things did not go as intended, and following this

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<sup>291</sup> Mary Ellen Hayward, and Frank R Shivers. *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.) 93.

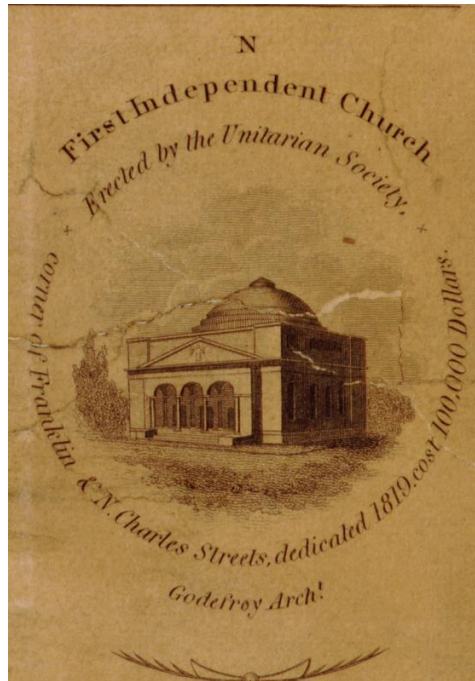
peak, the religion adherence rate would drop to 3.5% twenty years later in 1850.<sup>292</sup> This slow drop put the church into debt following the construction of St. Paul's starting in the 1820s.

Overall, the Episcopalians, like the Catholics, have a history deeply intertwined in the City and its architectural history. This co-dependent history of establishment, disestablishment and distrust led the Episcopal church to use Neoclassical architecture as their outward projection of identity. This Neoclassical appearance embraces the American identity which the Episcopalians, similar to the Catholics and their Cathedral just to the north, use in the hope to project an accepted identity onto the City of Baltimore's population. Through this acceptance, the Episcopalians, unlike the Catholics, hope to gain back their previous identity as the most prominent religion in the City of Baltimore and gain a larger congregation. St. Paul's Episcopal was their beacon of Episcopalian Americanism, an identity they believe they earned after years of hard work and two wars with the British. In conclusion, to understand what shaped the stylistic and situational drivers for the architectural of the Episcopalians, their history of establishment, disestablishment and distrust must first be put into context with Baltimore City as a whole.

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<sup>292</sup> Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005.)

## Chapter 5: *The Unitarian Church in Baltimore*



The last of the great early-nineteenth century Baltimore churches discussed in this study is the First Independent Church, also more commonly known as the Unitarian Church. It was built at the tail end of this first stage of “Monumental” construction in Baltimore during the 1810s.<sup>293</sup> The Unitarian church differs greatly from the rest of the churches analyzed in this study because it has zero stylistic precedents in the construction of the 1817 building. Though the other churches, like the Catholic Cathedral and St. Paul’s Episcopal, did not have any “monumental” architectural precedent, there were still smaller meeting houses and churches around the city prior to the nineteenth-century buildings. For the Unitarians, on the other hand, their 1817 edifice would be their first church structure in Baltimore City and the state of Maryland as a whole. Why did this religion have no precedent, and why was their building built so much later than the other denominational churches? The Unitarian religion was not prominent in the United States until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The religion started in New England, before eventually finding its way south to Baltimore. Due to its roots being in New England,

<sup>293</sup> John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary From 1795 to 1848 Volume 7*. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1874), 338.

much of the history of the Unitarian church is concentrated in these northern cities. Baltimore only comes into the story in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Due to their late arrival to Baltimore, and lack of precedent in the city, the Unitarian congregation truly had the most freedom as to what style, and identity they wanted to project to the rest of the community through their architecture. In the following chapter, the Unitarian's church building will be put into conversation with the rest of the city's religious architecture. Through this comparison, the relative identity portrayed by the Unitarians in Baltimore's urban landscape will be revealed. As this study has shown thus far, the church is the manifestation of a congregation's group identity, and this chapter will determine what social constructs and conditions that led to the stylistic and situational choices which would define Unitarian architecture in Baltimore following the nineteenth century. What in the Unitarian's short history led to these decisions and what did they mean?

Unitarianism was the newest nineteenth-century denomination in Baltimore, which gives the religion a relatively short history compared to the Catholics or Episcopalians, which have been present since the foundation of Maryland in the seventeenth century. Because the religion was relatively new in Baltimore, to truly understand the religion's history, this study must look back to both its New England and European history. Unitarianism dates into the sixteenth century in Europe, with its earliest foundations in places like Poland and Transylvania, during the later sixteenth century. It was created as a branch off from Calvinism during the Protestant Reformation movement.<sup>294</sup> Calvinism had a similar belief system and doctrine to the English Puritans during the sixteenth century. In the religious scholarship community, there is some debate as to whether Unitarianism belongs as a Protestant religion or not, due to its outward rejection of the established Christian Trinitarian doctrine. Instead, the religion is considered Nontrinitarian, and rather than believing in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Unitarianism looks at God as a single person or more of a monotheism. The religion also rejects a number of other typical Christian doctrines such as Original Sin.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1945), 4-35.

<sup>295</sup> David Robinson, *The Unitarians, and the Universalists*. (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1985), 22.

Unitarian ideas made their way to England by the mid-seventeenth century, but would not make a mark in the United States until almost a century later. John Biddle was the “father” and “earliest witness” of Unitarianism in England, and he would go on to write a doctrine for the religion in the 1640s.<sup>296</sup> This and his later works caused an uproar in the religious community of England, under Oliver Cromwell, as it did not follow the accepted Trinity doctrine. When the organization was first founded it was deemed heresy by the parliament and the death penalty imposed for those of the faith. In England shortly after the 1640 Unitarian doctrine, came the 1662 Act of Uniformity from the English monarchy. This act prohibited any religion except that which used the common book of prayer of the Anglican church, essentially prohibiting all other religions. Following the Glorious Revolution in 1688 came a second act in 1689, the Act of Toleration, which came under the new monarchy and accepted any religion of the Trinitarian doctrine. This would allow all denominations to accept Catholics and Unitarians back into favor in England. This 1689 Act of Toleration forbade anyone to legally assemble and practice the Unitarian religion.<sup>297</sup> Although the religion was present in England, it was not until 1778, almost a hundred years later, that the First English Unitarian congregation and chapel would-be built-in Essex London under the minister Theophilus Lindsey.<sup>298</sup> Unlike in England, American Unitarianism was formed slightly differently, being more of an “off shoot” rather than a “secession” during the seventeenth century, from the English New England Bay settlers.<sup>299</sup>

American Unitarianism, evolved from the English Puritans which had immigrated to New England during the early 1620s, as a means to escape the early prosecution for their religion. Many of these Puritans, who are later known as the Congregationalists, would officially shift to the Unitarian religions after the Great Awakening in the 1730s.<sup>300</sup> The American Puritans, when they first arrived,

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<sup>296</sup> Joseph Henry Allen, *An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement Since the Reformation*. (New York: Christian Literature Co, 1894), 131

<sup>297</sup> Ibid. 248.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid. 150.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid. 171.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid. 170.

assembled in the Massachusetts Bay area.<sup>301</sup> For the Puritans, life was full of good and evil, and through your religion balance was found. During the first part of the eighteenth century many of the Puritan churches in New England evolved into Unitarian congregations, even the Universities like Harvard became Unitarian in their teaching.

The Unitarian faith defined themselves as an Evangelical Christian religion which followed three doctrines. The first is:

A belief that man is by nature good, not totally depraved; a revised and more human view of God's attribute, with an emphasis on His love that precluded such doctrines as predestination, eternal damnation of the unregenerate, and the vicarious sacrifice or satisfaction theory of the Atonement; and a belief that the doctrine of the Trinity was as unscriptural tritheism that veiled the true mission of Christ and the nature of Christian worship.<sup>302</sup>

These revisions separated the Unitarians from the rest of the Christian community as a more "Liberal Christian".<sup>303</sup> The emergence of the religion from Puritanism came from "forces of modernity."<sup>304</sup> These forces included the development of commercial society, expansion of scientific knowledge, and the maturation of Enlightenment ideology on nature, government and the future."<sup>305</sup> When the faith was founded in New England the Renaissance ideals of logic and reason were the foundation of the motives of liberal Unitarianism. The:

New England Unitarians were not extremists, however, and they turned to this orthodox rationalism of Britain not only because it was available but also because it was free from the radical spirit that had brought violence and revolution to France<sup>306</sup>

which most British and American Unitarians supported. In New England, Unitarianism flourished through the eighteenth century, and into the nineteenth after the American Revolution.

Ebenezer Gay is considered the Father of American Unitarianism.<sup>307</sup> He was a student from Harvard University where he had studied Theology until 1717 when he became an ordained priest.

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<sup>301</sup> Sydney E Ahlstrom, and Jonathan S Carey. *An American Reformation: A Documentary History of Unitarian Christianity*. (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1985.) 17.

<sup>302</sup> Sydney E Ahlstrom, and Jonathan S Carey. *An American Reformation: A Documentary History of Unitarian Christianity*. (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 5-6.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid. 17

<sup>305</sup> Ibid 17.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid 15

<sup>307</sup> Joseph Henry Allen, *An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement Since the Reformation*. (New York: Christian Literature Co, 1894), 175

Through the eighteenth-century, Gay was a staunch supporter of the Crown, even when most of his congregation supported the new colony.<sup>308</sup> In a lecture at Harvard in 1759, he preached some of the earliest American Unitarian doctrines. After Ebenezer Gay, Charles Chauncy would follow as an important advocate of the Unitarian faith in New England. Chauncy, also from Massachusetts, published the 1742 *Enthusiasm Described and Caution'd Against* as his first publication on the rejection of the emotion in the Great Awakening happening in the 1730-40s.<sup>309</sup> As early as the American Revolution ministers in New England were preaching sermons “ma[d]e any reference in their sermons to the doctrine of the Trinity.”<sup>310</sup> Through the end of the eighteenth century, Unitarians would further establish themselves in New England and creating a foothold in the New England colonies.

Unitarianism would not find its way to the south to Baltimore until after the start of the nineteenth century, long after the great Baltimore religions had started building their first churches. This move would also not occur until after the 1805 Unitarian Controversy. This controversy was mainly concentrated in New England and took up a majority of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. What caused the controversy? It was mostly due to issues which had been present since the settlement of the Puritans in the seventeenth century. Upon their arrival in the 1620s, the Puritans had outwardly rejected the authority of any Bishop or other Authoritarian figures in the control of their church and religion. Instead, each individual church was in charge of electing their own ministry, and a large community of many independent churches was formed called the Standing Order.<sup>311</sup> These same ideas transferred over to Harvard College which the Puritans founded in the 1630s. Through the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century things would stay relatively calm in New England until the first recognized Unitarian church was founded in 1782. Following the founding of the congregation and revised prayer book, the conservative Puritans would find issue with the new religion.

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<sup>308</sup> Sydney E Ahlstrom, and Jonathan S Carey. *An American Reformation: A Documentary History of Unitarian Christianity*. (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 45.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>310</sup> Conrad Wright, *A Stream of Light: A Sesquicentennial History of American Unitarianism*. (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1975), 3.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid, 3.



The controversy officially broke out in 1805 with the election of Henry Ware as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard.<sup>312</sup> This position was the oldest endowed chair in America.<sup>313</sup> With the election of Unitarian Ware, the once Puritan or Congregationist views of Harvard shifted, angering the Puritan conservatives. Harvard was where Puritan ministers were trained, and the shift in views would ruin everything. Issues following the events of this election between the conservative Puritans and the liberal Unitarians persisted until the 1830s. Although Unitarianism may have come from Puritanism, this election and the following controversy showed how different their views on religion were.

In the seventeenth century, Maryland had created a reputation as a religiously free colony through the creation of the 1649 Act of Religious Tolerance. At this point, some 300 Puritans were welcomed into its borders by Anglican Governor William Stone for refuge from Virginia, and they founded Annapolis or Providence. These Puritans, who settled on the Severn River, disliked the Toleration Act, as it meant swearing allegiance to Lord Baltimore, who followed the Catholic Pope.<sup>314</sup> This disgruntlement would be what started the Battle of the Severn.<sup>315</sup> Although this Act was removed, Maryland continued to house many different religions through its history and Puritanism was never very prominent within the state. This brought issue as Unitarianism came from the Puritan doctrine, meaning it was unlikely to develop here without help.

When the Unitarian Congregation finally made its way to Baltimore in the nineteenth century it was a decade after the Unitarian Controversy of 1805. Baltimore at the time was one of the largest cities in the country, even though it had only been incorporated as an official City since 1797. The city's population had grown to almost 50,000 people by 1810 and housed at least 12 different religious denominations. In 1816, those who had traveled to Baltimore of the Unitarian faith, reached out to Boston in hopes to create their own congregation.<sup>316</sup> Later in 1825, Boston would be named the "center of

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<sup>312</sup> Conrad Wright, *A Stream of Light: A Sesquicentennial History of American Unitarianism*. (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1975), 3.

<sup>313</sup> Conrad Wright, *A Stream of Light: A Sesquicentennial History of American Unitarianism*. (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1975), 11.

<sup>314</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988), 21.

<sup>315</sup> Edward D. Neill, *Terra Mariæ: Or, Threads of Maryland Colonial History* (Salem, MA: Higginson Book, 1997), 142.

<sup>316</sup> Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917*. (Baltimore: Garamond Press, 1962.) 6.

Unitarianism” in America.<sup>317</sup> Prior to 1816 there is little written about Unitarians in the city before the construction of the Church in 1818-1819. Those which do look at Baltimore Unitarianism only mentioned their first sermons and the event postdating the 1819 completion of their church. Only one book has truly told any of the story of the Unitarian church in Baltimore. The 1962 book *A Heritage to Hold in Fee 1817-1917* looks at the formation of the religion in Baltimore after 1817 just prior to the church’s construction.<sup>318</sup>

Most scholars have found that the first Unitarians in Baltimore were people from New England, which had moved to Baltimore at the turn of the nineteenth century. Those from New England were businessmen who were “of the highest standing in wealth, manners, and influence” giving an air of elitism to the Unitarians.<sup>319</sup> Shortly after the arrival of these New Englanders, Dr. James Freeman of King’s Chapel in Boston came to the city in 1816 to assist the community in opening their first church. Freeman was considered the “Patriarch of Unitarianism in America.”<sup>320</sup> King’s Chapel in Boston, was once an Episcopal Church, which turned to Unitarianism in the 1780s. This made King’s Chapel the first official Unitarian Church in America. Upon his arrival, Freeman gave the first Unitarian Sermon in Baltimore city, which was attended by a respectably sized crowd. Freeman did not please the more orthodox churchgoers of Baltimore visit and opposed his anti-trinitarian views. Not all were against him, and many who showed up to his three 1816 sermons kept the spirit alive in the following months through weekly meetings at their homes. Even though America was now a religiously tolerant country through the establishment of the Constitution, people still held prejudice against those different from themselves. The Unitarians, like the Catholics from generations earlier in the seventeenth century, had to return to holding

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<sup>317</sup> Sydney E Ahlstrom, and Jonathan S Carey. *An American Reformation: A Documentary History of Unitarian Christianity*. (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1985.) 16.

<sup>318</sup> Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917*. (Baltimore: Garamond Press, 1962.) 6.

<sup>319</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988), 189.

<sup>320</sup> Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917*. (Baltimore: Garamond Press, 1962.) 6.

their services in secret.<sup>321</sup> These services were held weekly in the private homes of the followers, and only for those of true faith “for the maintenance of Unitarian and anti-Calvinistic worship.”<sup>322</sup>

In Baltimore City, even though tensions continued to run high among the other trinitarian religions, those interested in the Unitarian faith continued to hold meetings within the City’s limits. By 1817, the Unitarians had a larger and more organized group of people formed following the doctrine of the religion. The population in 1817 was believed to be very small compared to the other religions in the city. This is estimated as almost twenty years later in Terry Bilhartz book, he states that by 1830, the church had only grown to some 400 people, totalling just under 1% of the whole Baltimore population of over 80,000 people.<sup>323</sup> One of the more prominent members of the organization was Henry Payson, who was elected the Chairman. Payson held a meeting at his home on Hanover Street in February of 1817 to provoke interest in opening a “Unitarian Christian Church” in the city of Baltimore.<sup>324</sup> On this same day, the group involved came to an agreement, forming and recording a new constitution for the church in the city. It was in this constitution, where the church would formally gain its name the “First Independent Church.”<sup>325</sup> Originally, the group had intended to call their congregation the “First Independent Church of Baltimore” but this was crossed out and replaced.<sup>326</sup> This would remain the name of the church until 1912 when the name was changed again to “The First Unitarian Church of Baltimore.”<sup>327</sup> The first board of trustees was elected shortly after this meeting, and those elected were only by white, male, members over the age of twenty-one, and who were pew owners within the new church. Unlike many of the other churches in the city, women were given the right to vote, but only by proxy and only if they owned a

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<sup>321</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>322</sup> Conrad Wright, *A Stream of Light: A Sesquicentennial History of American Unitarianism*. (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1975), 21.

