The Cities of
JAMES DUANE DOTY

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ABSTRACT

This pamphlet documents the numerous cities designed by James Duane Doty during the period 1824-57. Reproductions of many original drawings are accompanied by analysis and interpretation of the design work. A synopsis of the political, economic and artistic influences under which Doty worked has been developed for each design. Further, the research compares the original intent of Doty's designs with the built manifestations of his work over a period of many years.

Pp. IV + 152; illustrations, plans, maps.

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Figure 1-1. The young James Duane Doty, from a miniature in the possession of the Neville Public Museum of Brown County, Wisconsin.

CHAPTER I:
AN APPRENTICE IN DETROIT

In the year 1818, a young man by the name of James Duane Doty left his family home in upstate New York, and headed west to pursue his fortune. Boarding a sailing vessel somewhat at random, the eighteen year old Doty found himself bound towards the frontier settlement of Detroit.[1] Although the streets and squares of the city in which Doty landed had only been laid out eleven years previous, a bustling boom town greeted his eyes. The broad avenues near the wharf were already lined with homes and places of business, and several public buildings had been erected on the squares.[2] The city was thronging with activity upon his arrival, as many settlers and land speculators had traveled to the city in anticipation of the first public sale of government lands in the Michigan Territory. The excitement of the sale opening was heightened by yet another momentous event, as the first steam driven vessel ever to cross Lake Erie docked on the Detroit waterfront.[3] As Doty watched, the S.S.Walk-in-the-Water arrived to the sound of a full canon salute. During his first weeks in the new city, Doty had witnessed the arrival of a new era for the frontier. The opening of public lands combined with the development of great lakes steam travel brought a flood of travelers from the east.

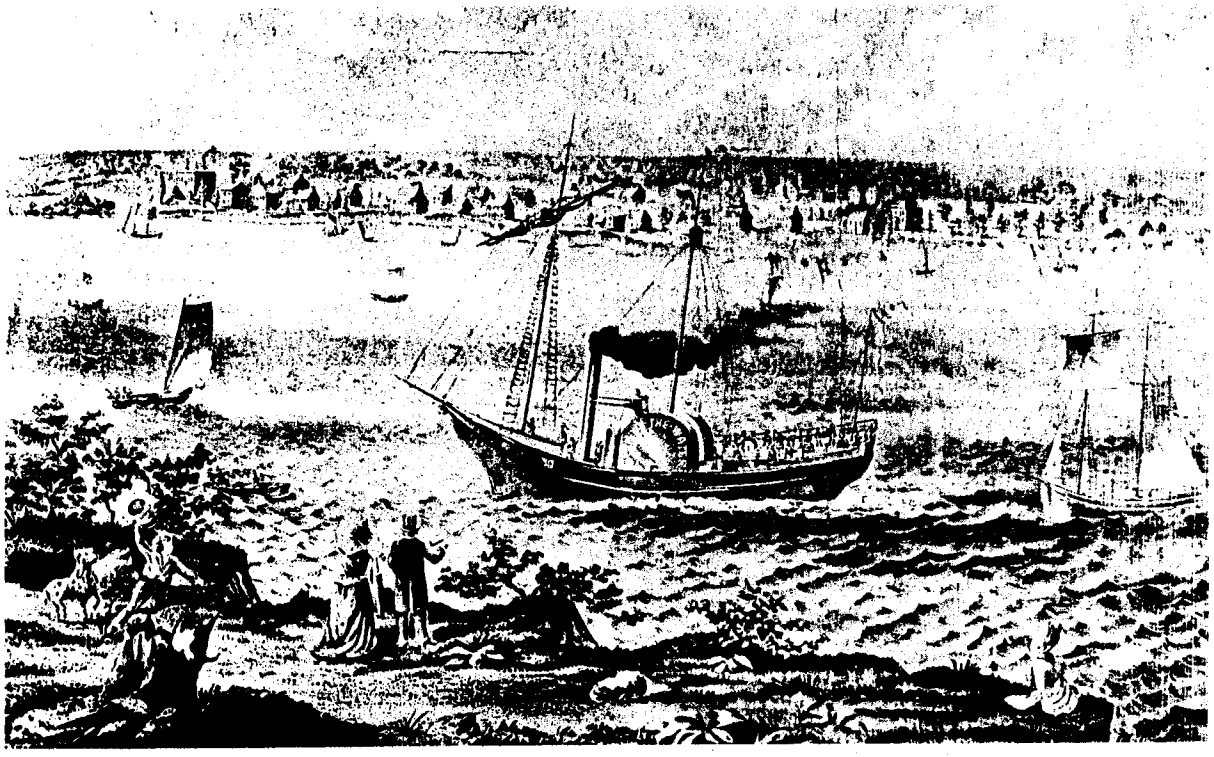

Figure 1-2. The S.S. Walk-in-the-Water arrives in Detroit on her maiden voyage. From a print in the Detroit Public Library.

The charming and well educated James Duane Doty did well in his new town. The Attorney General of Detroit, whom Doty had met by chance, had offered the young man a law apprenticeship which served to immediately introduce him to some of Detroit's most powerful and influential citizens. Doty used these connections to maximum advantage, and soon he had found additional work copying legal documents for a prominent local lawyer in return for room and board. Accommodations in the rapidly growing frontier city were often curious, and Doty's lodgings were no exception. His living quarters were located in a small dormitory partitioned off at the end of the Council House, the same structure in which Doty worked. The Council House was then Detroit's most important public building, and all court sessions, elections, auctions and public meetings took place there. It was probably in the courtroom of the Council House that Doty met Judge Augustus Woodward, a gentleman who would help him launch a lifelong career in law and become something of a role model for the young apprentice.[4] Woodward was the presiding judge of the Michigan Supreme Court, and besides the Governor, was the most important man in the territory.[5] The judge must have seen much promise in Doty, for in a short while he had suggested that the nineteen year old be presented before the bar and admitted to the practice of law. The influence of Doty's benefactor was substantial, for the young man was licensed to practice law before he could vote. Woodward's guidance and assistance was to continue, and soon Doty was witness to all of the important business of the town as the secretary and official scribe of both the Supreme Court and the City of Detroit.

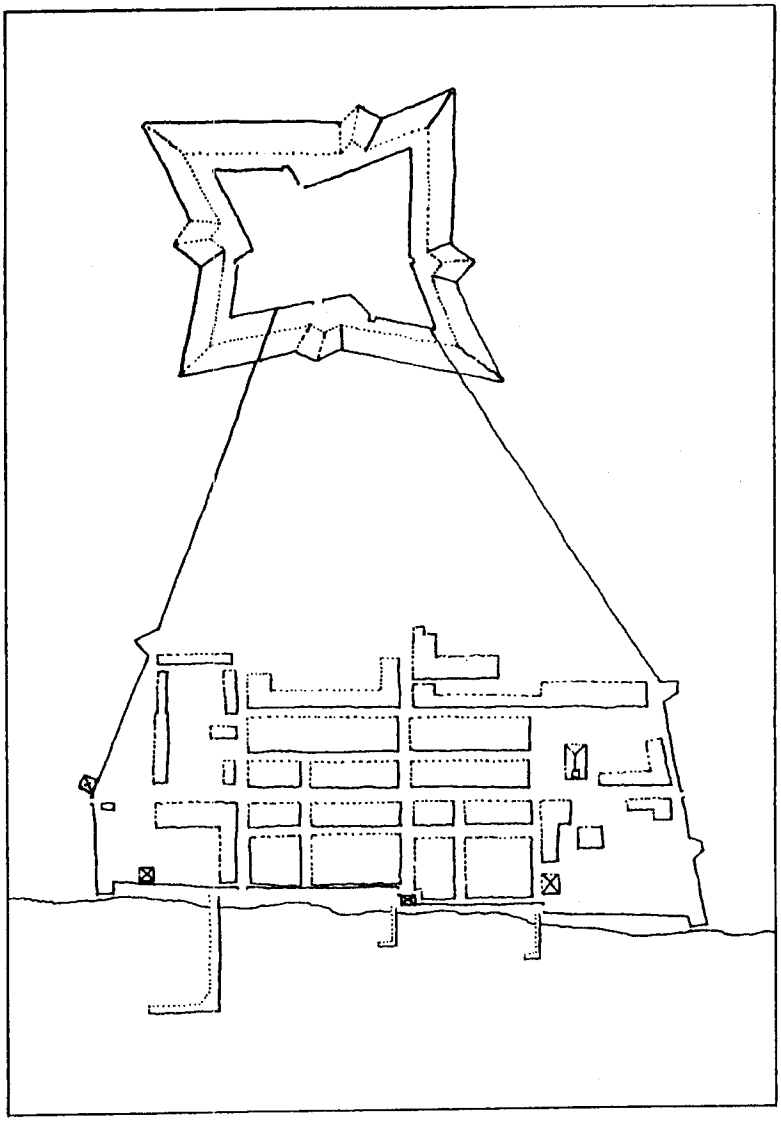

Figure 1-3. Plan of Detroit: ca. 1797. The central figure of the fort with its radiating palisades, suggests the plan that Woodward was to build atop the ruins of the earlier city.

Augustus Woodward had been appointed to the leadership of the Territorial Court by his close friend, Thomas Jefferson. The new Supreme Court appointee had arrived in Detroit to take office on June 30, 1805, only to find the city a smouldering ruin.[6] Only days before a disastrous fire had swept the city leveling the fort and the church, as well as every single store and residence within the limits of the old city. Founded by Cadillac in 1701, Detroit had existed as a small and extremely compact settlement compressed within a three acre rectangle. A grid of narrow streets, none wider than twenty feet, had allowed the fire to leap unhindered from building to building. To the north of the city had stood the fortress, enclosed by a wooden palisade which extended to completely "protect" the old city. Located in between the fortress and the city was an open space, which was enclosed on its east and west sides by the wooden walls of the palisade. This open space, called the Esplanade, was composed of a parade ground with a series of gardens arranged about its perimeter. It was into the open space of the esplanade that the citizens of Detroit had fled on the night of the great conflagration, watching their city burn from the gardens. For weeks the citizens of the town took stock of their losses and hotly debated how the town should be rebuilt. Some wished to rebuild the town as it was, others thought this a fruitless endeavor. Into this situation arrived Judge Woodward, who was greeted with an open air reception worthy of a man who was on first person terms with the great Jefferson. Woodward's arrival was timely and fortuitous, for it was obvious that a plan for the reconstruction of Detroit was badly needed such that the construction of winter shelter could commence. Woodward was probably the best educated man on the frontier, and he expressed himself familiar with "the street arrangements and the parks and public buildings of European cities where scientific planning had been successfully attempted." Woodward had even, it seems, discussed the matter of city planning with Jefferson. He was summarily appointed to a committee of one to lay out the new Detroit.[7]

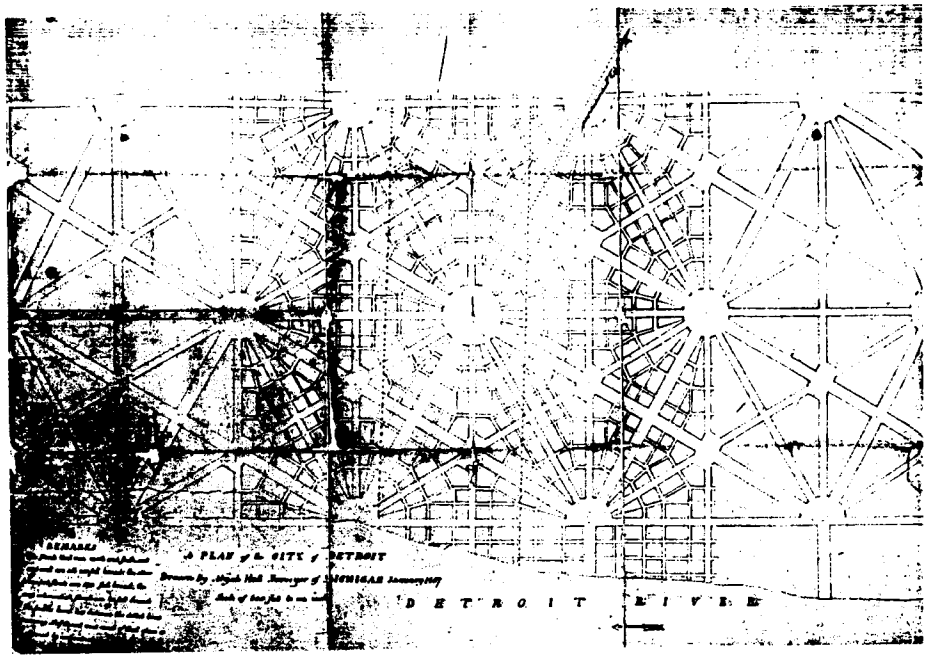

Figure 1-4. Woodward's Plan for Detroit, Michigan: 1807.