<sup>323</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 157.

<sup>324</sup> Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917*. (Baltimore: Garamond Press, 1962), 7.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid, 7

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

pew.<sup>328</sup> Members of the Unitarian church were overwhelmingly merchants, physicians, and lawyers, placing their members in the more elite classes compared to the other religions in the city.<sup>329</sup>

Following the forming of the congregation, they needed a building to house their hopefully growing population. The architect chosen for the project was the Frenchman Maximilian Godefroy. This Architect, who was previously discussed in Chapter Two: Catholic Architecture in Baltimore, was a French émigré originally from the city of Paris. He had been living in Baltimore City since 1805 when he escaped from France following his release from capture during the French Revolution under Napoleon. Upon his arrival in Baltimore, he was one of the few trained classically trained architects in the city and went to work in the St. Mary's Sulpician Seminary school. Upon taking this position, it is believed he was the first classically trained professor of architecture in the United States of America.<sup>330</sup> He would become most well-known for his work on the construction of St. Mary's Seminary Chapel.

By 1817, Godefroy was already well known in the city of Baltimore. Since his arrival in 1805, he had previously finished construction of the aforementioned St. Mary's Chapel, and had started work on the Battle Monument, Masonic Hall, and had started working on the Merchants' Exchange Building in partnership with Benjamin Henry Latrobe. In 1817, when Godefroy would start to work on the First Independent church, he would have been well aware of the architectural styles around the city of Baltimore. He also would have known those which were popular in Paris when he fled, as well as styles popular among other American cities like Richmond, Washington D.C., or Philadelphia, due to his professional relationship with people like Benjamin Henry Latrobe, and his own travels.

He was hired by the First Independent church in 1817 to design a one of a kind building in the evolving city. He accomplished this by creating a square Neoclassical building with a large dome resting in its center. This structure was completely different from anything else in the city. The rest of the city, both the Protestant and Catholic architecture, was full of long rectangular structures topped with spires

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<sup>328</sup> Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917*. (Baltimore: Garamond Press, 1962.) 7.

<sup>329</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 24.

<sup>330</sup> Thomas R. Ulshafer, *The Life and times of François-Charles Nagot, P.S.S.: Founding Superior of the Sulpicians in the U.S.* (United States: Associated Sulpicians of the U.S., 2016), 90.

and towers. In the structure's National Register Nomination, it was deemed a "rational" design, reflecting the ideas from the Unitarian doctrine.<sup>331</sup>

The building is located on Franklin Street, one block away from the first Catholic Cathedral as seen on Poppleton. The building is decorated with a Neoclassically styled pediment front, wrapped in a large entablature. It is marked "N" on Poppleton (Figure 44). Although Neoclassical, the design is much closer to the more simplistic, refined geometric designs of Benjamin Henry Latrobe who worked on the Cathedral across the street. In essence, the building is a large domed cube structure made of brick and stone covered in white stucco. The structure is one story high, but appears to be two because of the wrapped entablature. Although there is no second floor in the building, there was a gallery space located on the wall facing Franklin Street. This gallery space was later turned into an organ loft. Under the central pediment in a recessed portico space where you would enter the church. The Pediment is supported by four Tuscan columns which separate the logia from the front steps of the building. Between each column are three matching archways. The archways frame the five doors found in the logia space into the church. The only non-architectural decoration on the front is a sculpture of the Angel of Truth surrounded by clouds and a sun. The angel also holds a scroll which says in Greek "To the only god." The sculpture is found inside of the triangular pediment. The Dome is not very tall, but is 53 feet wide, which is enough to cover most of the square's roof. The side of the building facing Charles street is very plain, save for the entablature. There are four arched windows, which are mirrored on the opposite side.<sup>332</sup>

The interior of the church has changed drastically from its original design. When first built, the interior of the church contained a central dome with coffers. Due to a variety of problems associated with the dome it was removed in the 1890s for a vaulted ceiling. Some of these issues included the sound quality within the structure. Being a protestant religion at its core, being able to hear the preacher was very important. Before the changes made to the dome, it is said that you could only hear the preaching in

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<sup>331</sup> William Morgan, *Historic American Building Survey: First Unitarian Church, (Baltimore City, Maryland.* Newark, DE: Department of Art History. 1969.)

<sup>332</sup> William Morgan, *Historic American Building Survey: First Unitarian Church, (Baltimore City, Maryland.* Newark, DE: Department of Art History. 1969.)

the first three rows of the church.<sup>333</sup> The new ceiling also used coffers but are a more intricate design than those created by Godefroy. Inside under the dome was a central nave and two side aisles separated by more arches. The pews would fill the spaces between these aisles. At the front was a set of steps leading to the chancel space for the altar which is covered by a separate coffered arch. Maximillian Godefroy didn't just design the building, but also many of the interior furnishings, like the altar. After the building was finished, Dr. William Channing held his "Baltimore Sermon" in the new structure, which was integral to the foundation of the Unitarian Faith in America. These principles outline that the "bible is a book written for men, and is distinct from the one God; God is infinitely good, kind and benevolent; and, all virtue has its foundations in man's own morality, conscience and sense of duty."<sup>334</sup> The Unitarian church in Baltimore was considered the "noblest in its architecture that any American protestant body could boast..."<sup>335</sup>

Unitarianism's foundations are turbulent, to say the least. Across the country, anti-trinitarian religions, like the Unitarian, were disliked because their views were drastically different from almost everyone else. When it came time for the Unitarians to build their church, they chose a monumental Neoclassical edifice as their face located at the top of the "Chapel Hill" on the north side of the city. This style, as has been seen throughout this study, alludes to an outward American identity by all of the churches who chose to use it thus far. Like the other four churches analyzed, the Unitarian's structure was a way for the church to project a desired American identity on to the surrounding City of Baltimore. Why though did the Unitarians choose a decidedly American style of architecture as the depiction of this new identity? Why did they build their structure at the top of "Chapel Hill?" Why didn't they choose to make a smaller building for such a small congregation? Why didn't they use the gothic style, which had recently been rediscovered? Why didn't the Unitarians choose a more traditional longitudinal plan

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<sup>333</sup> Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy*. Baltimore: (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.) 132-156.

<sup>334</sup> William Morgan, *Historic American Building Survey: First Unitarian Church, (Baltimore City, Maryland*. Newark, DE: Department of Art History. 1969.)

<sup>335</sup> Joseph Henry Allen, *An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement Since the Reformation*. (New York: Christian Literature Co, 1894), 196.

church? These answers can be uncovered by understanding the social conditions of the late nineteenth century which led to its construction.

To begin, looking at the history of the Unitarian church and Baltimore city, it's understood that they did not start with a positive relationship. The Unitarian Religion, as mentioned previously, was not welcomed by the more conservative members of Baltimorean society in the nineteenth century. Society was so opposed many even suggested violence towards the new denomination as a way of deterring them from founding themselves within the city. In 1816 when Dr. James Freeman came to speak for the first-time people, were infuriated. As noted in *A Heritage to hold in Fee* by Rebecca Funk described evidence of one woman even "advocate[ing] encouraging boys to throw stones through the windows of Gibney's Hall" where the sermon was taking place.<sup>336</sup> Compared to many of the other religions in the city, this was a very extreme reaction for anyone to have. Most violence seen in the eighteenth and nineteenth century thus far has consisted of in-fighting within a single religion, like the German Catholics in 1805. The Catholics though only fought among themselves, and not in direct competition with other denominations in the city.

It was not just the more orthodox general public who found disdain for the new religion but also the priest and ministers of various denominations churches. Most went as far as threatening to excommunicate any member who dared show up to James Freeman's sermon in 1816.<sup>337</sup> According to Bilhartz, these disagreements were some of "the most vicious battles [which] pitted the semi-unified mainline denominations against the few "unorthodox" denominations..."<sup>338</sup> To Baltimoreans, those considered "unorthodox" were "...any religious group which rejects the Bible as divine revelation, or rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ."<sup>339</sup> These grievances were pushed onto the Unitarian faith and the Swedenborgians. The Swedenborgians had been in the city just only slightly longer than the Unitarians, arriving in 1799, and upon their arrival, literary attacks were persistent against

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<sup>336</sup> Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917*. (Baltimore: Garamond Press, 1962.) 6

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

<sup>338</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 117.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid.

them with “universal negativity.”<sup>340</sup> Although in time the Protestants would come to accept the Swedenborgian religion, this would never come for the Unitarians. They continued to berate them even after their building was finished calling it a “Synagogue of Satan,” blaming the new congregation for the outbreak of Yellow Fever in Fell’s Point just after its completion in 1819.<sup>341</sup> Overall, across the city, the idea of Unitarianism did not sit well with any of the current denominations in the city. So why, then, in 1818, when they hired Maximillian Godefroy, did they choose to build such a large and brilliant Neoclassical structure?

The Neoclassical was the newest budding architectural style used across Baltimore and the rest of the young nation at the start of the nineteenth century. It was being used for almost all public architecture in the country, and in Baltimore, by the time the Unitarians were building their church. In Baltimore, Neoclassical had been used on buildings such as the St. Paul’s Church, the in-progress Catholic Cathedral, the in-progress Exchange Building, and the Court House as well as a variety of other structures. So naturally, it would make sense for the Unitarians to favor the Neoclassical style in their construction. But at this same period, a newly rediscovered Gothic style was also present. Why was this not chosen by the newest religion? Gothic, as mentioned in Chapter Two, is inherently religious in its connotation. Why then wasn’t this one used by a religion just finding its feet in a new city? Unfortunately, Gothic also is associated with trinitarian religions, which the Unitarians are not. Neoclassical on the other hand had a different expression in the eyes of the city and the Unitarians.

Godefroy submitted his first design for the structure in March of 1817. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, also in the city at this time, submitted a design but upon hearing Godefroy had submitted a design retracted his in favor of Godefroy’s.<sup>342</sup> Although the design has some embellishment as a whole it “possessed the austerity of the strict Romantic Classicism of French architecture of a generation

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<sup>340</sup> Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), 119.

<sup>341</sup> Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988), 190.

<sup>342</sup> Robert L. Alexander *the Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 132.



earlier.”<sup>343</sup> Through Godefroy’s education in Paris and work in both Baltimore and Richmond, he created a truly unique building an identity for the Unitarian church. Although neoclassical, its elements differ from the many other neoclassical buildings located throughout the city. Its elements are more refined and more rational in choice and not with excess decoration like the St. Paul’s Church. Instead, the church seemingly took a page from Benjamin Henry Latrobe’s unfinished Catholic Cathedral, with its domes and rectilinear forms.

The story of the Unitarians is not unlike that of the Catholic church. Both religions had turbulent starts within the city of Baltimore, having to hide from the public or be vilified for their faith. The Unitarians in turn likely admired the story of the Catholics even if they did not agree with their own doctrines. This admiration came out through the construction of their Americanized architecture. In turn, the Neoclassical style would make the most sense in the construction of a new church. However, this would appear to be an effort to blend in. A church so large and in such a prominent place at the city’s center seems unlikely, given that the Unitarians were already disliked by most of the community.

The Unitarians, like the Catholics, built a rectilinear domed neoclassical structure at the top of the Chapel Hill. The Unitarian church built atop the hill like the other mainstream religions as a way to assert their American identity. As discussed through much of this thesis, the placement of a church within the city as well as its architectural style says a lot about the religion’s intended identity. The top of Chapel Hill had the two most prominent churches in the city, the Catholic Cathedral and St. Paul’s Episcopal. These two churches have the most outward Neoclassical style of any church in Baltimore. By building their first church at the top of this hill and in the Neoclassical style, the Unitarian church was asserting its position with the Baltimore Religious landscape. They were showing that they would thrive even with the constant barraging from the other Protestant religion for being non-trinitarian.

The Unitarian religion wanted to both be seen in the Baltimore church environment while also going unnoticed. Though building in the Neoclassical style they blended in with the rest of the religious

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<sup>343</sup> Ibid, 141.

architecture located at the top of the hill. But by placing themselves at the top of the most prominent hill in the city they were asserting their importance in the religious landscape at the same time. Although they tried to use their architecture to show that they were religious Americans like the rest of the city, their efforts would fail. Following the church's completion, St. Paul's ministers would constantly berate the Unitarians, as well as the Presbyterians, calling the church "immoral" and not "Christian."<sup>344</sup>

Overall, the Unitarian history, although short, like the Catholics is deeply tumultuous, and this gives them a very different relationship with the City and its architecture. Though new, the Unitarians made a huge impact on the city, and these relationships formed with their surrounding community is what shaped and formed their outward expression of identity. This, in turn, led the Unitarians to use a Neoclassical style of architecture for their First and only nineteenth-century church building. The Unitarians used this Neoclassical appearance to embrace an American identity, copying Catholic and Episcopalian neighbors on the Chapel Hill. Through this outward expression, they hoped to project an accepted identity onto the City of Baltimore population while no longer be seen and non-Christian outsiders. Unfortunately for the Unitarians, it would be a long time after the completion of this building for them to be accepted by polite society. In conclusion, to truly understand what shaped the stylistic and situational drivers of Unitarian architecture in the City of Baltimore, their history must first be put into context with the rest of the City as a whole, revealing the contradictory necessity to both blends in and be noticed.

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<sup>344</sup>Robert J Brugger, and Maryland Historical Society. *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988.) 190.

### **Conclusion:**

Through the study of Baltimore's religious architecture, this thesis has uncovered that each denomination has used a different variation of the Neoclassical or Gothic style on the exterior of their buildings. By putting these structures in conversation, rather than investigating each individually as previous works have done, a more complex story is uncovered about the City of Baltimore during the start of the nineteenth century. As mentioned previously, the city of Baltimore was a hub of building and social activity. With every year after 1800, thousands of new individuals moved into the city through the ports, and the City expanded far beyond its original 1730s boundaries. With these new people came more congregations, bringing the City's total 40 congregations by 1825. America, unlike its European counterparts, did not have any kind of precedence in its architecture or in its group culture. This city was a clean slate or *tabula rasa* during the nineteenth century. This clean slate allowed for those moving into the nation to create a new start and a new identity within the city's limits. Some of those who took advantage of this clean slate were the Catholics, German Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal, and Unitarians.

Each of these four denominations embraced the clean slate upon their arrival throughout Maryland's almost two-hundred-year history. The Catholics and Episcopalians first in the seventeenth century, followed shortly by the German Lutherans and finally the Unitarians in the nineteenth century. These religions each built churches in Baltimore city. Between the start of their construction in 1800 and their ends in the 1820s, the landscape of Baltimore had changed drastically. At the end of the American Revolution, in the 1780s, the city was small, consisting mostly of warehouses and merchant ships. Within twenty years the town's population started to rise, and with it came "Monumental" architecture.

Through viewing all five of these structures in one context, the nuances between the styles are uncovered, showing that although the same Neoclassical or Gothic style may have been used, the meaning has changed drastically between each denomination. The Neoclassical style was used on three of the five churches in this study. In nineteenth-century America, the Neoclassical was the most popular building style, due to its intertwined connection with the American identity after being used in Washington D. C., and many other large-scale public building projects. From the outside, three buildings using the Neoclassical

style would appear as straight uniformity or conformity to the new nation's ideals and preferred architectural style. Yet, although each religion did choose to embrace this unifying style, the Neoclassical still allowed enough artistic architectural interpretation for each denomination to establish their own unique identity.

First, the Catholics used the Neoclassical as an attempt to project an American identity onto the rest of the city. This American identity was chosen in an attempt to persuade the rest of the city that the Pope or other non-American governances did not control them. They used a stark, clear cut Neoclassical with little embellishment on the interior or exterior of the building. This straight adherence differs greatly to some of their surrounding contemporaries. The St. Paul's protestant Episcopal church on the other hand also used Neoclassical architecture. They also used the Neoclassical style to conform to the American identity. Unlike their Catholic brethren, the Neoclassical was used to create a huge, over-embellished temple to religion. Their building was taller and grander than any in the city. Although they were promoting this same American identity, they were also using the architecture to promote themselves as a dominant religion in the city. Following their establishment in the 1690s, disestablishment in the 1770s and distrust through the 1780s-1810s, the Episcopalians used the neoclassical as a sign of Americanism and reintegration into Baltimore Society. Finally, the Unitarians used the Neoclassical very similarly to the Catholics. They used Neoclassical as the outward expression of an American identity but used a more rational style of the architecture. Instead of relying on classic church design, they used a dome on square design with little to no architectural decoration. They even used the Tuscan order of columns, the lowest of the Roman column orders. The purpose behind their architectural design was to blend into the society as Americans when so many of the other denominations held ill-will towards the non-trinitarian religion. They used the style to blend in the rest of the city's architecture while using the church location to stand out. The clean slate of American allowed each to choose how to represent themselves.

The Unitarian church placed itself at the top of the "Constantinople View" hill at the end of the nineteenth century. It was not just the Neoclassical architecture which projected each denominations identity, but also where in the town they place their churches. The Episcopalians start the trend of placing

themselves on the prominent hill to the north of the city. They used the hill throughout the eighteenth century as their seat of power. In the nineteenth century, this changed to a beacon of welcoming. Their tall spire could be seen for miles and beckoned new members to join their growing ranks. This hill was a showcase of the architecture of the churches because it sat above the rest of the nineteenth-century churches. This location would allow a denomination to be seen by the rest of its community. The Unitarians placed their church just behind the Catholic Cathedral, and directly up the street from the St. Paul's Episcopal church. This prominent location among two of the largest nineteenth-century congregations gave them an edge, and the ability to be noticed even when their architecture said otherwise. This hill for the Catholics was a seat of history, with their Cathedral being placed just north of their original 1770 church building. They kept their prominence within the town but also used the church so everyone could see their newest architectural masterpiece.

Similarity, the Gothic style also ran through the new American landscape at the turn of the nineteenth century. Baltimore is home to, arguably, the earliest examples of Gothic architecture in the American landscape. The French St. Mary's Catholic Chapel and the Zion German Lutheran church embraced the use of Gothic architecture, carving out their own unique identity on the Baltimore religious landscape. They chose to not use the more popular Neoclassical style for their architecture instead create a new and different identity. They instead both used the Gothic, creating unique identities for their communities, while also still maintaining their own heritage and promoting its importance to the city of Baltimore. Promoting their heritage did not necessarily mean sticking to home-country ideals. Instead, the clean slate of the American ideals allowed the denominations to choose a new path for their identities. The Gothic allowed for the German and the French to express this, while the Neoclassical did not. The French used this style to embrace their own identities as both Frenchmen and as religious Catholics and created the chapel as a space of worship. This emitted an entirely un-American, un-nationalist identity (Unlike their Cathedral counterparts) through Gothic architecture.

The German Lutheran church chose to be the opposite of every other major denomination found in the city during the nineteenth century. The German Lutheran congregation was more focused on

staying true to their German roots and focusing on their Lutheran traditions, than in bringing in new members from across the city. They did this by only sourcing new members through the 1783 German Society of Maryland, by committing to German as their sole language of communication, and by using Gothic details in their church. The Gothic style set the church apart as specifically non-American, in a time when the city was gaining a continental architectural identity of its own. Not common popularity, nor strict piety, informed their church construction. It was the congregation's attempt to create their own unique American German Lutheran tradition. They took a page from St. Mary's, and unique and separate identity. Together, these two non-American congregations formed minority identities of their own in a city which was slowly Anglicizing in the nineteenth century. They used religion as a means to bring their ethno-cultural communities together and used church architecture to express their identities as unique groups in the American landscape. The German Gothic church represents a minority's resistance to the group in power and a resultant commitment to shaping and expressing a unique German Lutheran identity in the New World. The Baltimorean Lutheran Germans and the French Sulpician monks looked inward to themselves and their own unique history and identity to inspire and direct the architectural style of their own church building.

Both of these churches also chose to locate themselves outside and away from the ever so popular hill to the north side of the city. Instead, the St. Mary's Chapel moves west of the hill. Here they could create their own identity, without the pressure of the other religions on their shoulders. The use of this ultra-religious Catholic standpoint, which had more freedom, by lived outside of the city away from prying eyes of the Protestants, and were trusted by Carroll at a time of uncertainty for the religion. The Sulpician monks could embrace an essence of their French identity by embracing a uniquely American identity. The German Lutherans, on the other hand, chose to leave their church close to old Jones Town and the Jones Falls River. The Germans wanted to keep a close hold onto their German identities and did this through staying close to their community. Most of their members lived in these parts of the city and it's from here which they sourced their members.

Through this thesis, a comparative analysis of Baltimore City's religious landscape between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century has been completed. It focused on the architectural styles of five church structures. These structures were compared to understand how their stylistic choices revealed the relative ethnic and cultural identities of each group within the tabula rasa context of the New World, and the developing city of Baltimore.

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## Illustrations:

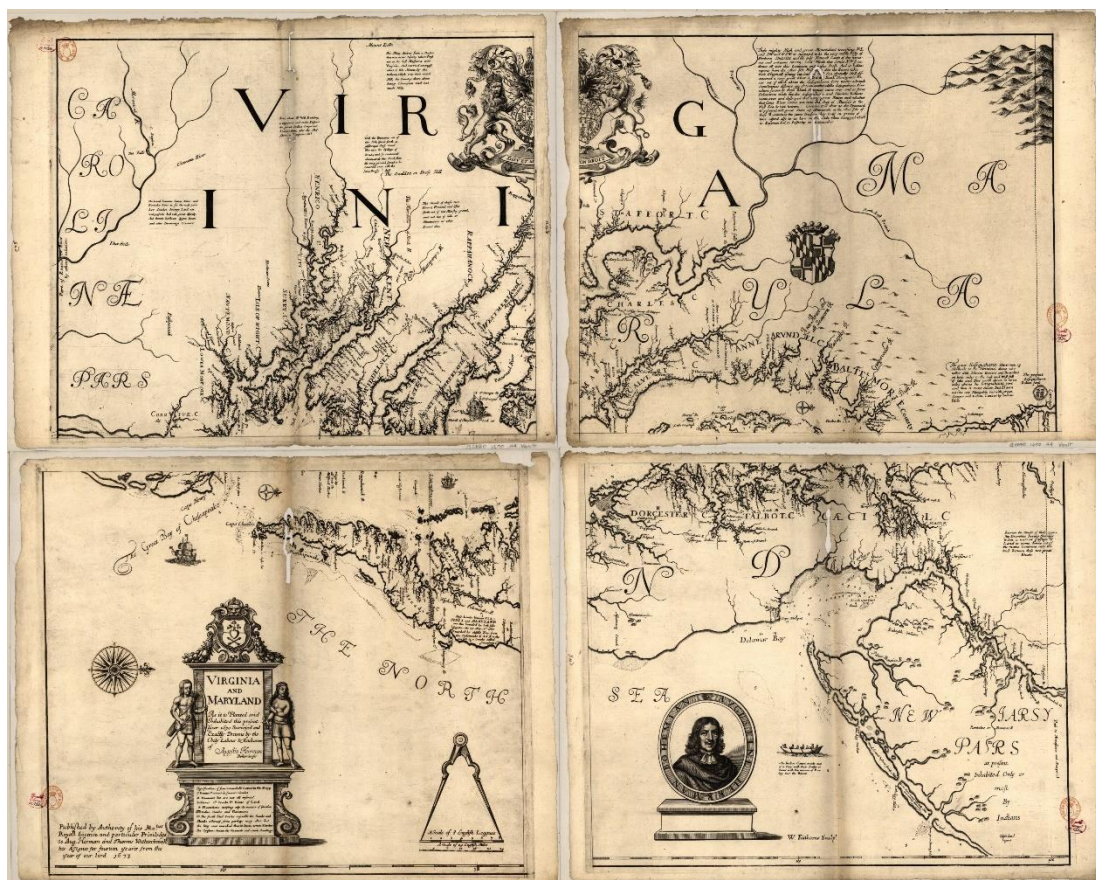


Figure 1: Augustine Herrman Map of the Chesapeake; Herrman, Augustine, 1621 Or, Henry Faithorne, and Thomas Withinbrook. Virginia and Maryland as it is planted and inhabited this present year. [London: Augustine Herrman and Thomas Withinbrook, 1673] Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002623131/>.





Figure 2: Augustine Herrman Map of the Chesapeake, St. Mary's City Detail



Figure 3: Augustine Herrman Map of the Chesapeake; Detail of Arundelton (Annapolis/Providence)





Figure 4: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore; Poppleton, Thomas H, Joseph Cone, and Charles Peter Harrison. This plan of the city of Baltimore. [Baltimore, Commissioners, 1822] Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/77691538/>.



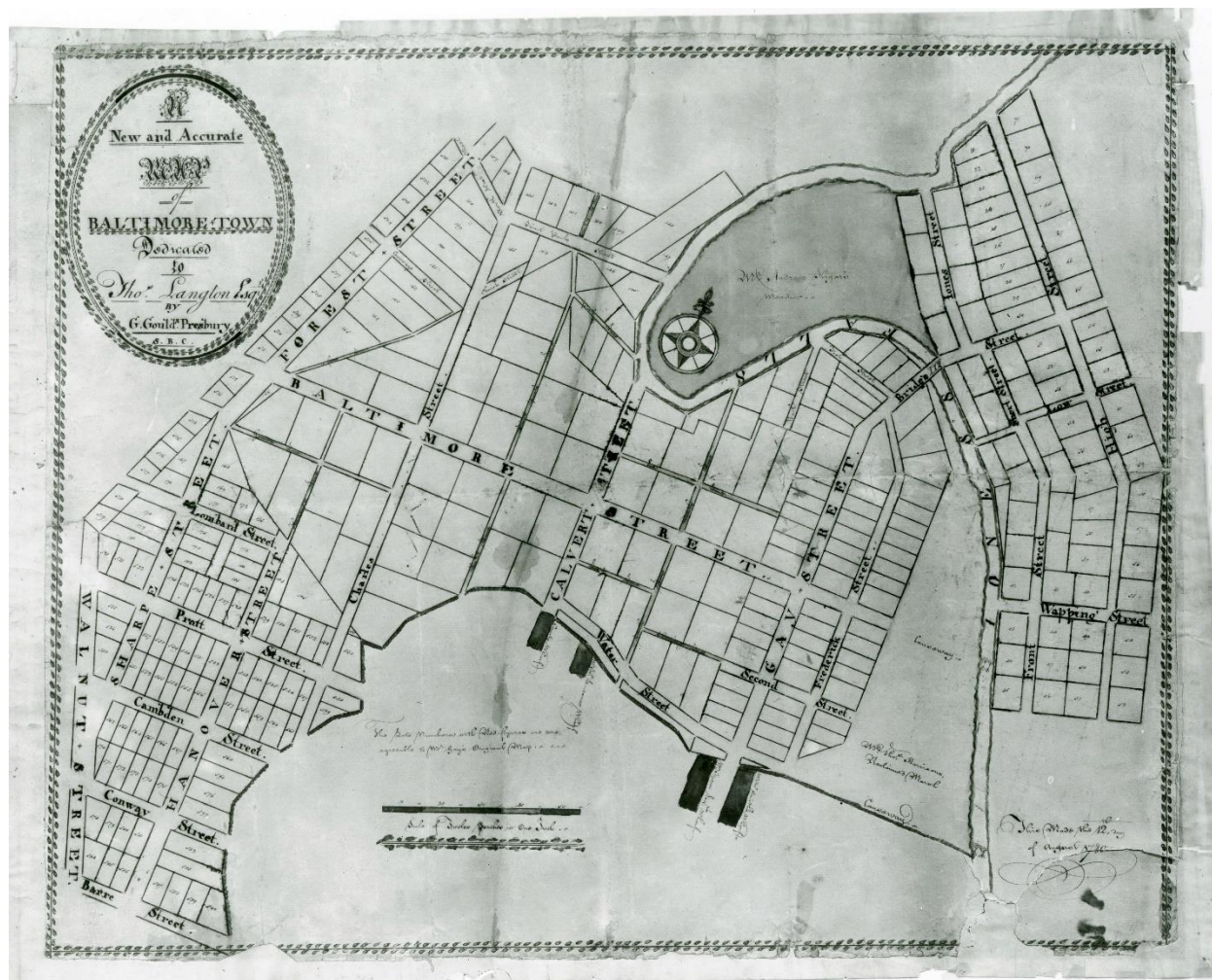


Figure 5: G. Gouldsmith Presbury Map of Baltimore Towne; Presbury, Gouldsmith G. New and Accurate Map of Baltimore Towne. Dedicated to Thomas Langton Esq. [Baltimore, G. Gouldsmith Presbury, 1780] Map. <http://jhir.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/3690>.