Woodward set himself to the planning of the new city, the design of which was only a small part of the problem. The greatest obstacle to be overcome was that neither Judge Woodward nor the Territorial Governor had the authority to guarantee title to the lands on which the new city was to be laid out. As only an act of Congress, approved by the President could guarantee such titles, Woodward departed in the early fall of 1805 for Washington. Taking with him a plan of his proposed city, Woodward's goal was to lobby congress for such an act and to lay the plan before his friend Jefferson for his comments and approval. While lobbying Congress took much longer (and much more wine) than he had hoped, in April of 1806 President Jefferson approved "An Act to Provide for the Adjustment of Title of Land in the Town of Detroit and Territory of Michigan and for Other Purposes." After his return to Detroit, Woodward evidently revised his plan somewhat, perhaps to take into account comments he may have received from Jefferson. Eventually a plan was approved, a novel design for the city consisting of:

"*...an equilateral triangle having sides of four thousand feet each, and divided into six sections by a perpendicular line from every angle bisecting the opposite side, with squares, circuses and other open spaces of ground where six avenues and where twelve avenues intersect, with lots of 5,000 square feet, with an alley or lane coming to the rear of every lot, with subordinate streets of sixty feet feet width, with a fine internal space of ground for education and other purposes, with grand avenues to the four cardinal points of two hundred feet width, and with other avenues of one hundred twenty feet width...*"[7]

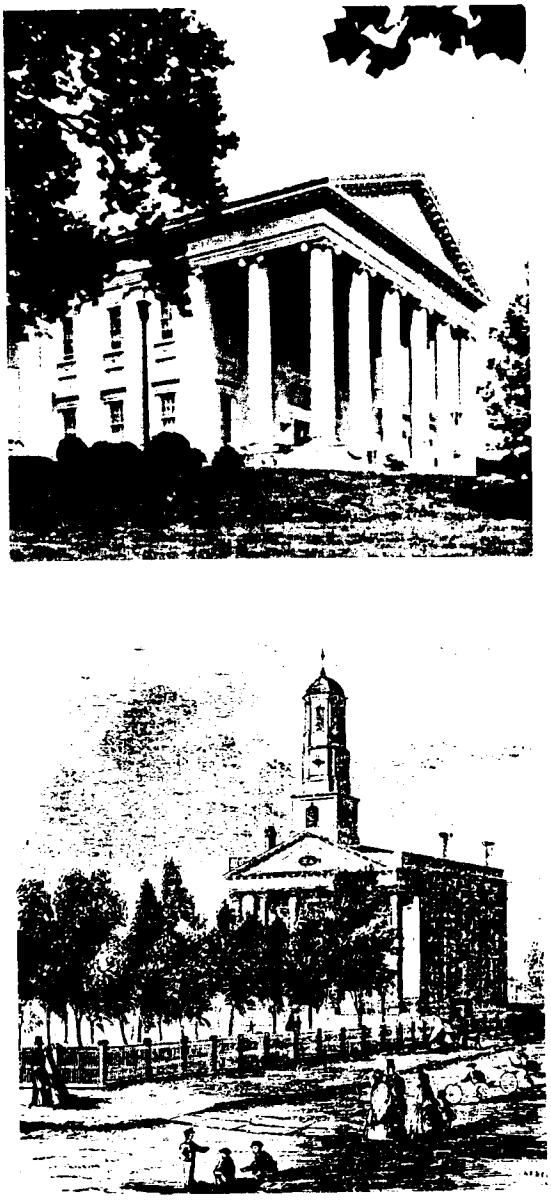

Figure 1-5. Thomas Jefferson's State Capitol in Richmond, Virginia: ca. 1785 (above); and the Michigan Territorial Capitol as it was built in Woodward's Capitol Park: ca. 1823 (below).

Certainly Woodward's plan of Detroit owes a debt to Pierre L'Enfant. Woodward had in fact known L'Enfant in Washington, and was quite familiar with his plan for the federal capital having kept a small print of the city on which he recorded his land holdings.[8] Woodward probably also knew intimate details concerning Jefferson's and L'Enfant's communications during the development of the Washington plan, as Woodward was a frequent visitor at Monticello during the period 1795-1801. During these visits Woodward and Jefferson held discourse on a variety of subjects, especially Federalist politics, education and the structure of scientific knowledge.[9] One subject of long standing interest to Jefferson, which Woodward obviously shared, was city planning. Jefferson had a good collection of city plans, which he probably shared with Woodward. Jefferson had also sketched several designs for ideal cities by the time he knew Woodward. Jefferson made no secret of his opinions with regard to cities and architecture, and his opinions can be seen to have had an influence on Woodward who has been called, "Jefferson's disciple." Even after spending considerable time in Paris, Jefferson viewed "great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man." Jefferson had disdained the narrow streets and dense blocks of Paris while holding the French neoclassical ideal of the villa set in a garden in the highest regard.[10] He felt that the classical object building set in a romantic park or garden setting would be the ideal architectural planning principal for American agrarian "cities." Jefferson explored this theme in several built projects, notably the State Capitol in Richmond, Virginia. This idea directly influenced Woodward's design of the Detroit plan, as a principal aspect of the plan was to situate all public buildings as objects set in generous parklike settings. A comparison of Jefferson's Richmond Capitol and Woodward's Capitol Park in Detroit demonstrates the similarity of the way in which these public buildings were situated.

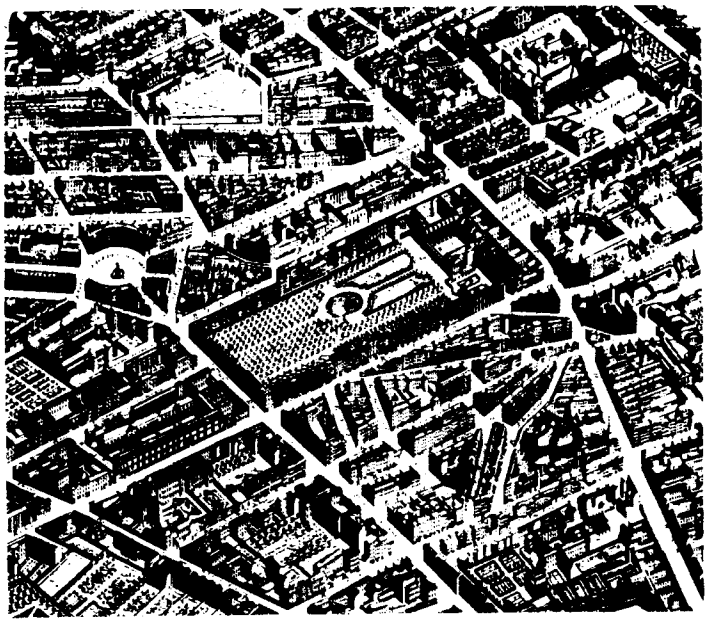

Figure 1-6. The gardens of the Palais Royale, Paris, France: ca. 1735. Jefferson admired the Palais Royale roughly fifty years after this view was drawn.

As the previous illustrations imply, the intention of situating a public building in an open, romantic park setting was not an "urban" one. Both of these structures belie their locations in major cities, masquerading as if they were located in the countryside. This idea of an "agrarian" city is close to the heart of many of Jefferson's thoughts on what American settlements should be. Besides the neoclassical villa in the park, Jefferson had greatly admired a vast rectangular square he had seen in Paris; the Palais Royale. The idea which attracted Jefferson to the Palais was the notion of a country garden brought into the city, displacing the tight streets and dense blocks of central Paris. For Jefferson, this model was much more than a mere aesthetic preference, as he felt that the dense "solid block" city was a principal source of disease and pestilence in American cities:

"*...Ventilation is indispensably necessary. Experience has taught us that in the open air of the country the yellow fever is not only not generated, but ceases to be infectious.*"[11]

One answer to the "problem" of the city would be therefore to bring aspects of the country into the city; a kind of "agrarian city." Generous parks and greens would allow American cities to be "ventilated." Jefferson went so far as to suggest a city based on a checkerboard, the black squares being built-up blocks, the white being open greens or squares. Woodward was evidently much influenced by the notions of his avowed mentor, as he built Detroit around a variety of parklike circuses, squares, neighborhood greens and tree lined avenues. Woodward even passed laws requiring almost excessive tree plantings on the streets, squares and avenues of Detroit; mandating that the beauty and health giving effects of the countryside be present in the city.

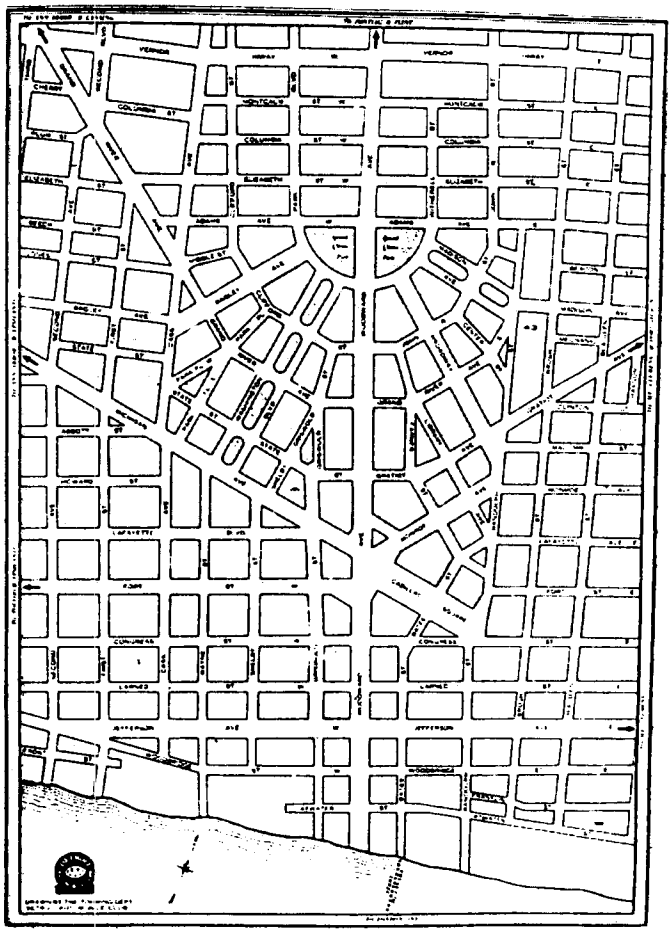

Figure 1-7. Plan of Detroit, Michigan: twentieth century. The drawing reveals the last surviving vestiges of Woodward's radial planning.

Jefferson's vision of the "agrarian city," and Woodward's Detroit were not to be. As early as 1808 attempts were made to abandon Woodward's plan and supplant it with a rectangular gridiron of city blocks devoid of the public greens and open spaces that made up the design. Throughout the first quarter of the century the design was slowly eroded, with Woodward making valiant attempts to salvage his visionary plan and make clear his opinion that the planning of cities was an essential art in the development of the nation:

"*...the art of man should aid the benevolence of the Creator, and no restricted attachment to the present day or to present interests should induce a permanent sacrifice of ulterior and brilliant prospects.*"[12]

These words were written during the summer of James Duane Doty's arrival, shortly before he came to know Woodward. As the secretary of the court and of the city, the fierce debates surrounding Woodward and the plan of Detroit would have been known to Doty to the finest detail. Living in Detroit from 1818-1823, Doty had the opportunity to watch firsthand the politics and ideologies that shaped the design of the city. He could step outside to walk the streets, avenues and squares of Woodward's plan taking shape before his very eyes in the boom town economy. Doty had the opportunity to know the designer of Detroit, a man conversant in the design ideals of Jefferson and L'Enfant. Perhaps just as relevant to Doty's development, he watched Woodward's failure as his visionary and radical plan was abandoned and replaced.