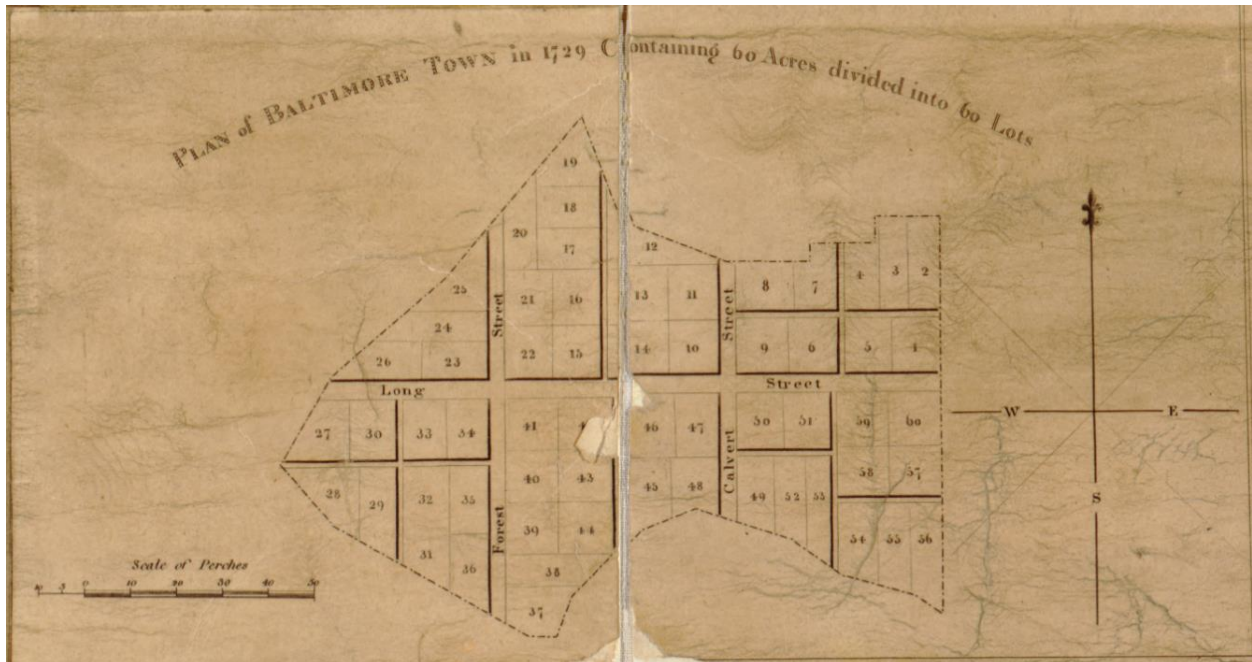


Figure 6: Thomas H. Poppleton, Detail of 1730s Baltimore Town,

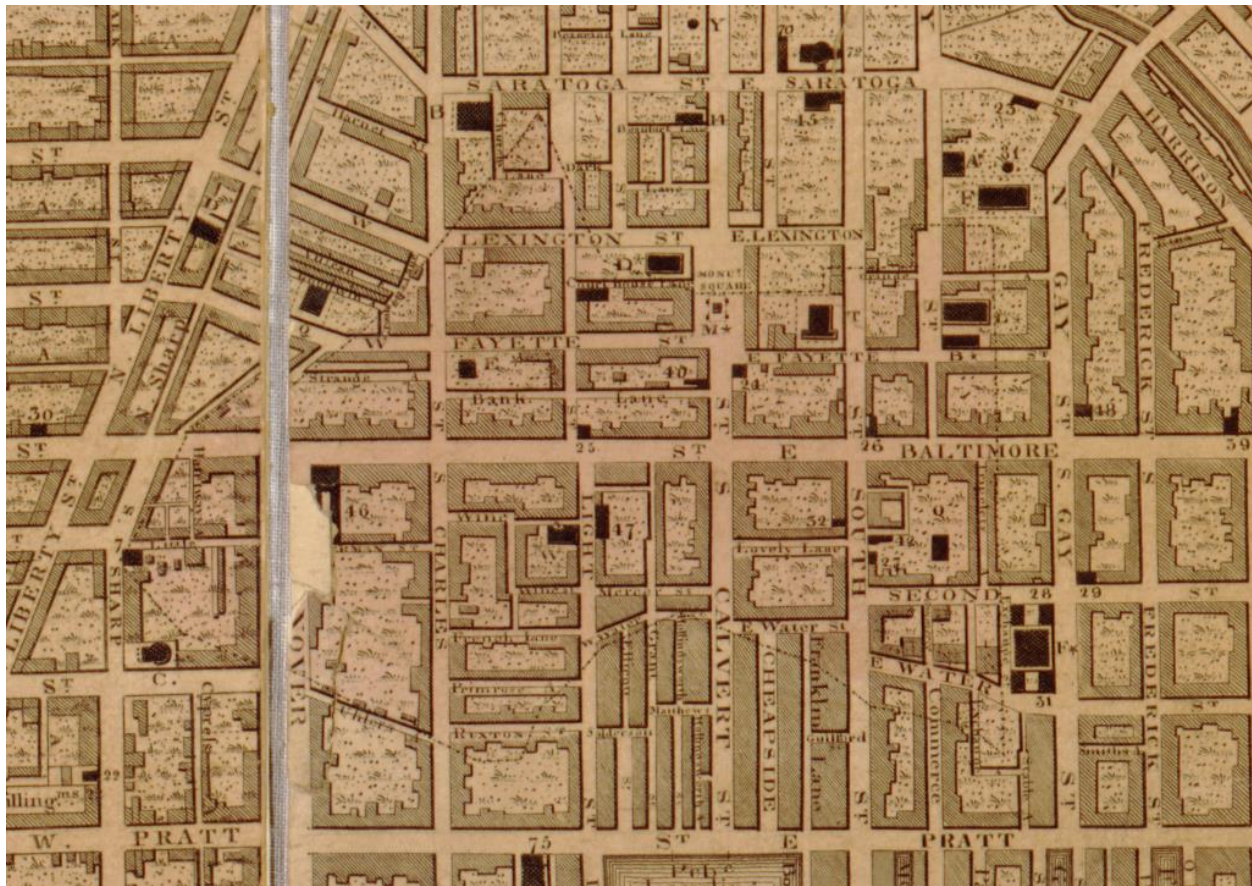


Figure 7: Thomas Poppleton Map, Detail of 1730s Survey Overlaid on Town





Figure 8: Augustine Herrman Map of the Chesapeake; Detail of Baltimore Towne



Figure 9: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of Fell's Point Peninsula





Figure 10: John Moale, View of Baltimore Town in 1752. Painted from Memory on Paper by John Moale; Moale, John. View of Baltimore Town in 1752, 1752, Paint, Maryland Historical Society, <http://www.mdhs.org/node?page=124>



Figure 11: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of location of Old Patapsco Friends Meetinghouse







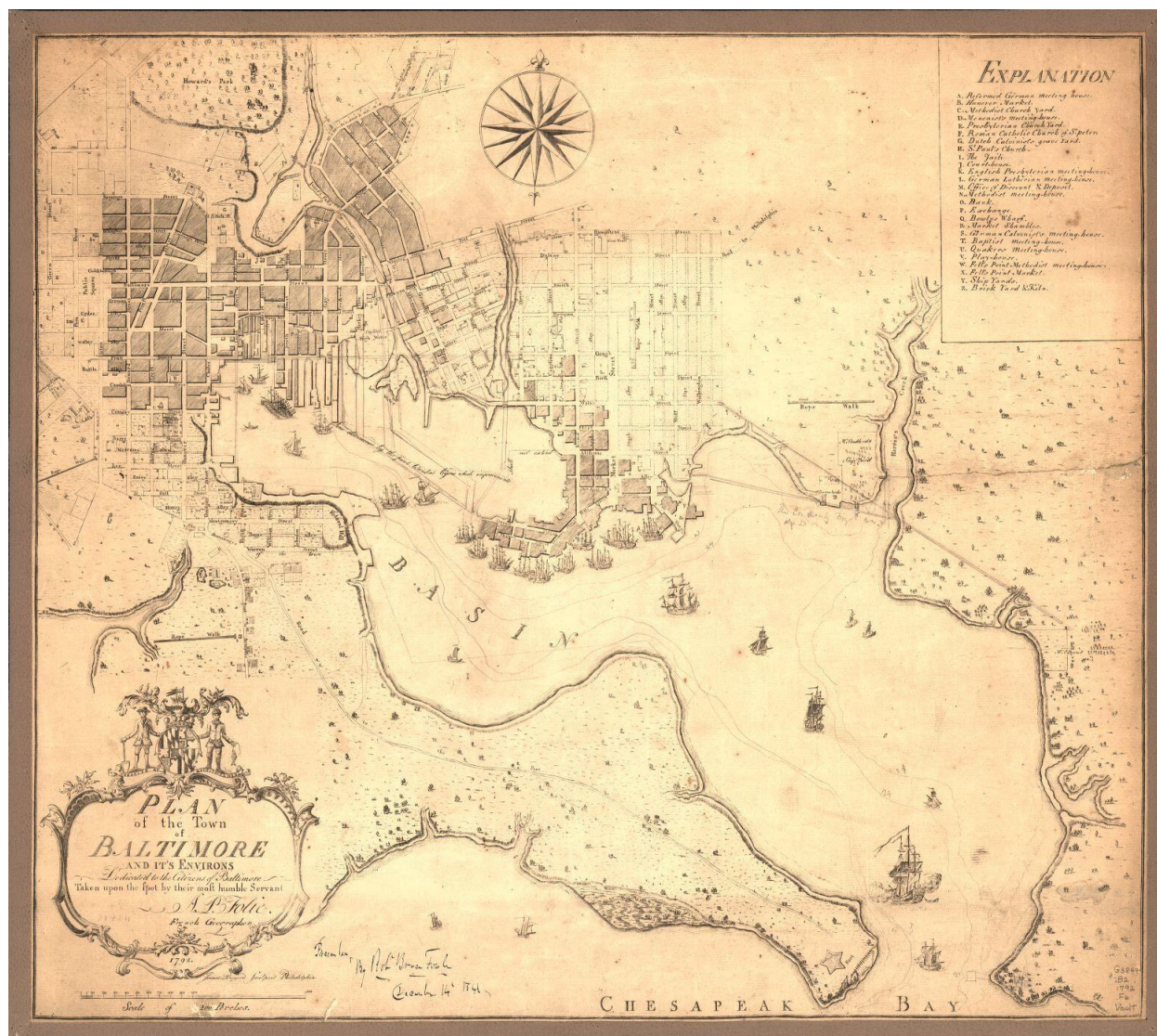


Figure 14: A. P. Folie, Plan of the Town of Baltimore and its Environs, Folie, A. P., and James Poupard. Plan of the town of Baltimore and it's environs. [N.P., 1792] Map.  
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2002624037/>.



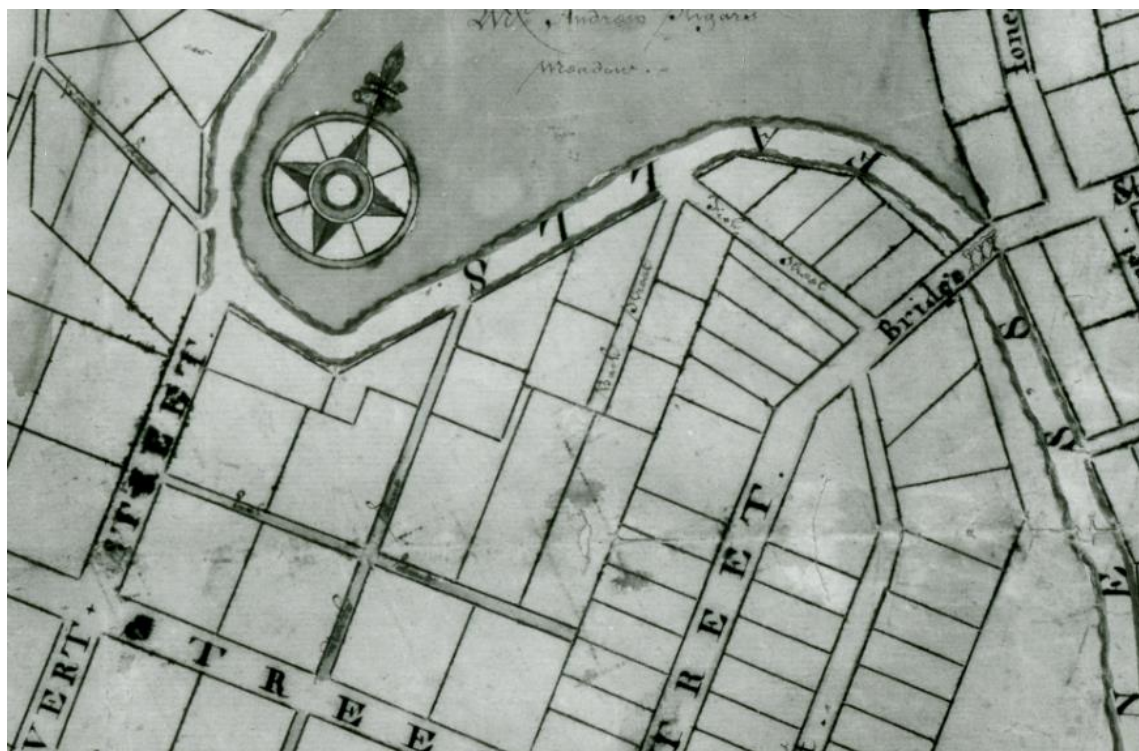


Figure 15: G. Gouldsmith Presbury, Plan of Baltimore Towne, Detail of Fish Street



Figure 16: A. P. Folie, Plan of the Town of Baltimore, Detail of the Basin



Figure 17: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of the Basin



Figure 18: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of "T" the First Presbyterian



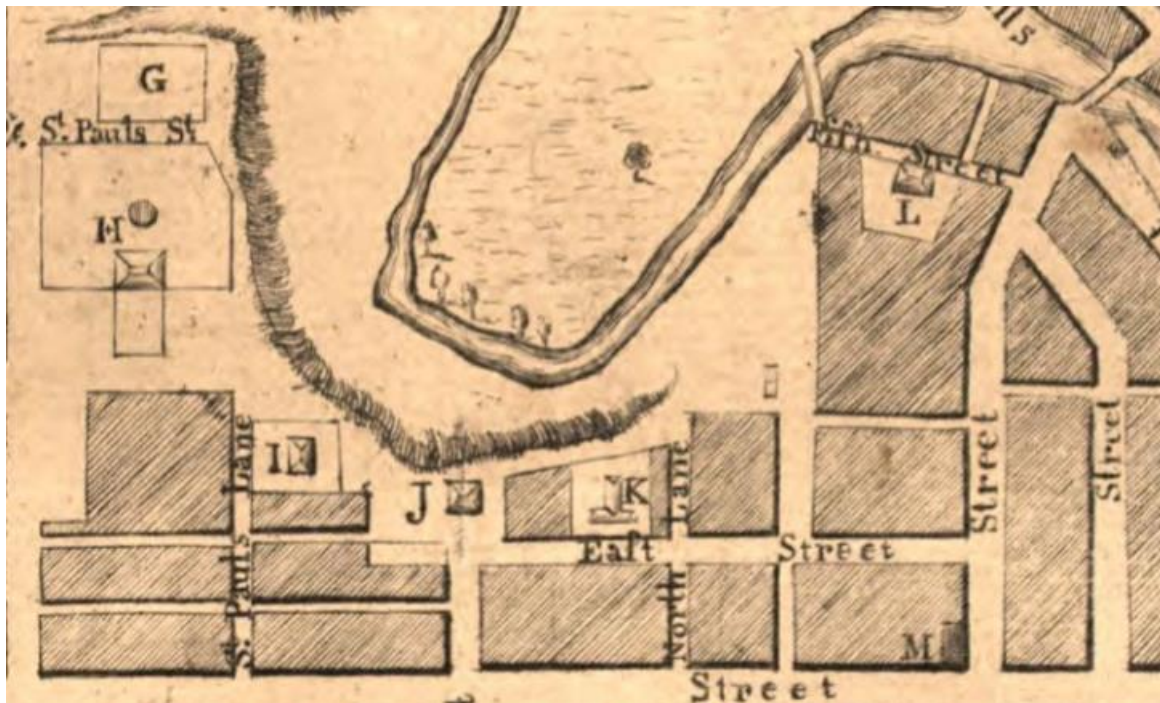


Figure 19: A. P. Folie, Map of the Town of Baltimore, Detail of the First Presbyterian Church "K", Courthouse "I", Jail "J", and Reformed & Lutheran Church "L"

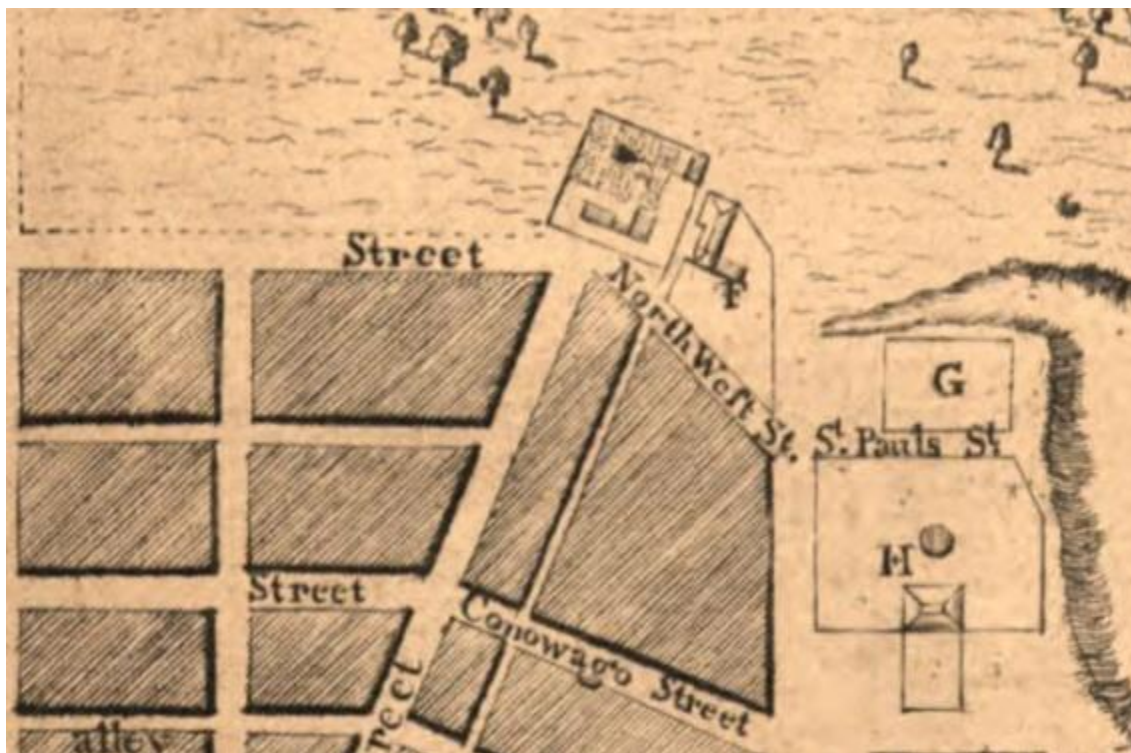


Figure 20: A. P. Folie, Map of the Town of Baltimore, Detail of St. Peter's Church "F", and Old St. Paul's Anglican "H"



Figure 21: A. P. Folie, Map of Baltimore Town, Detail of First Baptist Church "T", and German Reformed "S"



Figure 22: A. P. Folie, Map of Baltimore Town, Detail of Methodist meetinghouse "W"



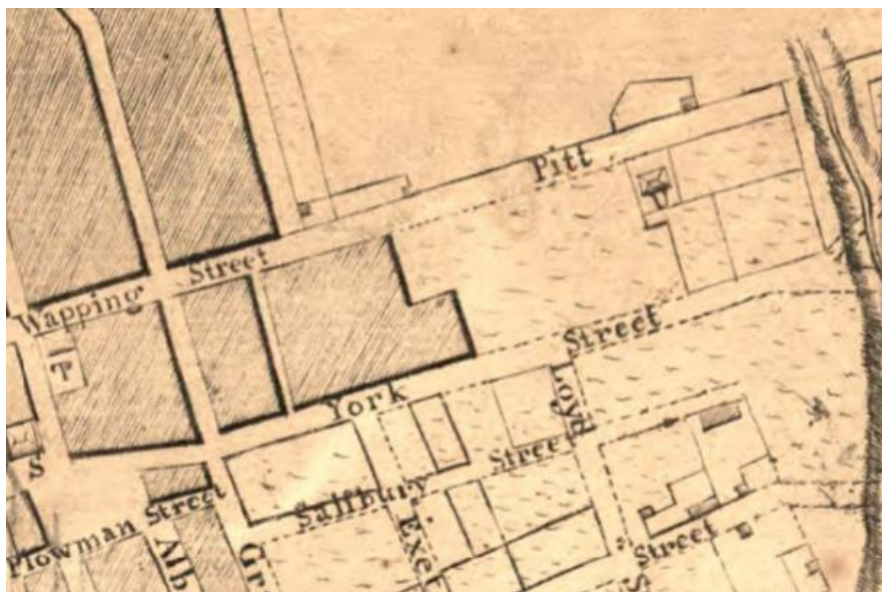


Figure 23: A. P. Folie, Map of Baltimore Town, Detail of Friends Meetinghouse "U"

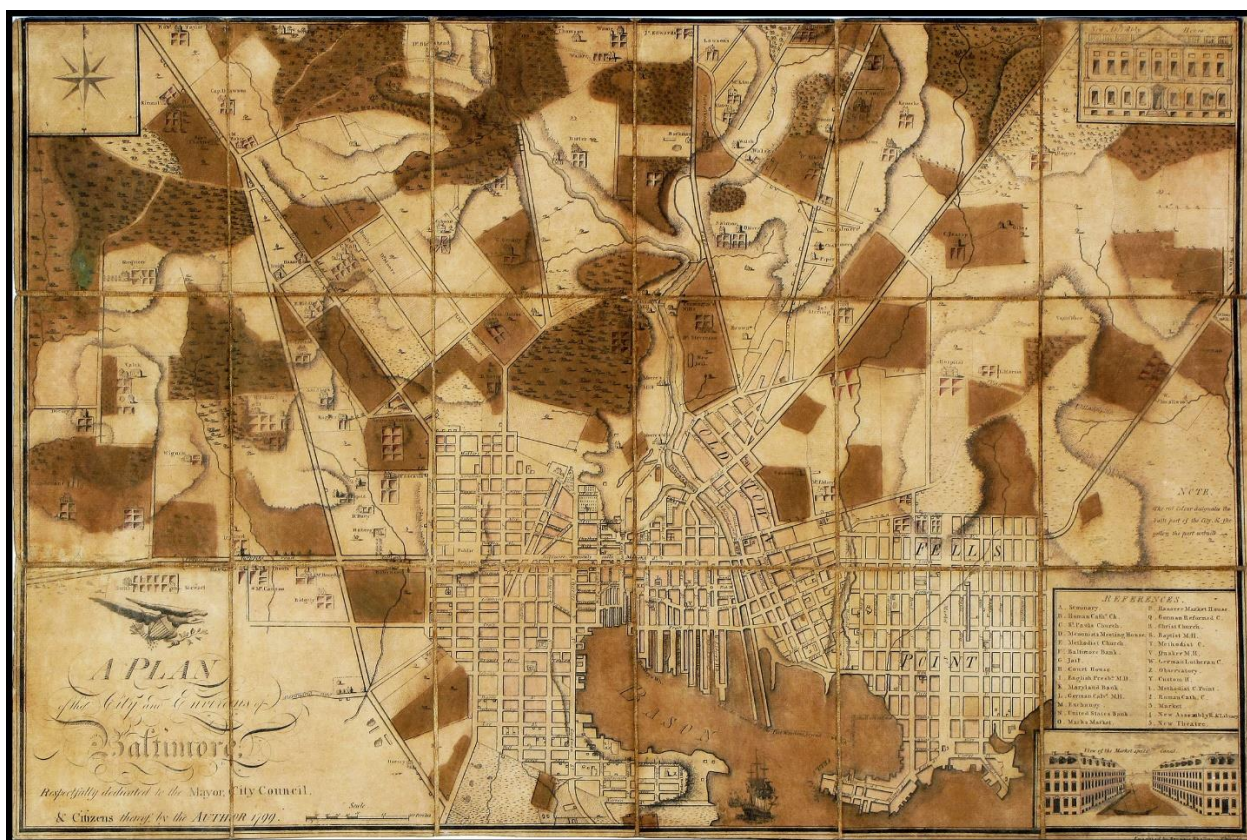


Figure 24: Charles Varle, A Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore; Varle, Charles. A Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore. [Baltimore, Mayor, City Council & Citizens thereof, 1799] Map. <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/26876/a-plan-of-the-city-and-environs-of-baltimore-respectfully-d-varle>.



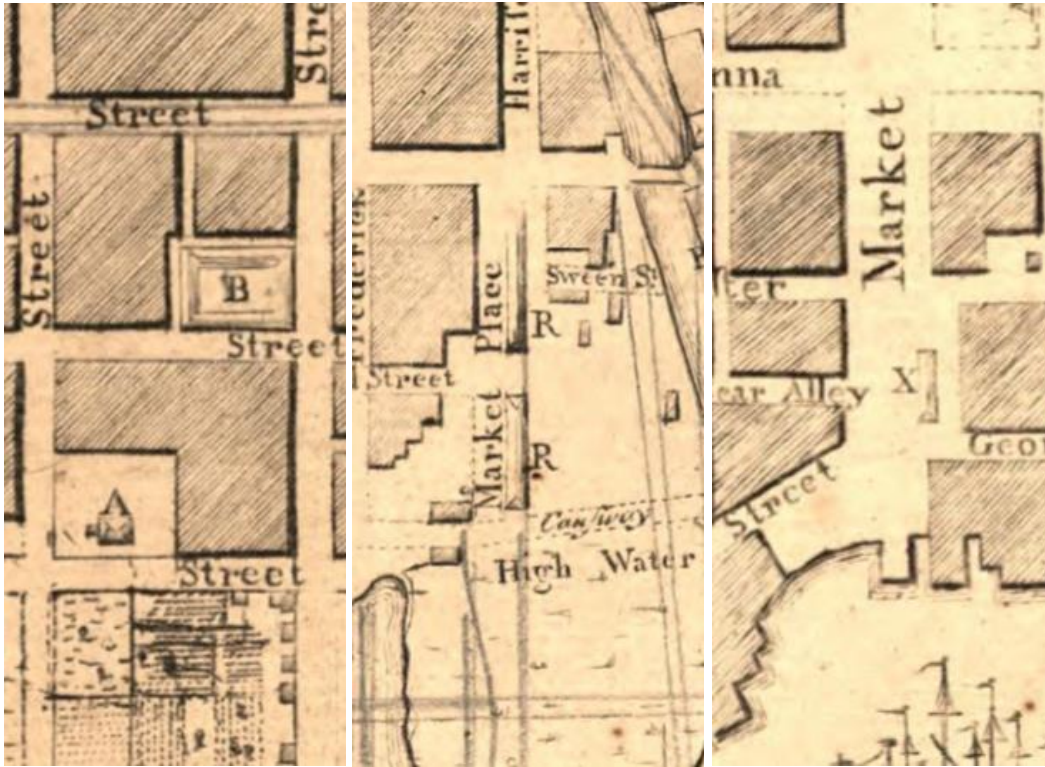


Figure 25: A. P. Folie, Map of the Town of Baltimore, Detail of the Market Buildings "B", "R", and "X"



Figure 26: A. P. Folie, Map of Baltimore Town, Detail of Bridge Street

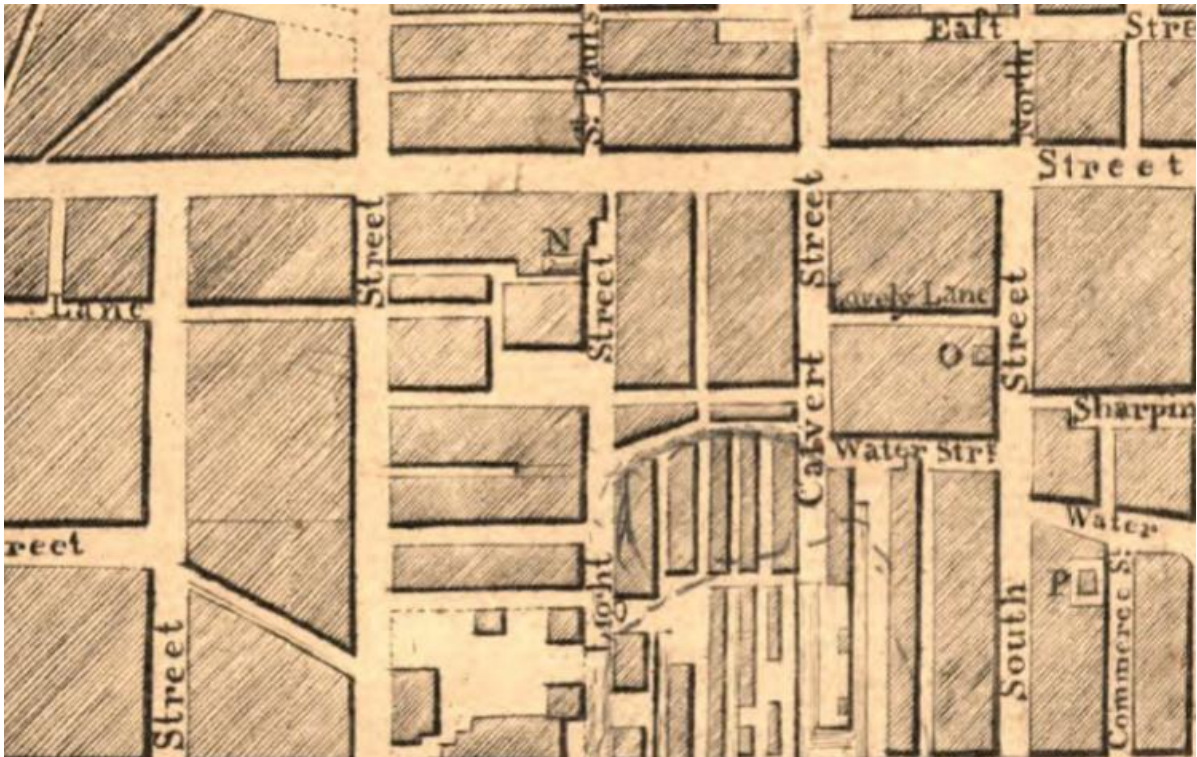


Figure 27: A. P. Folie, Map of Baltimore, Detail of Methodist Light Street Church "N"

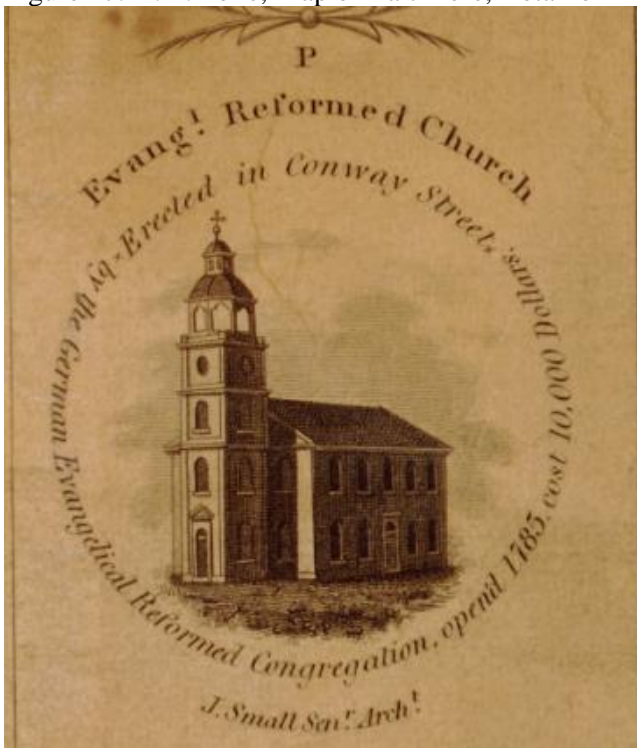


Figure 28: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of German Evangelical Church "P"



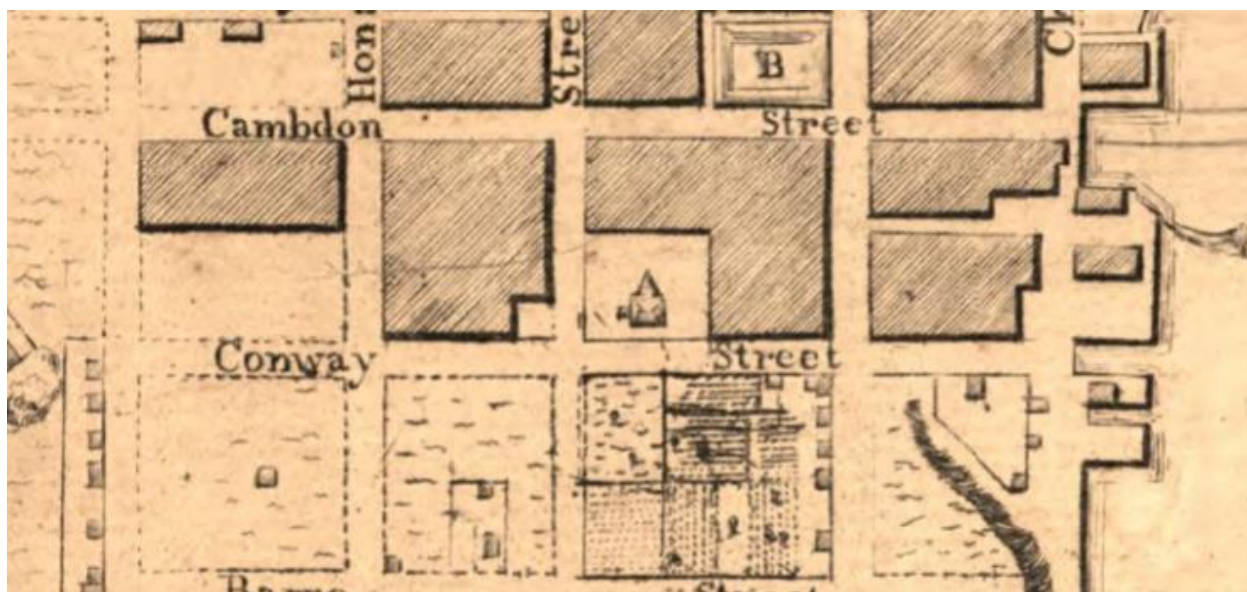


Figure 29: A. P. Folie, Map of the Town of Baltimore, German Evangelical "A"