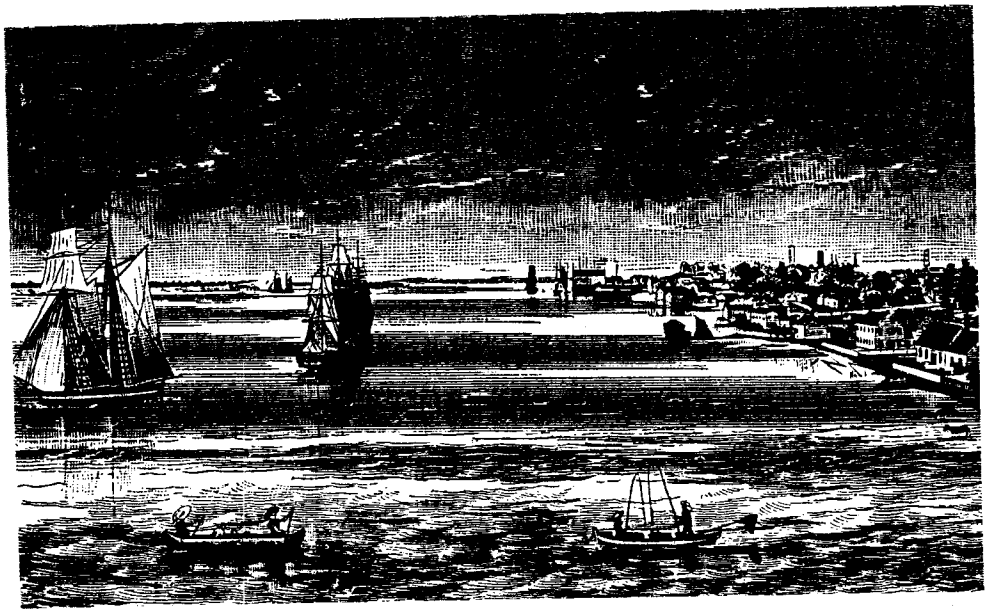

Figure 1-8. The Detroit waterfront near the time of Doty's departure.

Doty must have watched Woodward's career with a careful eye, using it as a model for his own. Within three years of first meeting Woodward, Doty began a lobbying effort to create a new superior judgeship and to have himself appointed to the position. Doty even traveled to Washington to meet the president and secure his nomination, just as Woodward had once done. Doty followed Woodward's career in other ways as well. In addition to the plan of Detroit, Woodward had designed the plans of two other cities: Woodwardville and Ypsilanti. As the name Woodwardville would imply, Woodward was the owner as well as the designer of the city where he attempted sell lots at a profit. In the case of Ypsilanti, named after Greek heroes popular at the time, Woodward operated as the developer in conjunction with two partners. In order to encourage investors the partners built a mill and a tavern in the town, and Ypsilanti was eventually something of a success. The young Doty evidently took careful note of Woodward's development attempts, as shortly thereafter he began a lifelong career as designer and promoter of townsites. When Doty left Detroit and again headed west, he also took something of Woodward's design ideology with him. For as can be seen in the following chapters, Doty had absorbed Woodward's passion for town planning and his attitude that such efforts were an art form essential to the urban development of the nation.

Figure 2-1. Prairie du Chien, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Fox, Mississippi, and Wisconsin Waterways.

CHAPTER 2:
THE PLAN FOR PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

In the spring of 1823, the young James Duane Doty received an appointment as a federal judge for the Western Michigan Territory from President James Monroe. With the rather awkward title of "Circuit Court Judge of the United States for the Counties of Mackinaw, Brown, and Crawford", Doty became a traveling judge with required appearances at seats in all three counties. And so in August of 1823, Doty stepped out of a fur traders canoe to find himself in the bustling village of Prairie du Chien on the great Mississippi River. Although only twenty-three years old at the time, Doty was treated like a respected federal official upon his arrival in the rather rough fur trading settlement. For his salary Judge Doty presided over the first election of a public official, the post office, various legal disputes and land claim affidavits.[1] A fundamental problem of settlement and of development in general on the frontier was the lack of adequate titles or deeds for property. In order for squatters to secure title to their informal land claims, settlers and traders had to testify before Doty claiming long term residency. Doty made his recommendations and then sent the testimonials east for recognition or denial of the land claims. While Doty's salary for this work was adequate, he had desires for wealth and power far beyond his means as a circuit judge. It could not have been long before his duties taught him what wealth and power meant on the frontier: the control of land and its development.

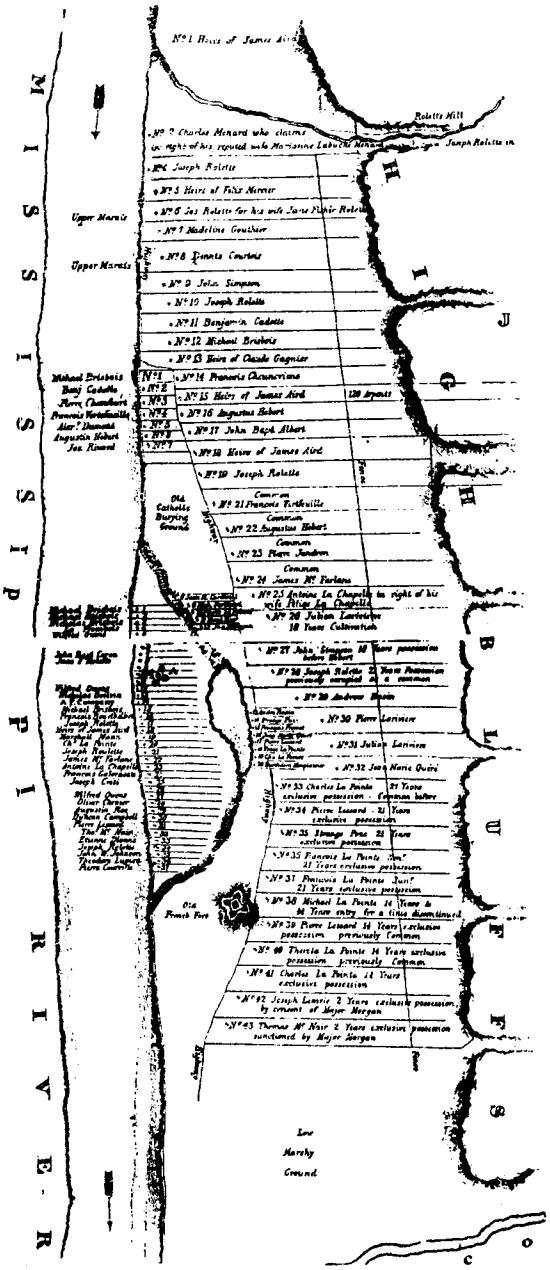

Figure 2-2. Plan of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin: ca. 1820. The French "long lots" are composed of narrow strips of land extending from river to bluff. Doty purchased lots thirty-four and thirty-five.

During the winter of 1823-24, Judge Doty purchased what were probably the best building sites at Prairie du Chien for the sum of $130. Located in the prairie near both the fort and the village, Doty's land was surmounted by three large mounds, probably of Indian making. At the time of Doty's purchase, Prairie du Chien was a small cluster of crude buildings, not at all representative of its great importance in trade, frontier expansion and military control. Near the village stood Fort Crawford, a log structure with a stockaded enclosure.[2] The fort, erected to guard against foreign aggression and Indian hostility, was a significant force in the development of the region and served to make nearby property of considerable value. While Doty's land purchase seemed certain to be a sound long-term investment, he endeavored to quickly increase the value of his holdings in a direct and somewhat unscrupulous maneuver. Relying on his official relationship with Governor Cass in Detroit, Doty obtained an act of the Territorial Legislature requiring that the courthouse of Crawford County be built on the land he had just purchased. He then most generously donated to Crawford County a small portion of his land, on which the county was to build the courthouse (and other government structures).[3] Doty's goal was to vastly increase the value of his own property by seeing that the most significant public buildings in the city would be built in the middle of his holdings. His intention was to plat a village around this new courthouse and make a fortune in the sale of the lots.

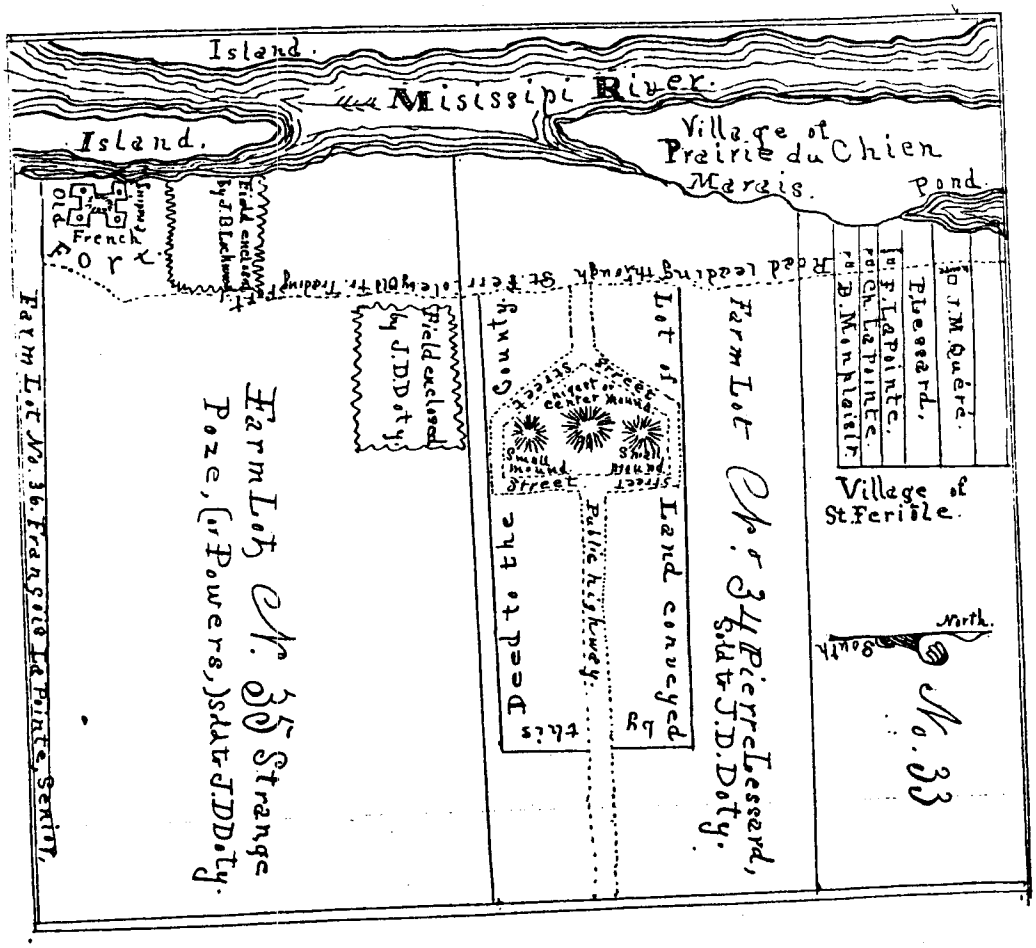

Figure 2-3. Doty's plan for a courthouse square at Prairie du Chien: 1824. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Despite the questionable ethics involved in Judge Doty's land deal, his design is of considerable interest and value. Rather than simply giving a parcel to the county, Doty has made certain provisions concerning the layout of streets, open space and buildings. Foremost, he has configured the area around the three mounds into the form of a courthouse square, surrounded by streets and blocks for public buildings. Doty has then shaped the courthouse square into the form of an arrow, a directional figure which gestures or points towards the great Mississippi below. The three preexisting mounds, the tallest in the center, determine the axis of symmetry for the scheme, and are captured within the confines of the square. The axis of symmetry created by these mounds is of great significance to Doty, as he goes so far as to state in his deed to the county that:

"*...the County Commissioners are herby required to erect the courthouse upon the highest or center mound of the said three mounds...*"

In this way Doty intended to transform the tallest of the mounds into a plinth or base intended to lift the courthouse up above the structures of the village below. Doty's courthouse was to sit in the center of a large green or square, a concept derived from Woodward's siting of public structures at Detroit. In addition, Doty had lived in Detroit only a block away from one of Woodward's squares, the green of which contained a small public building. This square was also quite similar in shape to Doty's Prairie du Chien square and may have been the seed of the idea.