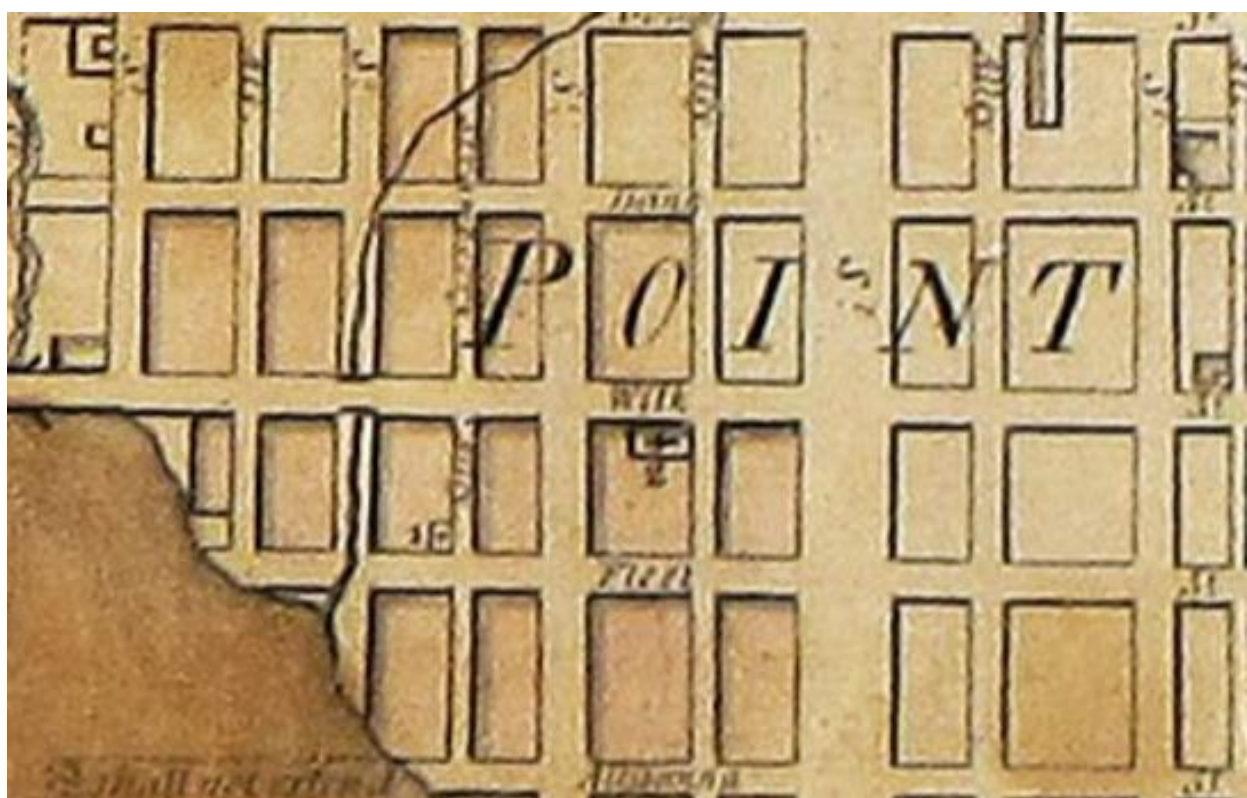


Figure 30: Charles Varle, Map of Baltimore Town and its Environs, Detail of St. Patrick's Church "2"





Figure 31: Thomas H. Poppleton, Map of the City of Baltimore, Detail of Swedenborgian / Temple of New Jerusalem "17"

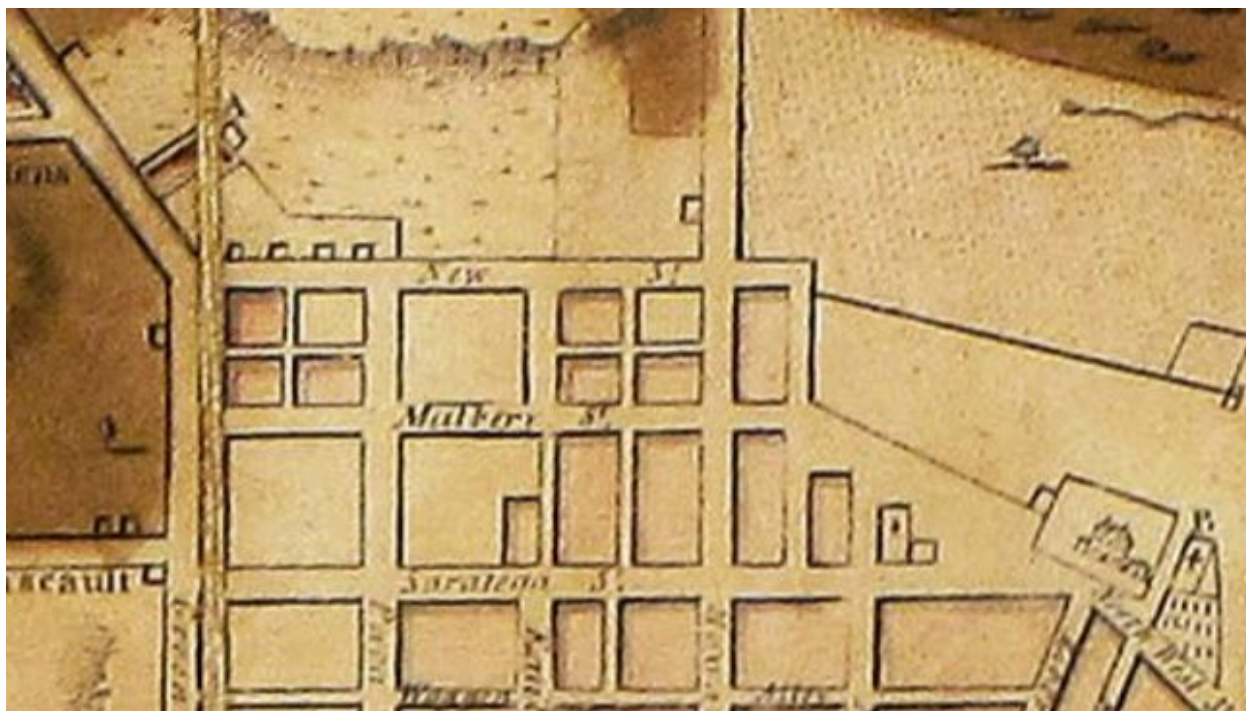


Figure 32: Charles Varle, Map of Baltimore and its Environs, Detail of First French Sulpician Seminary "A"







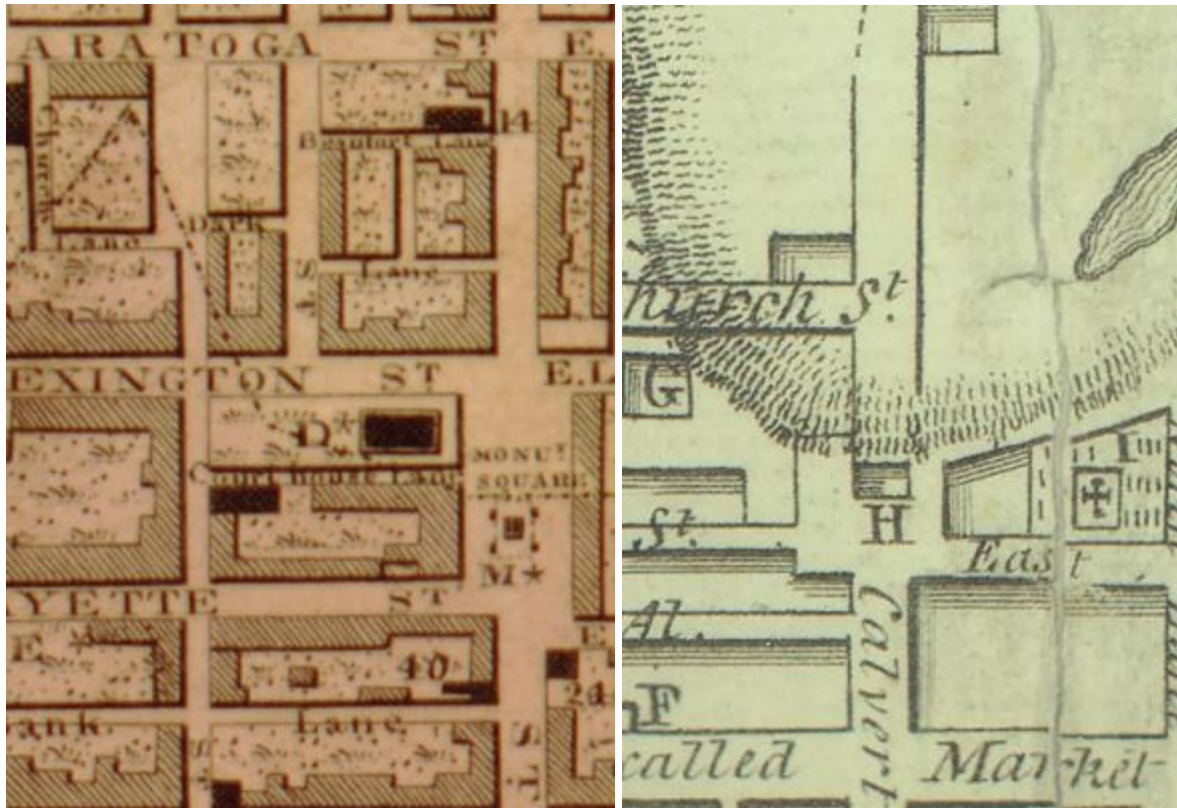


Figure 35: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of City, Courthouse "D," and Warner and Hanna, Map of Baltimore City, Detail of Courthouse "H"



Figure 36: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of Sharpe Street African Church "22"

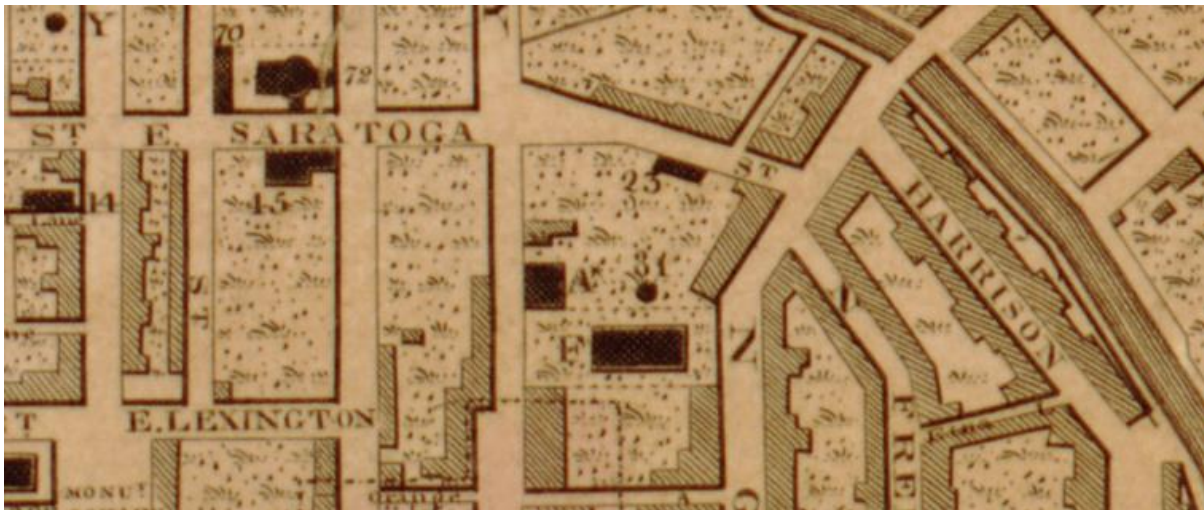


Figure 37: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of Bethel A. M. E. Church "23"

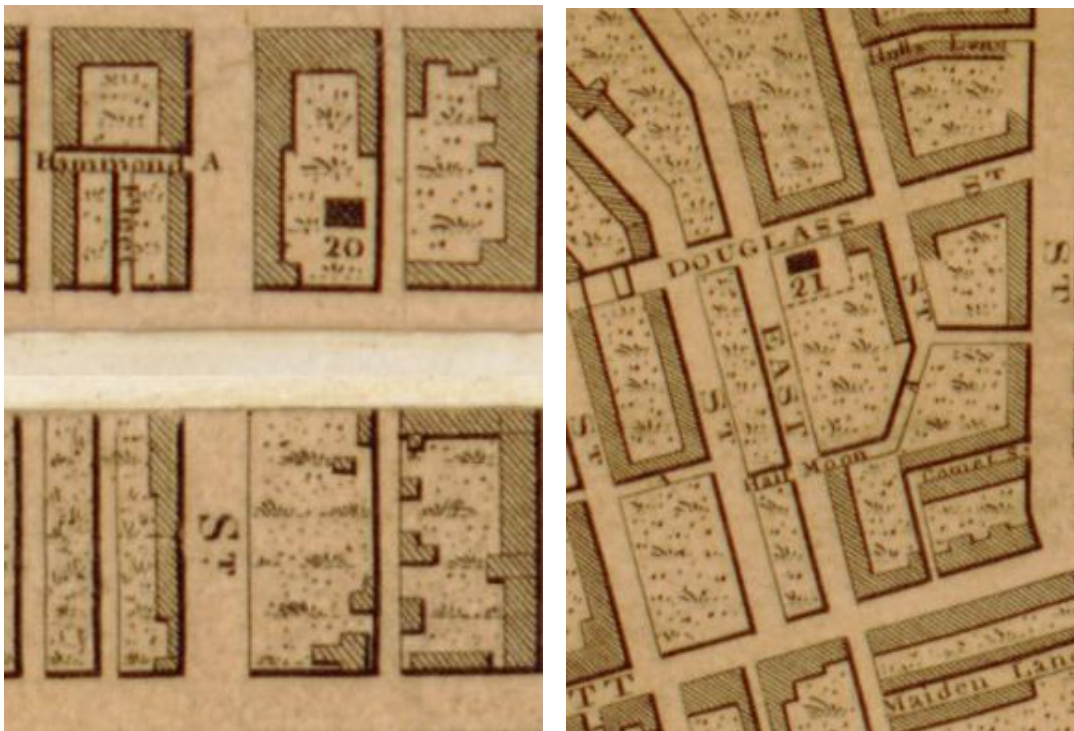


Figure 38: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of Saratoga, and East Street African Churches "20" and "21"



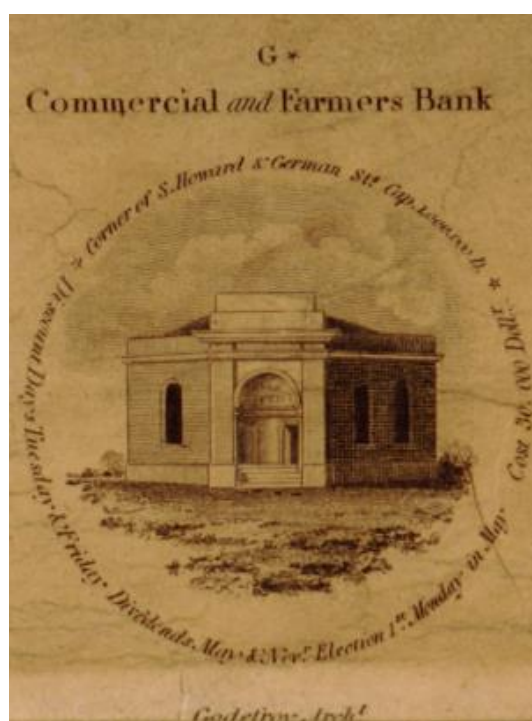
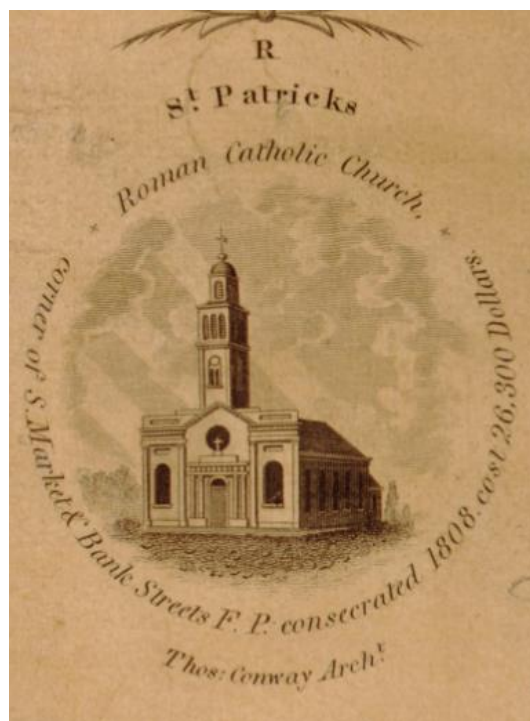


Figure 39: Thomas H Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of St. Patrick's Church "R"

Figure 40: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of the Farmers Bank "G\*"

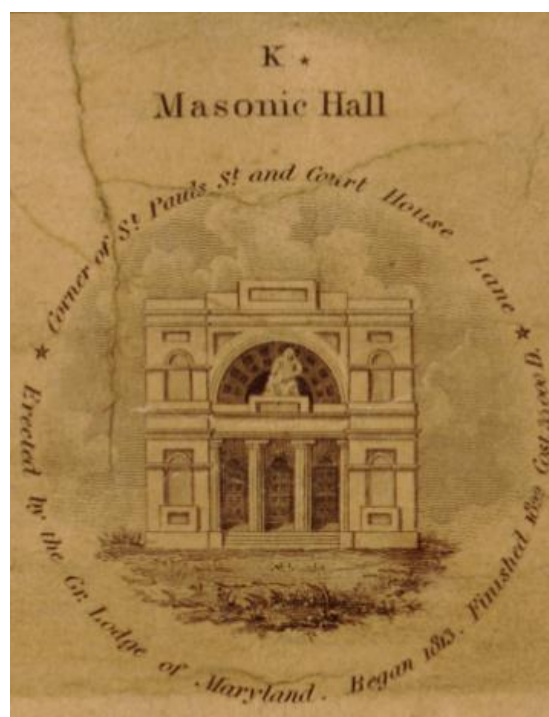
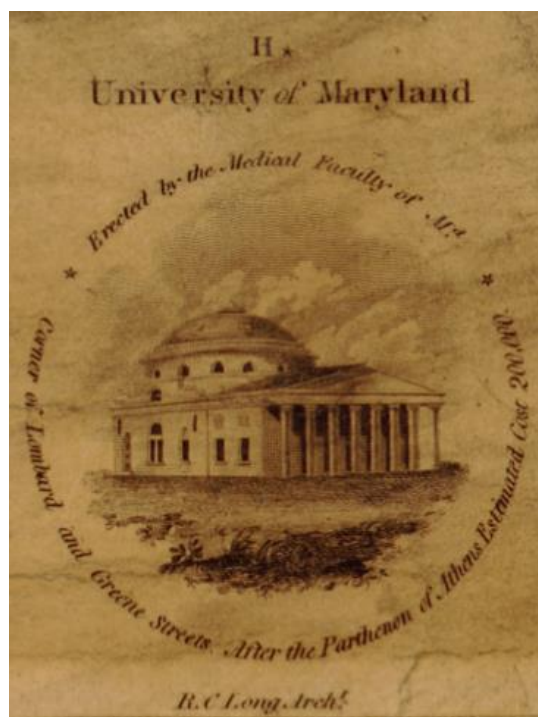


Figure 41: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, University of Maryland College of Medicine "H\*"

Figure 42: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Masonic Hall "K\*"



Figure 43: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of the Baltimore Exchange Building "F\*"

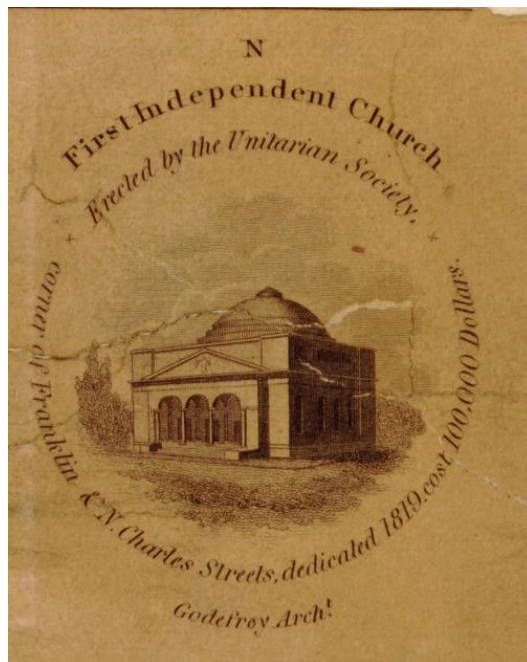


Figure 44: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of First Unitarian Church (Unitarian) "N"

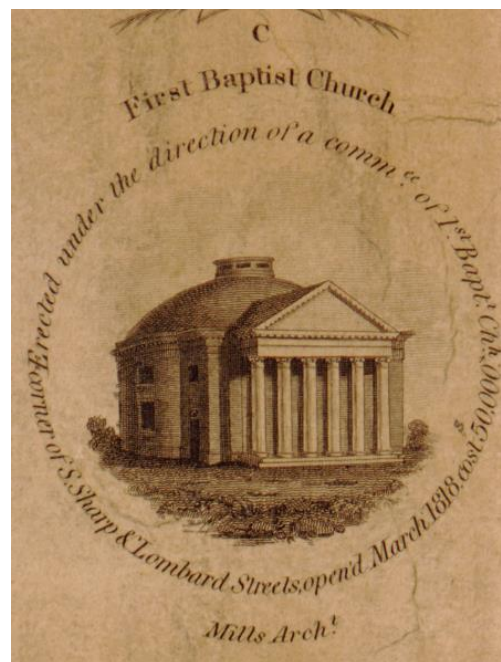


Figure 45: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, First Baptist Church "C"



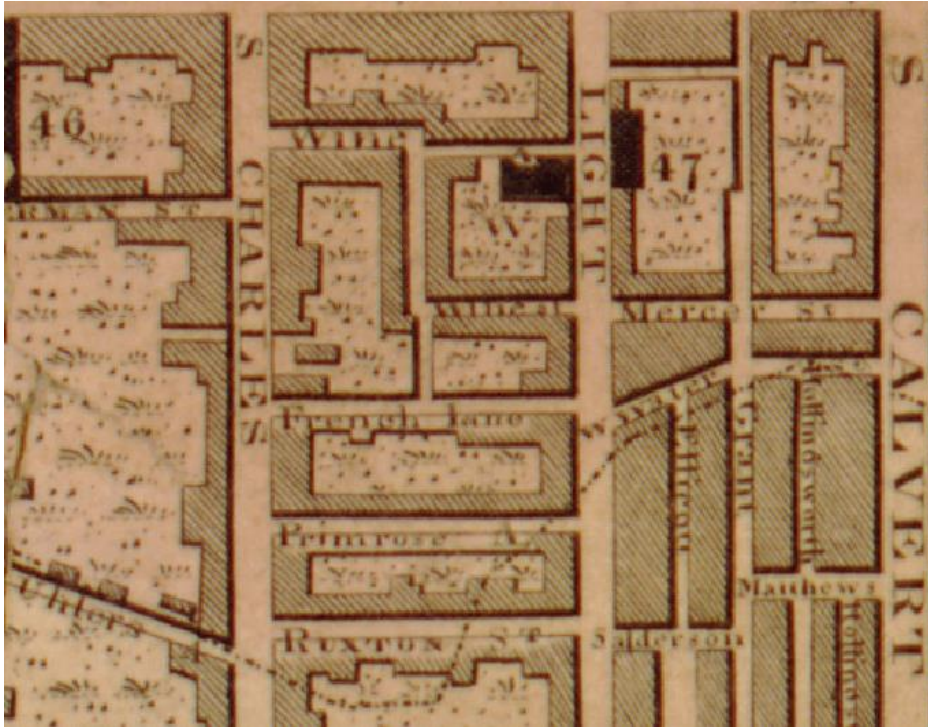


Figure 46: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of "French Town"



Figure 47: 1801 Painting of Old St. Peter's Catholic Church (on right), Old St. Paul's Rectory is on the left. Oil on wood panel by Thomas Ruckle, Sr. Museum Department. Copy of original owned by the Maryland Historical Society. No reproduction or use without permission





Figure 48: Maryland Historical Society 3D Rendering on Baltimore in 1815. *BEARINGS of Baltimore, Circa 1815* installation at the Maryland Historical Society, <http://earlybaltimore.org/>



Figure 49: Francis Guy (American, 1760-1820). *View of Baltimore from Chapel Hill*, 1802-1803. Oil on canvas, 47 7/16 × 93 9/16 in. (120.5 × 237.6 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Gift of George Dobbin Brown, 41.624 (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, 41.624\_SL3.jpg)



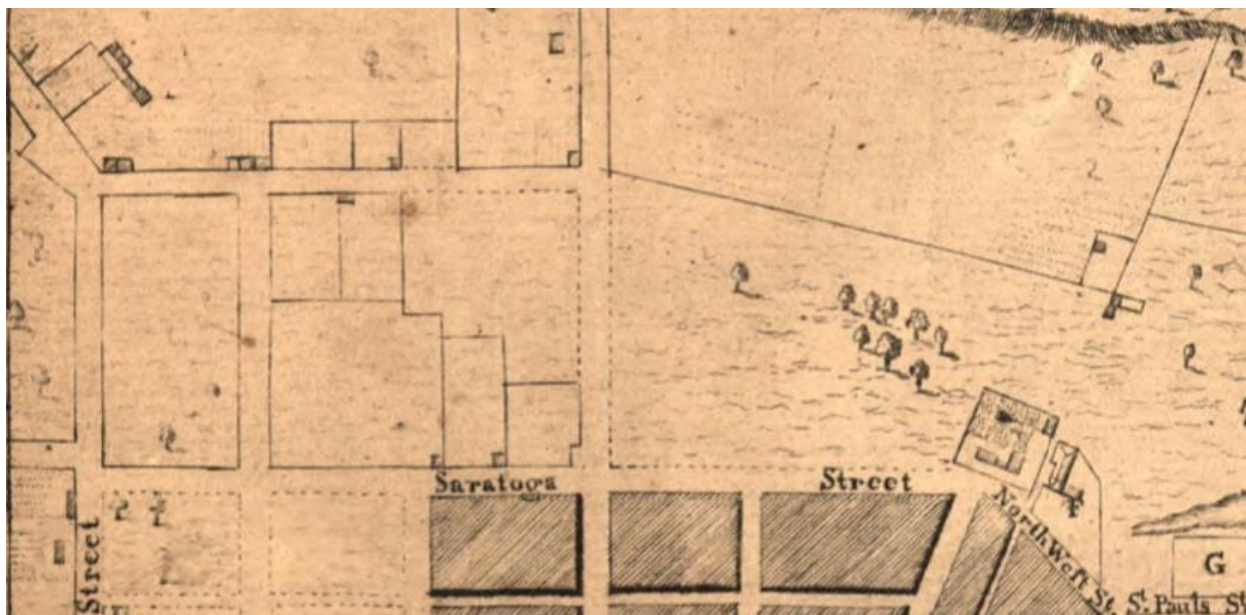


Figure 50: A. P. Folie, Map of the Town of Baltimore, Detail of French Seminary and Seton Hill (Upper Left)



North and South Elevation, Design 1. Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Courtesy of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Collection of the Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary and University.

Figure 51: Benjamin Henry Latrobe Drawing of Cathedral design - Number 1 - the "Gothic" plan. Courtesy of the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Collection of the Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary and University, <http://www.mdhs.org/sites/default/files/imagecache/LessonPlanBasilica.pdf>.

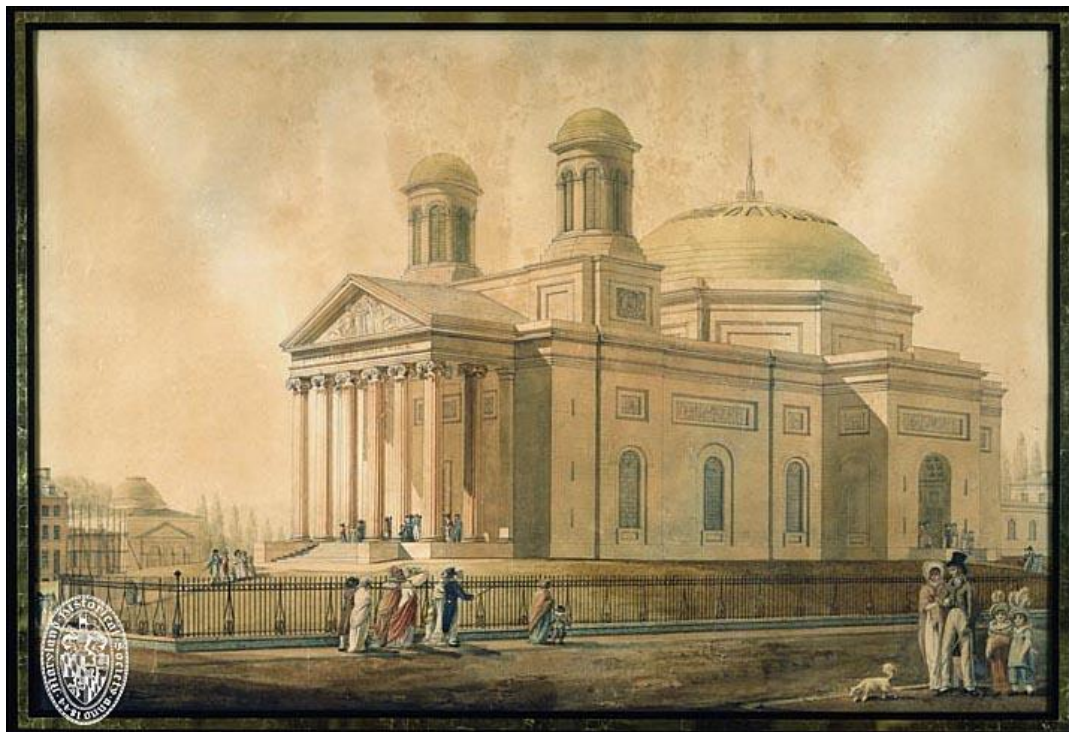


Figure 52: Latrobe Painting of the Cathedral final design - number 2 - the "Roman" plan. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820). *Basilica Cathedral, Baltimore*, 1805. Drawing on Paper. Maryland Historical Society, 1897.1.3. Copy of original owned by the Maryland Historical Society. For reproduction and permission information. <http://www.mdhs.org/digitalimage/basilica-cathedral-baltimore>



Figure 53: St. Mary Seminary Chapel as seen in 21st. century. Photo courtesy of the Historical Marker Database, By Christopher Busta-Peck. <https://www.hmdb.org/marker.asp?marker=7187>



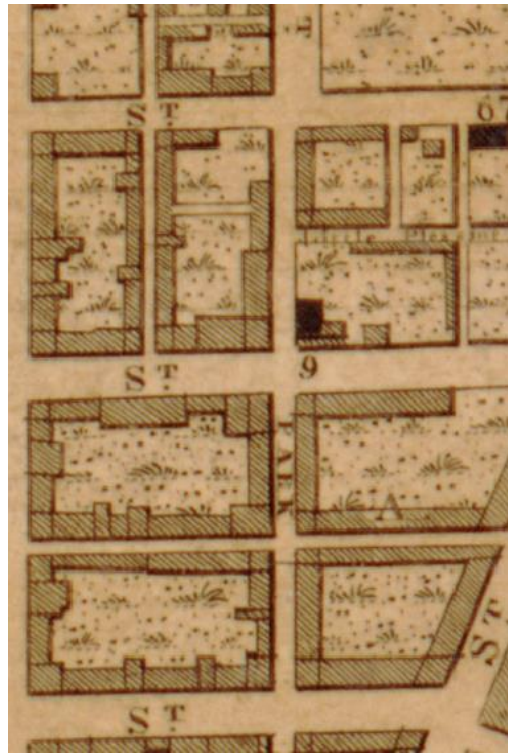
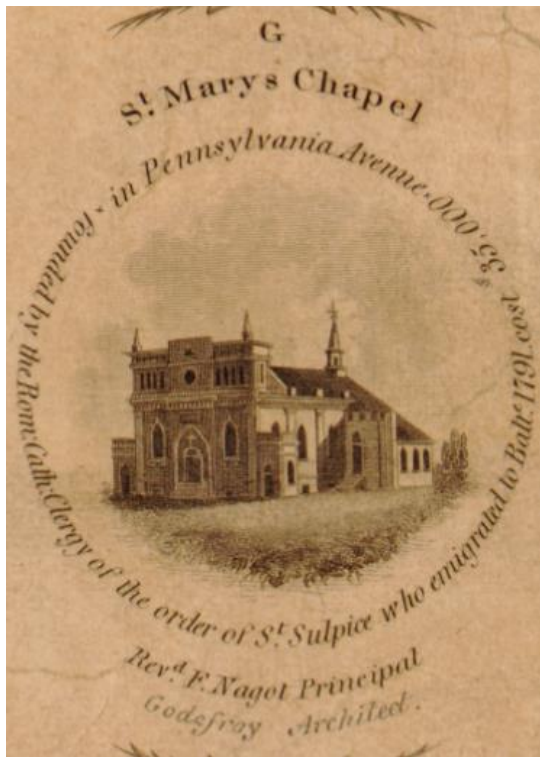