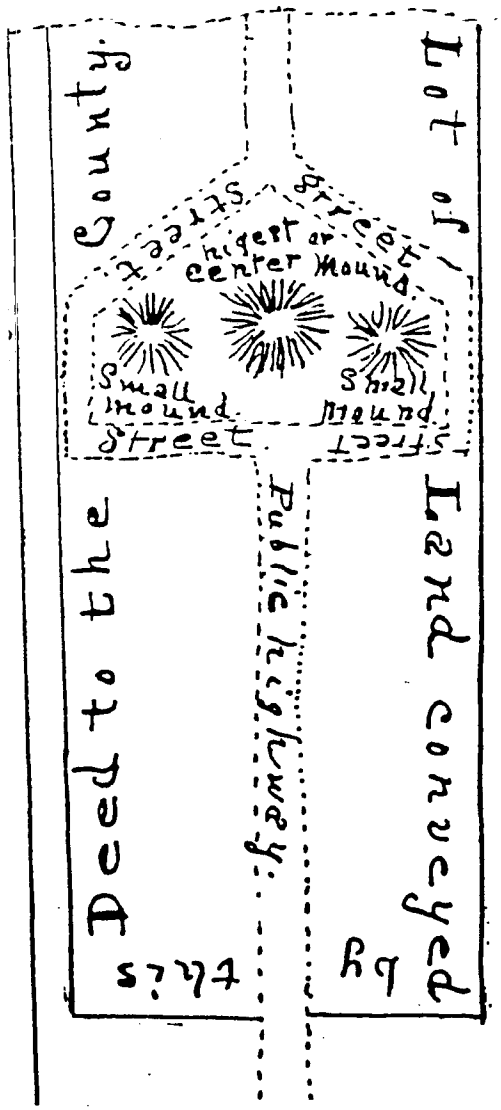

Figure 2-4. Detail of Doty's plan for a courthouse square and highway at Prairie du Chien: 1824.

The axis created by the tallest of the three mounds and the courthouse square is then extended directly off the map to the east and labeled a "Public highway". This sketch is evidence that as early as 1824, Doty had envisioned a highway which would connect Prairie du Chien with the interior of the territory, a project that he was destined to complete.[4] Altogether, Doty's scheme is one of remarkable power and is evidence of great skills as a designer and politician. For the cost of $130 and a few communications to Detroit, Doty had set in motion the wheels of a scheme capable of entirely remaking the rustic village of Prairie du Chien into a powerful composition of symmetry, order, monumentality and vision. Unfortunately, by 1829 Crawford County had not utilized the gift of land for the construction of a courthouse. As a result, Doty withdrew his gift and deeded the property to the federal government. Eventually the Army utilized the property for the relocation of Fort Crawford, which had been plagued by flooding. While the Fort was located on the site that Doty had selected for the courthouse, his overall scheme was not used.[5]

Figure 3-1. The Town of Munnomunne, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Fox, Mississippi, and Wisconsin waterways.

CHAPTER 3:
THE PLAN OF MUNNOMUNNE

In May of 1824, the young circuit judge James Duane Doty packed his belongings into a canoe and left Prairie du Chien in order to satisfy his obligation to open a court session in Green Bay, Brown County.[1] The Green Bay in which Doty arrived on a summers day in 1824 was little more than a ragged collection of log dwellings lining the banks of the Fox River, the mouth of which was protected by the white washed timber stockades of Fort Howard. Built in 1816, Fort Howard was one of several forts built under order of the Federal War Department in the period following the war of 1812. The initial intention of Fort Howard was to block British access to the navigable Fox at the river mouth, thus protecting vast interior lands and river commerce in the most efficient way possible. But like Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien, Fort Howard played an extremely significant role in the life and development of the territory, disproportionate to its small size and limited initial intentions.[2] Soldiers were used to build roads, act as a police force in both Indian and white affairs and in general provide a stable environment for trade and settlement. It was certainly this element of stability that brought the young Judge Doty to purchase several parcels of land along the Fox from a Mr. John Lawe and attempt to plat the parcels into lots for sale to investors and settlers. As Doty had attempted in Prairie du Chien, he endeavored at Green Bay to use his position and influence to increase the value of his purchases. The same territorial act that had required Prairie du Chien to construct a courthouse on Doty's land, also contained provisions requiring that a seat of justice be established in Brown County.[3] Doty used this provision to again donate to the county a parcel of land in the center of his holdings, such that his surrounding lands might be increased in their value.

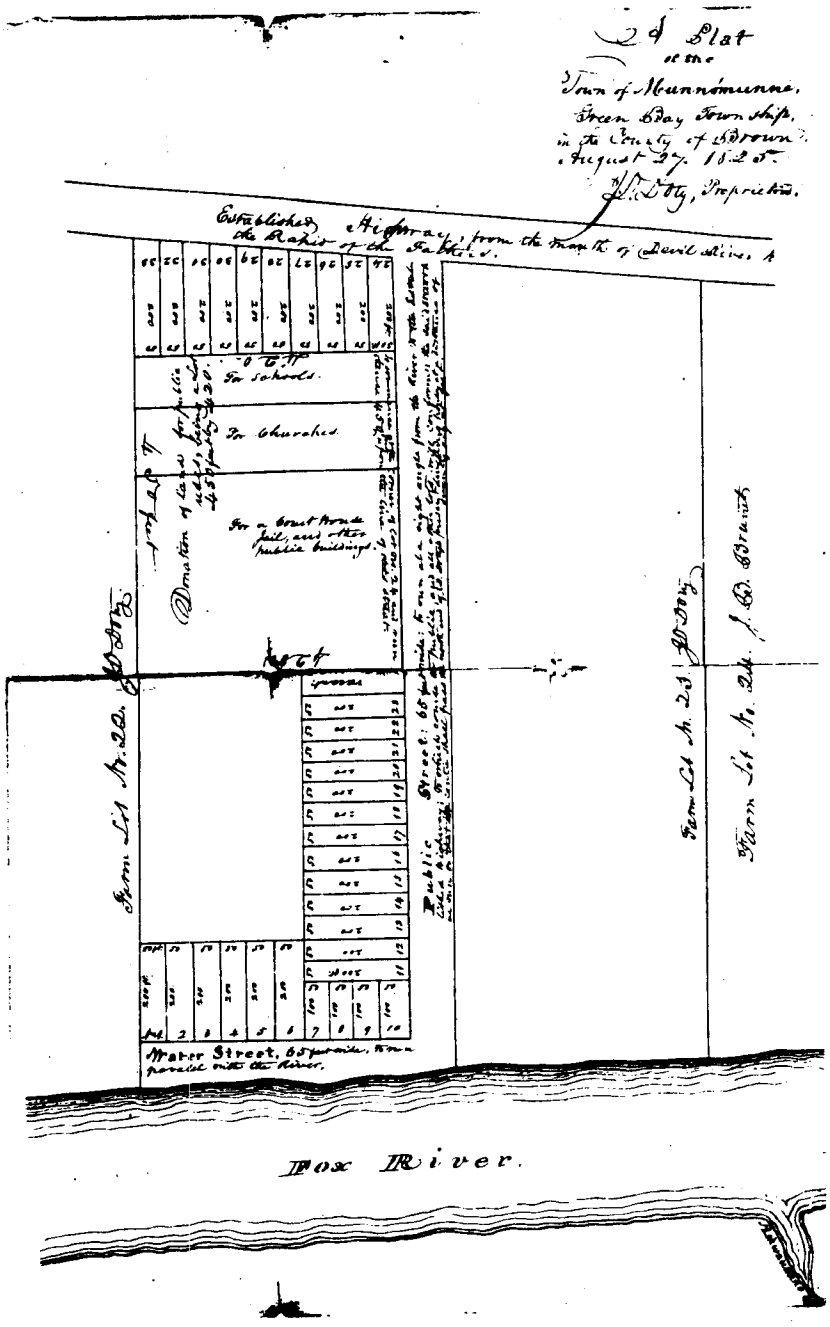

Figure 3-2. Plat of the Town of Munnomunne, Wisconsin: 1824. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Doty's drawing for the Town of Munnomunne survives, and is reproduced as Figure 3-2. Located south of Fort Howard, Doty's land was bordered to the west by the Fox River and to the east by an existing highway. The major feature of Doty's plan for the property is a proposed "public street", 65 feet in width, connecting the river with the existing highway. This roadway is specified in the plat text to run "at a right angle from the river to the established highway." Fronting onto this street are the major components of the plan: a lot reserved for the "courthouse, jail and other public buildings", a lot for churches, a lot for schools, as well as numerous private lots, from the sale of which he hoped to derive income. A second public street is proposed along the rivers edge, which would have had utility as a public landing for river commerce. Doty takes advantage of this potential commercial activity by halving the size of the lots at the meeting of the two streets and the waterfront. By this move, two additional lots are created close to this important intersection. Finally, ten additional lots are subdivided along the existing highway. The plan lacks the clarity and elegance found in Doty's Prairie du Chien courthouse square, as there is little attention paid to the shaping of the public open space. But this was only Doty's first attempt at Munnomunne, for within a year he developed a much more ambitious scheme for the town.

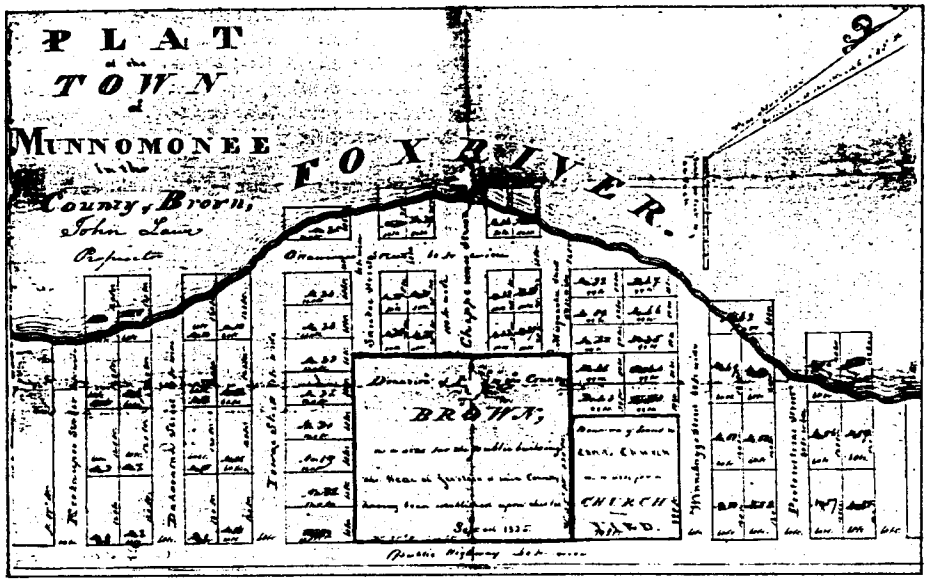

Figure 3-3. Plat of the Town of Munnomonee, Wisconsin: 1825. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Doty's 1824 plan of Munnomunne was a failure in development terms. Doty's plat was simply too far away from the activity of Fort Howard, and in addition his ownership of the land on which the village was platted was an unconfirmed claim. Doty's initial failure seems not to have dampened his enthusiasm, since in the following year he was involved with landowner John Lawe, in yet another village plat called Munnomonee. Located some distance closer to the fort than Doty's previous incarnation of Munnomunne, the new site also featured the advantage of being surrounded by existing homesteads, which might help convince investors that the village was well located. Outlining the circumstances of the development, a bicentennial publication of the Brown County Historical Society reads:

"*...Judge Doty persuaded John Lawe, who owned most of the land, to lay out a planned village in the vicinity of the present state reformatory, for which Doty wangled the county seat from the Michigan legislature. They named the settlement Menomineeville, although most of the residents continued to call it Shantytown...*"[4]

The 1825 plat survives and is reproduced as figure 3-3. In the late 1820's Doty assisted numerous Green Bay area residents in acquiring secure deeds or patents for their unconfirmed land claims in exchange for a portion of those same lands (usually a quarter or third share).[5] Lawe and Doty had entered into such an arrangement in other holdings, and it is probable that they had a similar arrangement in this case. This would explain Doty's interest in assisting Lawe in laying out the village.

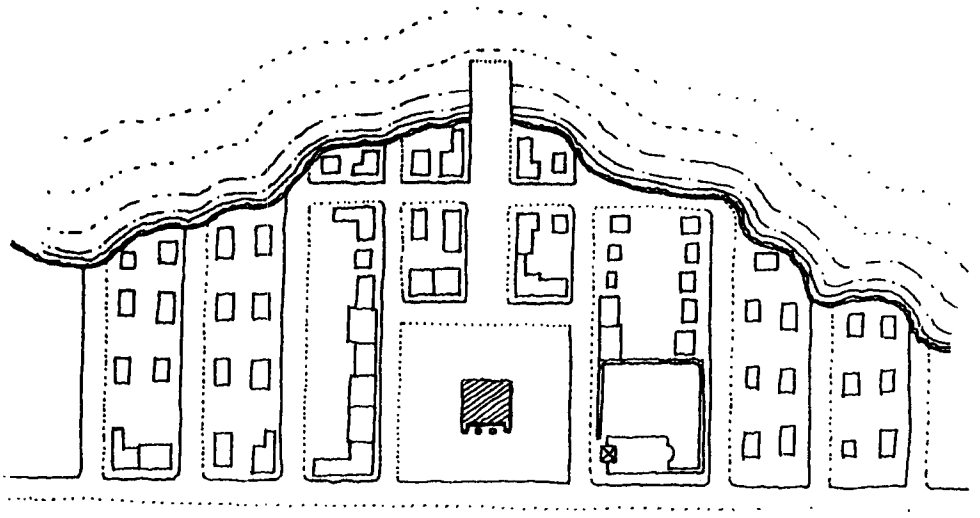

Figure 3-4. Conjectural reconstruction of Doty's 1825 scheme for Munnomomee.

The plan is an interesting and well developed one, possessing formal symmetries akin to the plan of Prairie du Chien of 1824. Located on a bulge or promontory reaching into the Fox, the plat centers around a large reserve intended for the courthouse square. With frontage on the public highway, the courthouse square is surrounded by speculative lots, which change orientation in order to maximize the number of parcels facing the square. Also defining the square is a parcel set aside for construction of a "Christ Church", completing a compact grouping of church, state, and community, with state functions clearly in domination over those of the church. The overall street and block arrangement is very fine in grain, with eleven small city blocks being proposed. The widest street, Chippewau, is located on axis with the courthouse square, thereby directly connecting the square to important river traffic. Like Chippewau Street, the other streets are all given Indian names, a somewhat unusual maneuver in a time when most proprietors named streets after important white patriots. Doty had recently spent much of an entire winter season as a student of the Chippewau tongue, and had developed an unusual degree of respect for Indian place-names and lore, a respect that would be maintained throughout his career. Unfortunately, the second plan of Munnomonee was a failure as well, as it was unable to attract investors and settlers. It seems that this site was also deemed too far from the fort to merit settlement, and investors placed their monies elsewhere. This was especially true since the courthouse, planned as the driving force of the scheme, was not forthcoming.

Figure 4-1. Route of the Military Road, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Fox, Mississippi, and Wisconsin Waterways.

CHAPTER 4:
THE MILITARY ROAD

By 1826, Doty's work as a traveling circuit judge had made him well aware of the primitive state of transportation on the frontier. In order to maintain his required annual court appearances at Prairie du Chien, Green Bay, and Mackinac, Doty had to travel these distances by means of canoe and overland portages. Far from the idyllic means of recreation one might imagine, this mode of travel was arduous and exhausting at best. Doty usually travelled with fur traders, and timed his journeys to coincide with the seasonal migrations of the traders from trapping grounds to places of winter residence. On the voyage from Prairie du Chien to Green Bay, for example, three separate portages were required. Each time, travelers had to completely unload the boats, carry the supplies ahead to navigable water, return to shoulder the large canoes, repack the vessels and paddle to the next portage. If this system were not primitive enough, it was also subject to the seasons, which served to completely halt travel during the winter months when the rivers were partially or entirely frozen. The winter blockage of transport created not only an inconvenience, but a real danger to inhabitants of the frontier. On several occasions, both settlers and troops at frozen villages and forts had suffered malnutrition and even near starvation before spring thaws had allowed the arrival of provisions. In addition, Indian unrest was a real and present frontier danger in the 1820's and 30's and military forts that went without supplies for nearly six months a year made this problem all the more serious. The reliance on water travel for troop movements also meant that forces could not be effectively utilized during the winter to suppress Indian actions, leaving forts individual islands with little connection to the outside world.

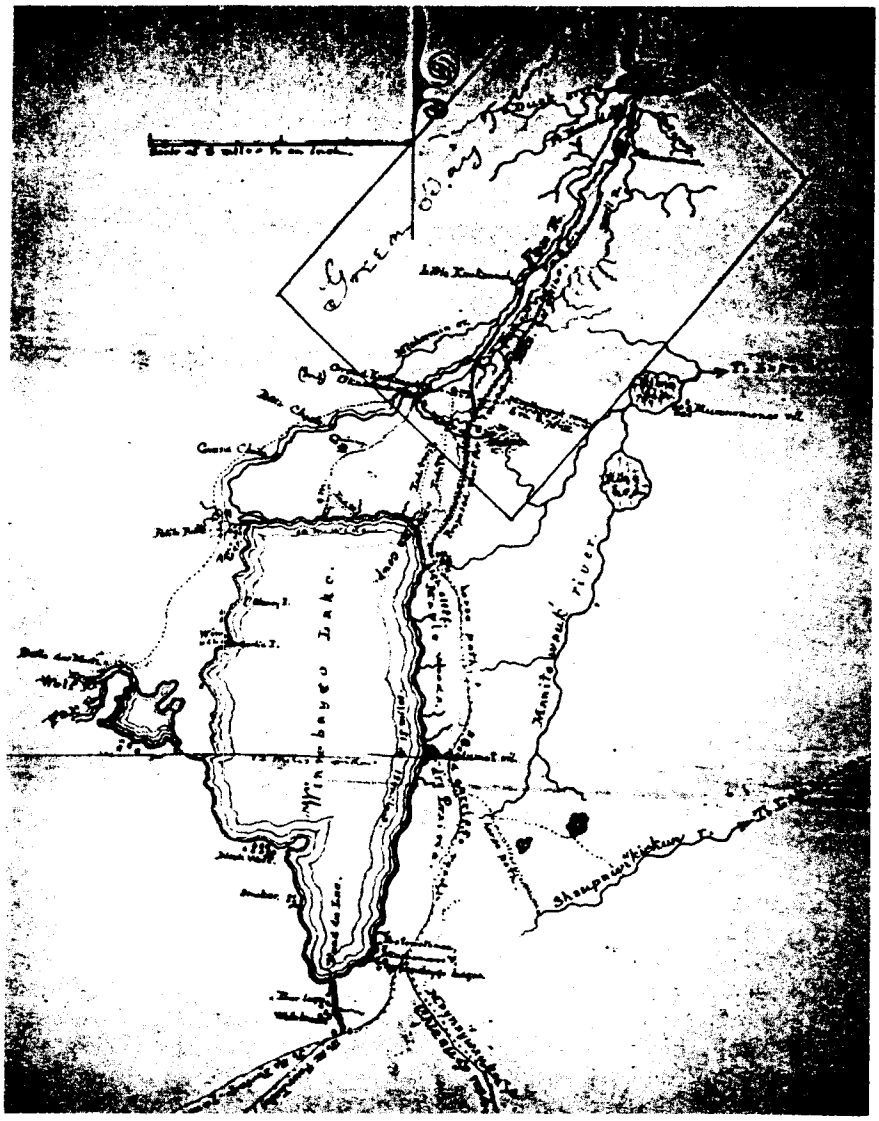

Figure 4-2. Doty's plan of the Fox River Valley, with a proposed military roadway route with terminations in Prairie du Chien and Chicago: ca. 1829. National Archives.

After several court circuits of strenuous and seasonally limited water travel, it was clear to Doty that a superior transportation system needed to be developed if the territory (not to mention his own investments) were to develop and thrive. Around the time of the December 1826 freeze-up, Doty took a first step at rectifying these deficiencies. Writing from the newly platted Village of Munnomonee near Fort Howard at Green Bay (which existed almost entirely on paper) Doty penned a letter to the Honorable A.E. Wing, Delegate at the federal capital in Washington:

"I take the liberty of addressing you upon a subject highly interesting to the people of this country... and to the General Government - I mean, the construction of a military road by the Troops at this post, from this place to Chicago... I give you the following, as the most eligible rout (sic) for a road, according to the best information which I have obtained, to-wit: Commencing at the village of Munnomonee (the seat of justice of the county) and following the ridge which divides the waters of Two Rivers and Manitoowauk', from those which empty into the Fox River, to the head of the bay in Winnebago Lake near the outlet of the lake; then along the shore of that lake to the mouth of Rush River at the head of the lake. From this point I think it would be most advisable to take nearly a direct course to Chicago... The distance would be less than one hundred and eighty miles; and the work could probably be performed in one season... From the southern extremity of Lake Winnebago a rout might readily be traced to Prairie du Chien, or the lead mines at Fever River, either of which would be of greatest utility... The rout which I have marked will be found to run chiefly through oak plains and prairies - the principal expense therefore will be in erecting bridges across the streams..."[1]