Figure 54: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, St. Mary's Seminary Chapel "G"

Figure 55: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, St. John's German Catholic Church "9"

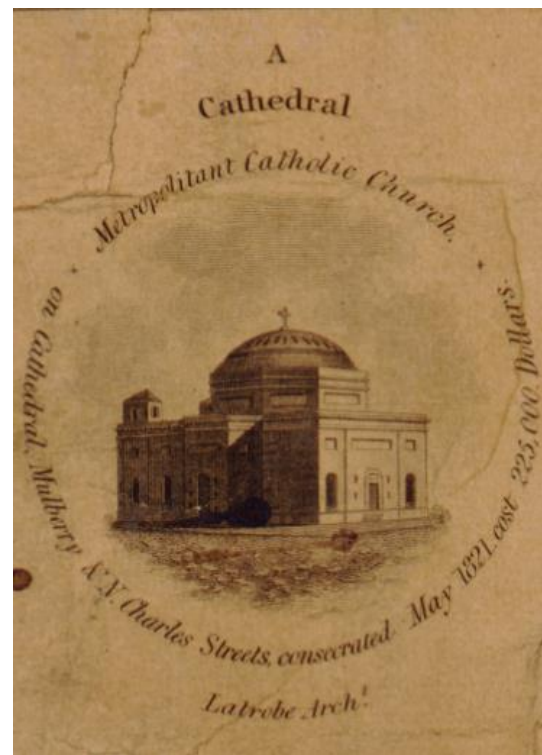
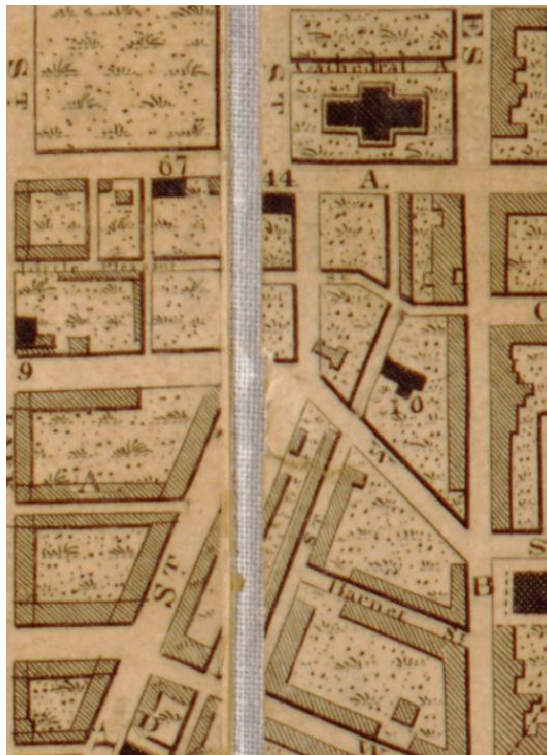


Figure 56: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, St. Peter's Catholic Church "10"

Figure 57: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Catholic Cathedral "A"



Figure 58: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, Detail of German Lutheran Church "F"

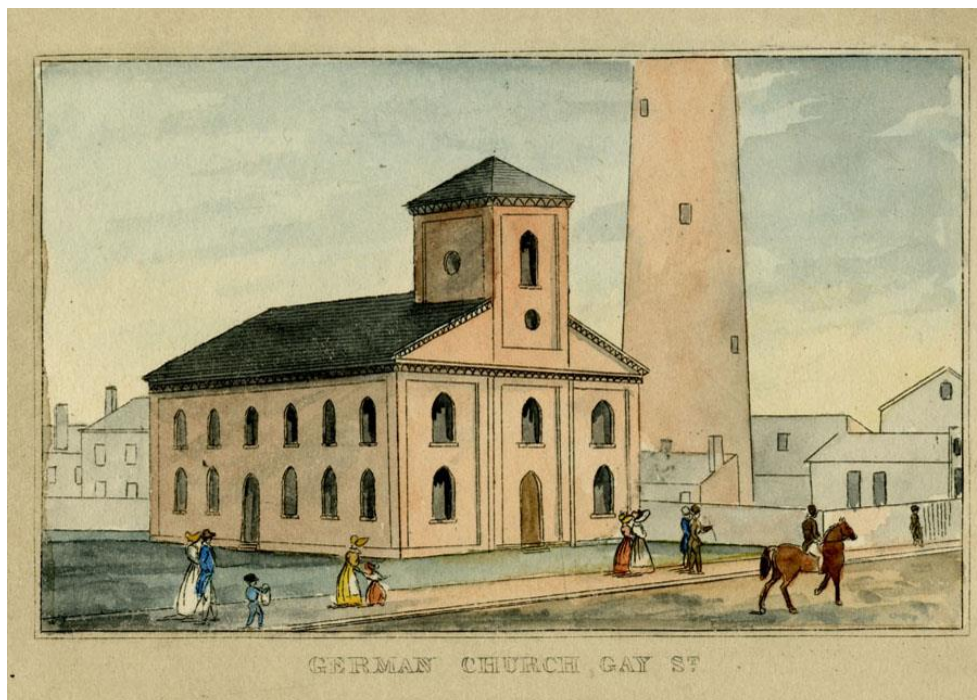


Figure 59: John H. B. Latrobe, German Lutheran Church; John H.B. Latrobe, Jr., *Picture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, MD: Lucas Fielding, Jr., 1832)





Figure 60: William H. Bartlett, Constantinople View of Baltimore. "View of Baltimore" engraved by S. Fisher after a picture painted by W.H. Bartlett, published in *American Scenery*, about 1840. The original is a steel engraved antique print with recent professional hand coloring.



Figure 61: Thomas H. Poppleton, Plan of the City of Baltimore, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church "B"



Figure 62: Parishes of Baltimore County, Ethen Allen



Figure 63: William Strickland, 1817, "Map of Baltimore Town, 1752." William Strickland, *Baltimore in 1752*, 1817. Engraving based on a 1752 sketch by John Moale, Maryland Historical Society. MdHS, H16. Copy of original owned by the Maryland Historical Society. For reproduction and permission information. <http://www.mdhs.org/underbelly/2013/06/20/lost-city-baltimore-town/>





[1896.10.11] Saint Paul's Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Ca. 1805. Oil on canvas by Thomas Ruckle, Sr. Museum Department.

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Figure 64: Thomas Ruckle, 1805, Painting "1784 St. Paul's Church." Thomas Ruckle (1775-1853). *Saint Paul's Episcopal Church*, 1805. Painting. Maryland Historical Society, 1896.10.1. Copy of original owned by the Maryland Historical Society. For reproduction and permission information. <http://www.mdhs.org/node?page=137>



MC711140 H. CLARKE, VIEW OF BALTIMORE HARBOR FROM FEDERAL HILL, c. 1850.

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Figure 65: Clarke, H. *North view of Baltimore Harbor from Federal Hill*, ca. 1850. Full plate daguerreotype, Maryland Historical Society. MC711-4. Copy of original owned by the Maryland Historical Society. For reproduction and permission information. <https://www.mdhs.org/digitalimage/view-baltimore-harbor-federal-hill-ca-1850>

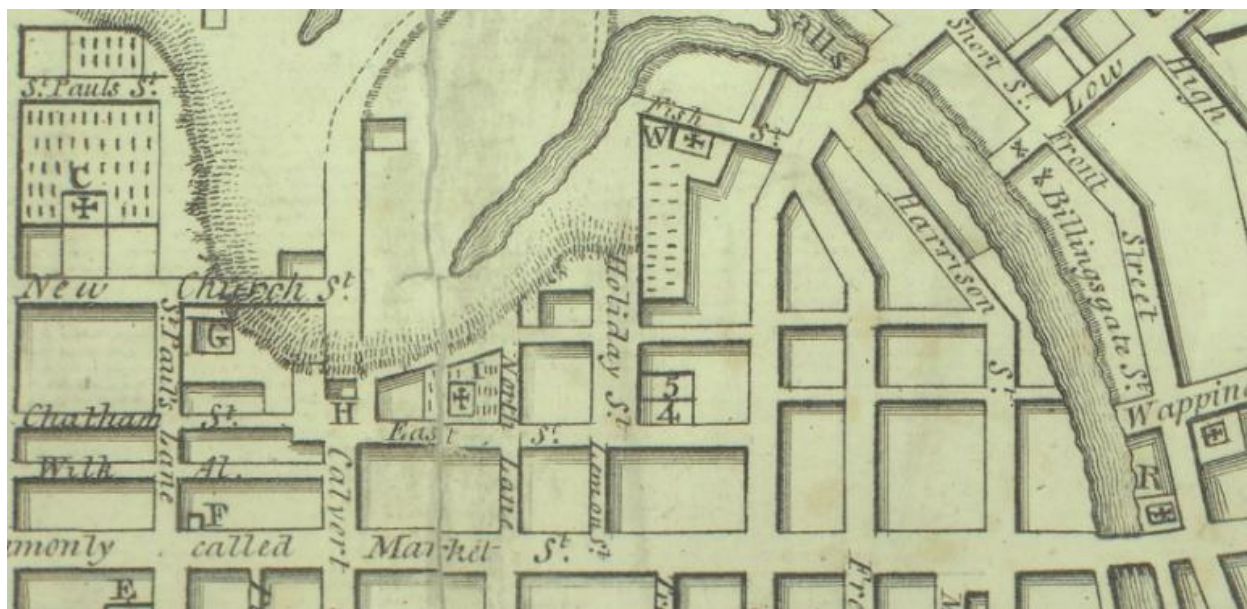


Figure 66: Warner and Hanna, Map of the City of Baltimore and its Environs, Christ Church "R"

## Appendix A:

Name	Year Built	Year Closed	Denomination	Street	Other Info
Sharpe Street Methodist Episcopal Church	1802	1898	African Methodist Episcopal	S. Sharpe St.	
Dallas Street Methodist Episcopal Church/ Strawberry Alley A.M.E *****	1802	1877	African Methodist Episcopal	S. Strawberry Alley	Previously Strawberry Alley (given to black population when whites moved to Wilks location in 1802) (reused church)
Bethel Church ( A. M.E Church) *****	1808	1912	African Methodist Episcopal	E. Saratoga St.	Moved into OLD G. Reformed Church (reused church)
Asbury (A.M.E.) Church	1824	1939	African Methodist Episcopal	East St.	
First Baptist Church	1773	1818	Baptist	Wapping/Pitt St	Moved to Sharpe Street
Second Baptist Church	1791	1811	Baptist	Bank St.	
Second Baptist Church	1811	1855	Baptist	Fleet St.	Second location of Second Baptist (1791)
First Baptist Church	1818	1855	Baptist	S. Sharp St.	Second location of First Baptist (1773)
Ebenezer Baptist Church	1822	1834	Baptist	N. Calvert St.	
German Baptist Dunkard Church	1798	1849	Christian/Baptist	S. Paca St.	
Third Baptist Church*****	1818	1830	Baptist	Wapping/Pitt St	Met in old First church location starting in 1818 (reused church)
Patapsco Meeting	1713	1781	Friends	Harford Ave	
Old Town Meeting	1781	1926	Friends	Aisquith St.	Was - Patapsco (1713) moved here
Western District Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends	1805	1885	Friends	Lombard St.	
Lutheran & Reformed Congregation of Zion	1758	1773	Lutheran	Fish St.	Became both the first reformed and Zion churches (bought by Bethel Church A.M.E.)
First Evangelical Lutheran/Zion Independent Church	1808		Lutheran	N. Gay St.	
First English Lutheran Church	1823	1873	Lutheran	W. Lexington St.	Started 1824 - Built in 1826
Strawberry Alley Methodist Episcopal Church	1774	1802	Methodist	Fleet St.	Moved and renamed to Wilks Street Methodist in 1802
Lovely Lane Methodist Church	1774	1786	Methodist	Redwood St.	Moved to Light Street became Light Street Methodist
Lovely Lane Methodist Episcopal Church/Light Street	1786	1796	Methodist	Light St.	Moved location of Redwood/Strawberry church
Exeter Street Methodist Episcopal Church	1789	1910	Methodist	Exeter St.	Exeter (previously Greene Street)
Lovely Lane/First Methodist Church/Light Street Methodist	1797	1869	Methodist	Light St.	Once was Strawberry Alley - Moved twice on Light Street
John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church / Wesley Chapel/Wesleyan Chapel	1800	1833	Methodist	S. Sharp St.	Became John Wesley Chapel in 1833 - Given To African American Congregation
Wilks Street Methodist Episcopal Church/ East Baltimore Station	1802	1889	Methodist	Wilks St.	Was the Strawberry Alley Methodist
Eutaw Street Methodist Episcopal Church	1808	1934	Methodist	N. Eutaw St.	
Caroline Street Methodist Episcopal Church	1819	1979	Methodist	Caroline St.	
Warfield's Church /The Branch Tabernacle Church	1822	1830	Methodist	Franklin St.	"Branch Tabernacle" - Charles Warfield
New Jerusalem Temple (Swedenborgian)	1799	1880	New Jerusalem	E. Baltimore St.	

First Presbyterian Church	1765	1859	Presbyterian	E. Fayette St.	
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church	1803	1814	Presbyterian	Aisquith	
Second Presbyterian Church	1804	1924	Presbyterian	E. Baltimore St.	
(Covenanters)Reformed Presbyterian Church	1814	1833	Presbyterian	Aisquith St.	On Aisquith and Pitt - Covenanters
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church	1815	1890	Presbyterian	E. Fayette St.	Same as other Associate Reformed - NEW location
Third Presbyterian Church	1820	1861	Presbyterian	N. Eutaw St.	
Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church	1811	1836	Protestant Episcopal	Trinity St.	
Christ Chapel/Church	1797	1836	Protestant Episcopal	E. Baltimore St.	
St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church	1803	1868	Protestant Episcopal	S. Sharp St.	
St. Paul's Church	1730, 1784,1812		Protestant Episcopal	Charles St.	
Grace Episcopal Church	1822	1828	Protestant Episcopal	William St.	
St. John's Evangelical Episcopal Church	1818	1828	(Evangelical)Protestant Episcopal	N. Liberty St.	
St. Peter's Church	1770	1841	Roman Catholic	W. Saratoga St.	
St. John's/St. Alphonsus Church	1800		Roman Catholic	W. Saratoga St.	
Catholic Cathedral	1821		Roman Catholic	Cathedral St.	
Old R.C.	1797	1805	Roman Catholic	S. Apple Alley	St. Pats before moving (1805)
St. Patrick's Church	1805		Roman Catholic	S. Market St.	Formed in 1797 -used the Old church on Apple Alley (now Bethel st) till 1808
St. Mary's Seminary Chapel	1808		Roman Catholic	Pennsylvania Ave	
First Independent Church	1818		Unitarian	Franklin St.	
First Reformed Church	1785	1796		E. Baltimore St.	Became the Reformed on Second Street
First German Reformed Church	1796	1866	Reformed	Second St.	
Second Evangelical German Reformed/United Brethren Church	1771		United Brethren	Conway St.	Became the Otterbein church