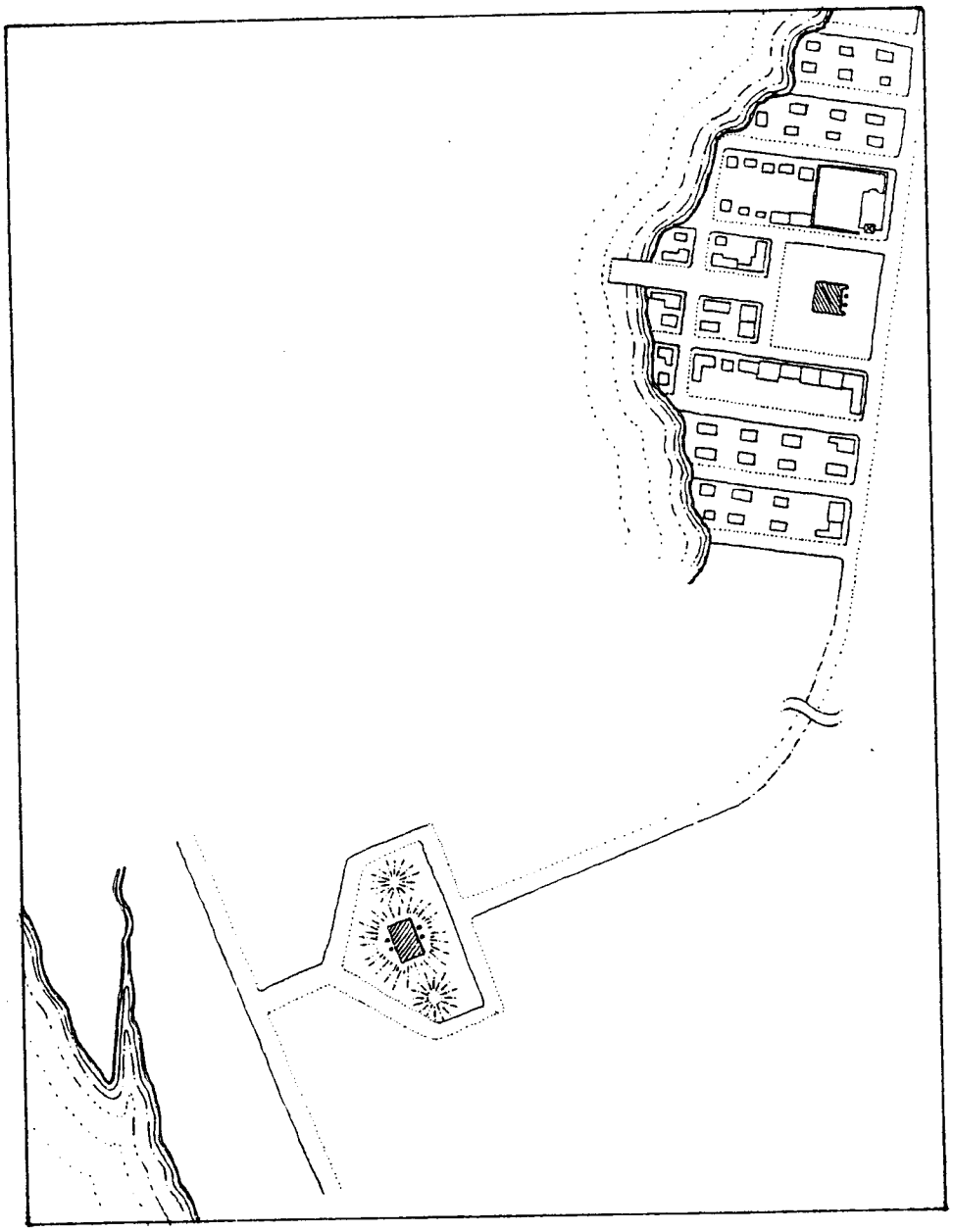

Figure 4-3. Diagram of the military road, with Doty's proposed terminations in Prairie du Chien (lower left), and Munnomonee (upper right).

While Doty is certainly operating with some public good will in mind when requesting the construction of the roadways, he has attempted to enhance the value of his two developments (Munnomonee and Prairie du Chien) by requesting that these important military roadways be built connecting them.[2] While the roads were intended primarily for military purposes, they would obviously have enormous economic impact upon the settlement and economic growth of lands opened by the roads.[3] Doty recognized this potential, and sought to bestow such benefits upon the future owners of his property. Returning to the plan of Doty's courthouse square at Prairie du Chien, the proposed "public highway" entering the square from the east demonstrates that Doty was thinking of such a road as early as 1824; and had utilized it as an important feature in his scheme by terminating the highway with the courthouse square. One can imagine traveling through what was essentially wilderness, to arrive at Prairie du Chien and run headlong into an impressive vista of a new courthouse sitting in the center of a great public square. It would have been a monumental and powerful western termination to the military road and would have made nearby lots extremely valuable. The 1826 plan of Munnomonee also suggests such forethought, as it too features a great square, which would certainly have received the Green Bay termination if Doty had been able to control this matter in 1826. But Doty's plan for linking Green Bay and Prairie du Chien with a military road was not to transpire for several years. As we have seen, both of the plats (Prairie du Chien and Munnomonee) were essentially failures in development terms and by the time the road was built in the 1830's, Doty had other development interests.

Throughout the late 1820's, Doty continued to lobby for the construction of the road, his proposals becoming sharper and clearer over time as his knowledge of the region grew. After tiring of the system of canoe and portage travel, Doty had begun to travel legs of his court circuit overland on horseback. In 1829, he traveled the route that he had proposed for the Green Bay - Prairie du Chien road entirely overland, becoming one of the first white men to have done so. Departing from Green Bay, Doty crossed the Fond du Lac River at the head of Lake Winnebago, passed through the Four Lakes region near the future site of Madison, and arrived eventually at Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien. This would become an important tour for Doty, as many of his future townsites would be located along this route. Doty's intimate knowledge of the terrain, combined with his many years of lobbying, eventually came to fruition in 1832 when Congress authorized the Secretary of War (Doty's old friend Cass, former Governor of the Michigan Territory) to construct a roadway connecting Wisconsin's three forts: Fort Howard in Green Bay, Fort Winnebago in Portage, and Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien.[4] While Doty certainly deserves some of the credit for the passage of the roadway, Congress approved the measure during the Black Hawk War, a time when military control of Indian actions seemed imperative. Secretary of War Cass selected Doty to work with Army Lieutenant Alexander J. Center to select the route of the proposed road, which for the most part maintained the path taken by Doty on his 1829 trip. Their selection was eventually approved, and construction was undertaken by army troops at each of the three forts.

Figure 4-4. Overland travel in the Wisconsin Territory. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The roadway was, in fact, a very long one and the construction was crude.[5] Lanes were cleared through forestland. Logs, covered with mounds of earth provided dry crossings over lowlands. Simple timber bridges were built over streams and small rivers. Piles of stones marked the route across long stretches of open prairie. But as simple as it was, the road became a thoroughfare of commerce. Squatters took up claims along the route in order to take advantage of the travelers that were sure to follow. The road served to open vast sections of the territory to settlers, sections that had previously been inaccessible. The road also made these interior properties desirable, since the products of the land could now be taken to market year round. In addition, the road served to calm the fears of settlers with regard to hostile Indian actions, feeling that they were connected to one of the nearby forts, under the protection of its troops.[6] In actual military terms the road proved to have little value, since by the time it was completed the frontier had moved west of the Mississippi, leaving the forts in essentially "secure" territory. But Doty's long time dream of the road had come true and as we shall see he attempted to make the most of his accomplishment.[7]

Figure 5-1. The Town of Astor, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Fox, Mississippi, and Wisconsin Waterways.

CHAPTER 5:
THE PLAN OF ASTOR

For many decades preceding the 1830's, Green Bay had been the site of the winter residence of a large number of fur traders. Many of these traders sat on early land claims, upon which they had built primitive dwellings in which they spent the frozen months. As settlement and commerce at Green Bay increased throughout the 20's and 30's, the value of the property on which they sat had steadily increased. Unfortunately for these traders the business in which they dealt, furs, had not.[1] A century of relentless hunting and trapping had seriously hurt fur bearing animal populations, this combined with an increase in competition had sent many in the fur business into heavy indebtedness. 1834 marked the end of an era for fur trade at Green Bay, when the owner of the American Fur Company, John Jacob Astor, made the decision to dissolve what had once been a vast and powerful monopoly. The American Fur Company had for several years been providing Green Bay traders with goods and provisions in excess of the value of the furs they received, taking in exchange the mortgages to the traders extensive land holdings in Green Bay. In the summer of 1834 the company foreclosed on numerous holdings, and John Jacob Astor at once became the single largest property owner in Green Bay with valuable lands almost immediately across the river from Fort Howard. Adjacent to Astor's new land was the successful village of Navarino and it offered an inspiring precedent of what should be done with the property: lay out a townsite.[2]

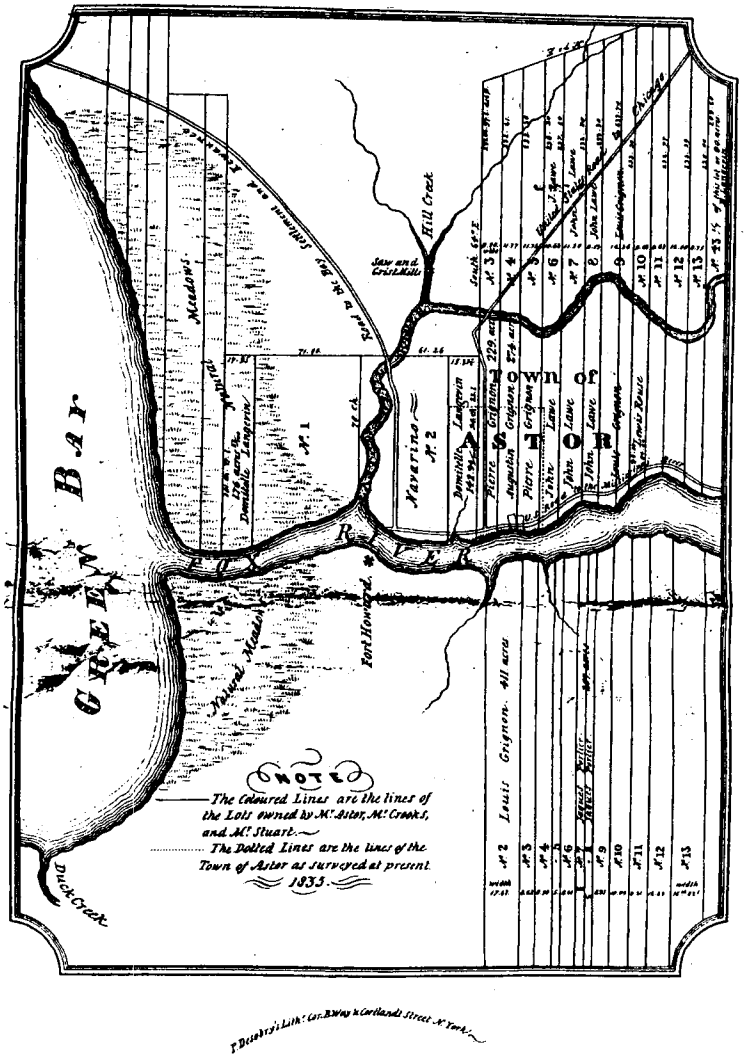

Figure 5-2. Map of Green Bay and the Fox River, showing the long lots seized in foreclosure by Astor in 1834. Neville Public Museum of Brown County.

The village of Navarino had been platted as a townsite in 1829 by Daniel Whitney, a highly respected citizen and trader of the Green Bay area.[3] Whitney had managed to take what had seemed little more than a swamp and turn it into the most successful townsite in the region. The town was, after all, directly across the river from Fort Howard and occupied the junction of the Fox and Manitoo (or East) rivers as well. A warehouse, wharf and hotel had all been built under Whitney's promotional efforts and as the land was cleared of brush it evidently dried up. Lots were selling well. As Navarino grew with a new Post office, federal land office and a newspaper, it had come to replace the earlier Munnomunne and Munnomone townsites (located further away from the fort) that had been developed by Doty and Lawe. Astor was further convinced of the development potential of his adjacent land when Daniel Whitney made an offer of ten thousand dollars for the property, presumably to extend his townsite onto Astor's higher and drier land. Whitney (and just about everyone else it seems) had confidence that the Green Bay area was destined for great things. In 1832 the federal government had provided monies for the military road connecting Green Bay with the Mississippi and that road had been laid out and was under construction. The road, they felt, would make Green Bay an important stop for travelers and settlers as the vast interior of the territory was opened up. With these things in mind, the millionaire New Yorker John Jacob Astor made the decision to develop a townsite on his newly acquired property. What was needed was a local resident of considerable knowledge and savvy that could lay out the lots, promote their sale, and in general deal with the vast problems likely to be encountered in the development of a successful townsite.

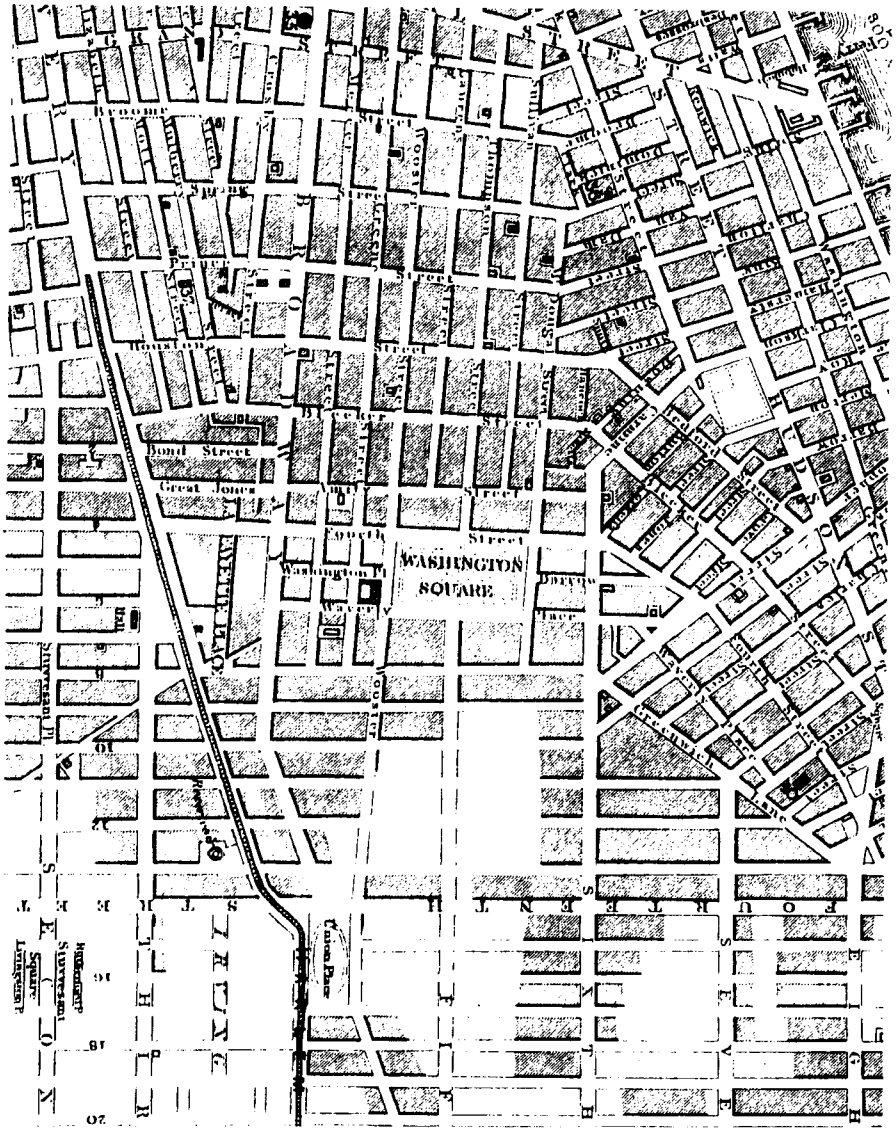

Figure 5-3. Partial plan of New York City: ca. 1840. Note especially Washington Square.

James Duane Doty, having lost his Judgeship (and payroll) in 1832, had spent the two following years engaged largely in the private practice of law. In his years as circuit judge Doty had developed a list of supporters (and enemies) across the territory and his political skill and wide knowledge of the region made him an obvious choice as the promoter for the new town of Astor. Doty was well aware of Astor's new land acquisitions, as he had been hired by the American Fur Company as lawyer in order to serve the foreclosure notices in 1834. Given Doty's close connection in this way, he may certainly have been an instigator in the concept of platting a townsite on the property as he had done in the project with Lawe. Doty traveled east to New York in early 1835 and struck a deal with Astor which empowered him to plat the new town, promote development there and sell the lots to investors and settlers. For these services Doty received a one quarter share in the entire property as well as an agreement that he would retain one quarter of all monies derived from the sale of lots. During his negotiations with Astor, Doty certainly had ample opportunity to see New York as it existed in 1835. Since he laid out the plan of Astor shortly thereafter it seems highly likely that he was in some way influenced by what he saw.[4] In 1811, the well known commissioner's plan for New York had laid out a vast and extensive gridiron, interrupted by a few reserves for squares and other public amenities. While in New York, Doty would have had opportunity to see and walk through several large public squares, several of which had been modeled after the pattern of the Bloomsbury residential squares in London. The New York grid iron interspersed with the Hudson Square type public open space seems to have had a direct influence on him, as he utilized both forms in the layout of Astor shortly thereafter.

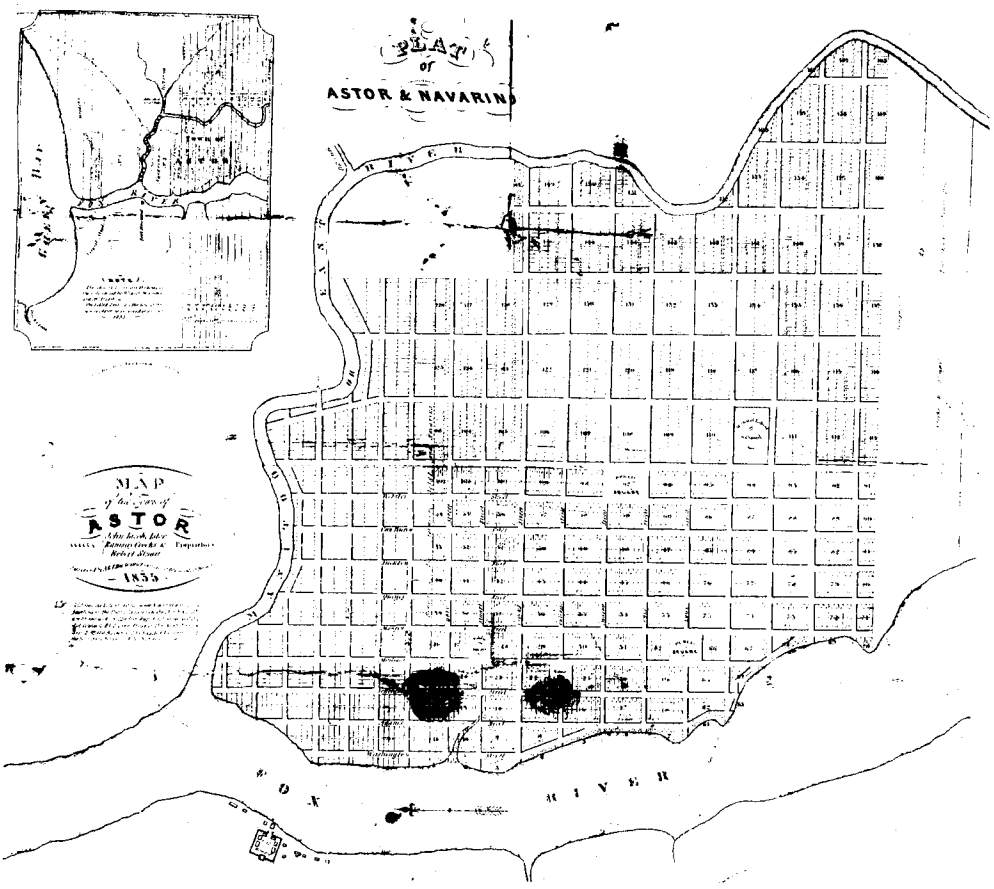

Figure 5-4. Map of the Town of Astor: 1835. Courtesy of the Neville Museum of Brown County, Wisconsin.

Upon his return to Green Bay, Doty developed a design for the new town of Astor and mailed a drawing to New York for the review and approval of his client. Astor, being pleased with the scheme, gave Doty approval to move ahead with the work. Doty then hired a surveyor to mark important boundaries such that lots could be located. A plan of Astor was sent to a Broadway lithographic shop in New York where a stone was etched with a plan of the town. Doty's design for the plan of Astor takes as its starting point the preexisting village of Navarino to the north. All of Navarino's north-south streets are continued into Astor, knitting the two competing cities together as one. While this may seem to be a direct and obvious design concept, in other examples of competing adjacent towns proprietors would sometimes intentionally ignore the others plats and would disassociated street grids from one town to the other. An example of this system exists in Milwaukee, the somewhat chaotic results of which Doty had seen during his trip to New York in 1835. Unlike the village of Navarino where haste and the desire to maximize saleable property had produced a plan of little interest or public amenity, the gridded streets are interrupted by a series of spaces devoted to the public good. Doty had advised his client that it was customary for western proprietors to contribute toward works of a public nature and the squares in the plan of Astor stand as a tribute to his convictions.

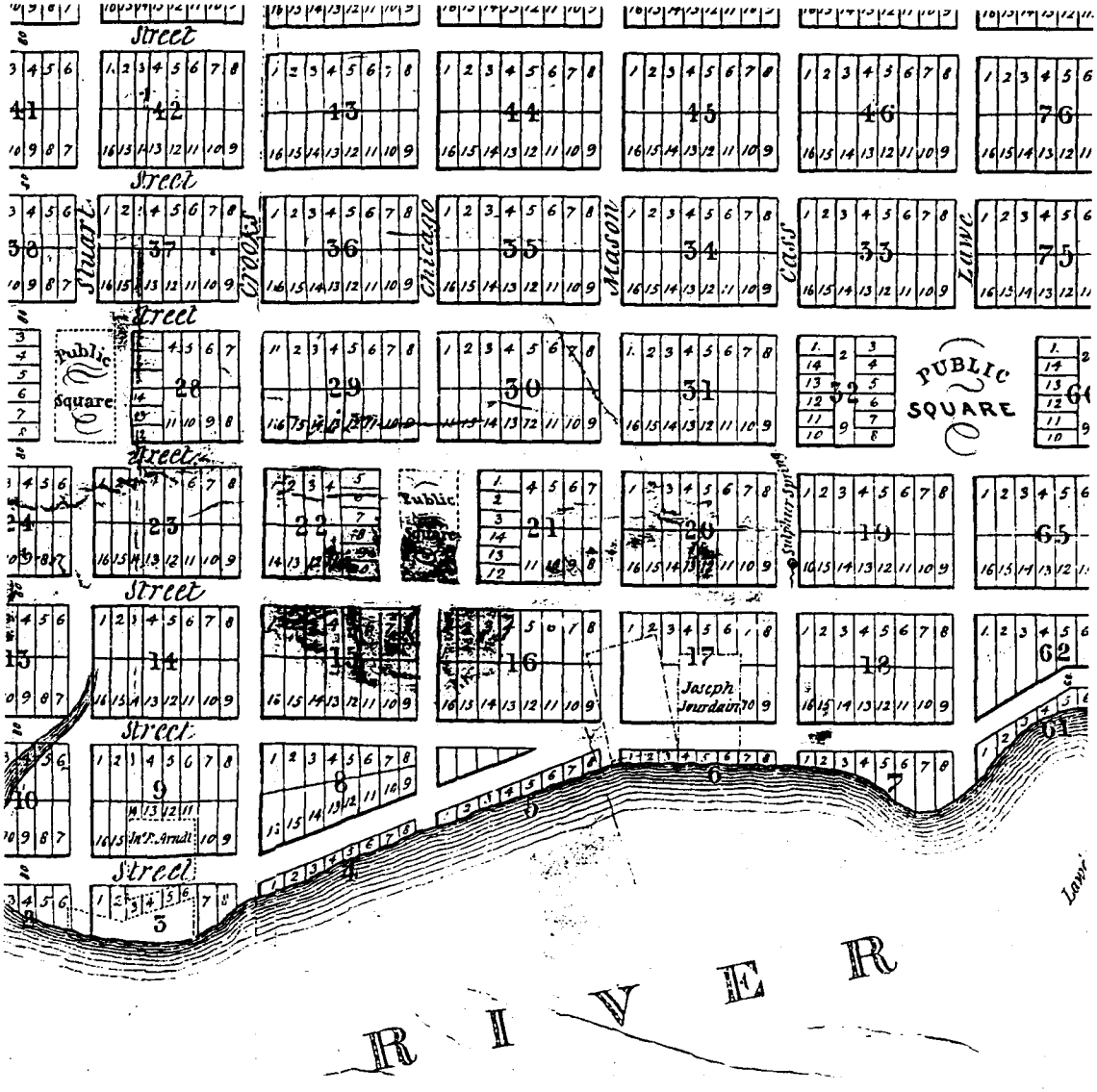

Figure 5-5. Detail of the plan of Astor: 1835. Neville Museum of Brown County.

Three public squares enliven the grid, all linked together by Madison Street onto which Doty hoped to route the military road from Prairie du Chien. This scheme makes movement down Madison Street the richest experience of the plan with all three open spaces strung along its length, alternating from side to side. The squares are all tied to the Fox River both by means of their close proximity to the waterfront and by means of streets which run on the central axis of each square to dead end in the water. Doty has also altered the design of the blocks surrounding these squares allowing twenty to twenty-four lots to take advantage of this valuable frontage. The three squares serve to make that part of the city nearest the water well supplied with public amenity, whereas the inland areas are poorly handled, lacking in adequate public open space. Doty contemplated cutting several canals through this neighborhood, although no drawings of this seem to have survived. Only two notable features enliven this large area: a public burial ground (labeled a square on the earliest versions) and a site for a school of manual labor. The cemetery, curiously located within the city plat, is treated like a missing city block. Cemeteries were soon to become "recreational" open spaces in many cities and Doty may have intended it as a kind of a square. The school ground, which is drawn as if surrounded by a walled enclosure, also resides as a block. The treatment of these two elements as ordinary city blocks allow the squares to dominate the plan by being the only elements to interrupt the gridiron. With the exception of the cemetery and the school grounds, Doty's plan is mute with regard to the functions which were to eventually inhabit the grid. No prominent sites were set aside for city hall, courthouse, churches or other public monuments. Neither does the plan attempt to differentiate between residential, civic, commercial or manufacturing districts. One can infer certain allocations from the plan, such as: inland residential blocks, civic buildings about the squares, commercial along the military road access, etc. The Astor plan is essentially mute with regard to specific function and the concerns of the design remain relatively simple: streets, blocks, squares, and the relationship of these to each other and to external conditions.[5]

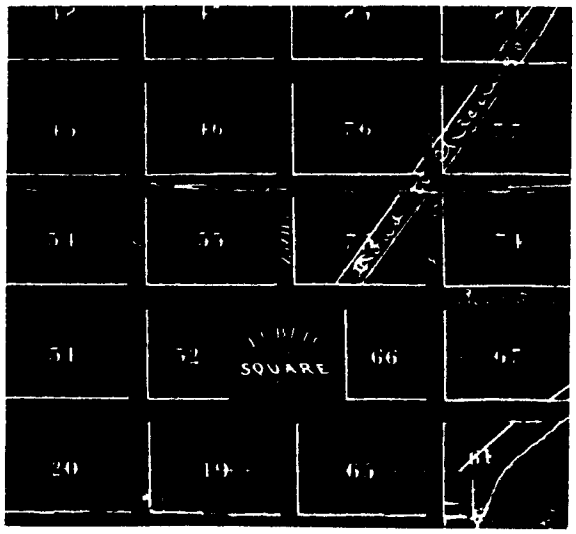

Figure 5-6. Detail of a plan of Astor from the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

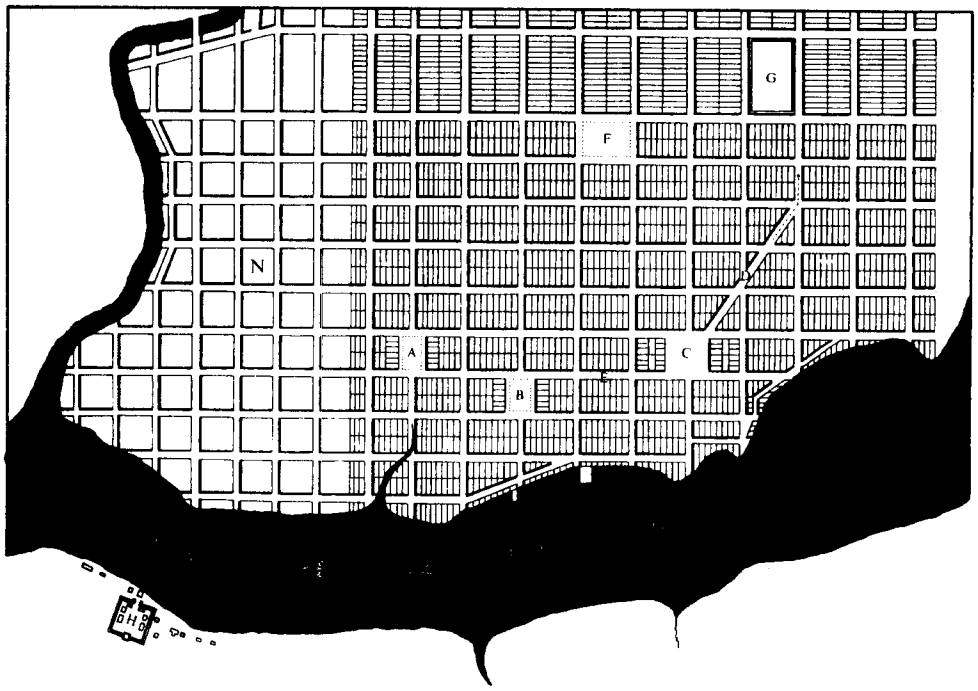

Figure 5-7. Reconstruction of the plan of Astor with the diagonal avenue.

On a plan in the collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, a diagonal avenue has been appended to the largest of the three public squares. Slashing through the city blocks, the idiosyncratic diagonal is labeled "Road to Chicago". In addition to his efforts in the layout of the military road to the Mississippi, Doty had been much involved in a proposal to construct a road to Chicago. His previously mentioned visit to Milwaukee had probably been part of a survey intended to determine the route of the proposed Fort Howard-Fort Dearbourn road. Intended then as a shortcut to connect the largest square of Astor with a highway to Chicago, the diagonal would have lent this square unique character and importance. This square or piazza would have been the meeting place of the two great highways of the territory, with all of the activity and commerce such an intersection would bring. This square has also been drawn differently than the other two open spaces, as it has received no lines defining a central "green," suggesting it was to be paved or graveled in entirety. The diagonal avenue attached to this primary piazza or square recalls Doty's familiarity with Woodward's radial planning at Detroit. While this issue has emerged here in a fragmentary way, the idea of the diagonal as expressed in Detroit and Washington shall emerge as a major force in Doty's work in a future chapter.

Figure 5-8. Elevation of the Astor House: ca. 1840-1850. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Even as the surveyor worked to set the stakes of the lots, Doty laid plans designed to encourage the development of the new town. He gave free lots to both Methodist and Presbyterian churches, in hopes that their flocks would follow. Churches were indeed built in 1836 and 1838, with Doty convincing Astor to donate a bell to the Presbyterians.[6] Doty also attempted to have both the county seat, and the post office transferred to the new town. Early among his proposals was a scheme to build an impressive hotel in Astor, in order to encourage trade and make the city a desirable stopping off point for settlers. Modeled in some ways after a building that Doty had seen in New York, a fine hotel called the Astor House was built to Doty's specifications. Located on the corner of Adams and Mason Streets the hotel was later lost to fire. A sketch of the Astor House survives, as remembered by an early resident. The front elevation of the Astor House represented the most luxurious and famous hotel of the territory in its day. Built of frame construction and painted white, the vaguely classical three story structure featured a hipped roof, a cupola and numerous dormers. Located only a few feet from the banks of the Fox and immediate to a wharf, the hotel must have been a powerful and welcoming sight when seen from incoming boats. Doty was also the developer and possibly designer of another public building: the Bank of Wisconsin. Located on Crooks Street, this address was arguably not the best for a bank location.[7] These various attempts at increasing the value of lots in Astor were successful. Having initially refused an offer for the entire parcel of $10,000 in 1834, Astor refused an offer of $40,000 in 1835 and sold a one-sixteenth share in Astor for the very large sum of $37,500 in 1836. At the rate of this last purchase, the remaining parcels in Astor would have been worth over $600,000; all accomplished in only two years.

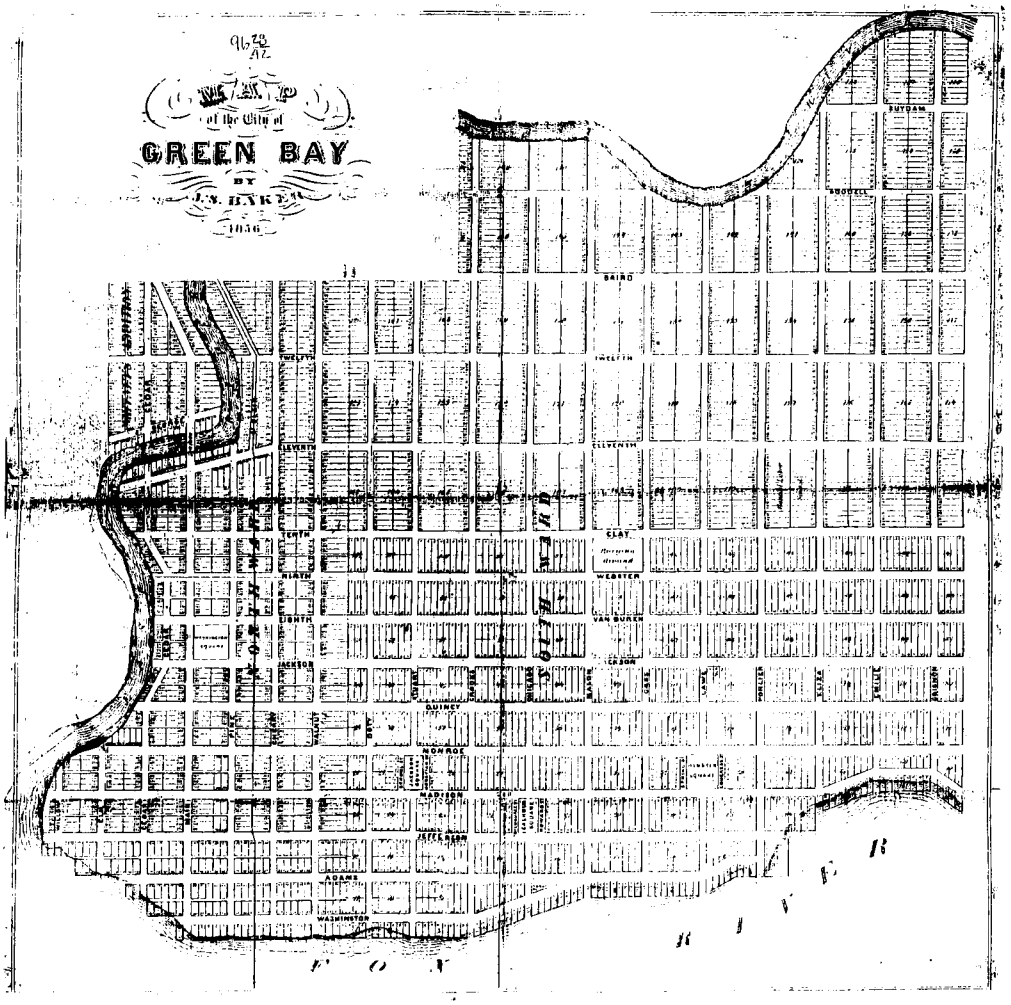

Figure 5-9. Plan of Green Bay: 1856. Milwaukee County Historical Society.

A plan drawn in the year 1856 (reproduced at left) shows that the competing towns of Astor and Navarino had been combined by that date into the City of Green Bay. The 1856 plan shows that some alterations to the original design have been made. While the three squares have all survived, the diagonal avenue has not. The road leading to Chicago now enters the city on the street passing through the centermost of the three squares, although this bridge is not shown on the plan. The school grounds, while still labeled as such, has been platted as lots. The "Burying Ground" remains, drawn in the same form as the squares. Few changes are seen in the remainder of the plan, although a small triangular block located at the intersection of Washington and Adams, has been transformed into "Astor Place." Perhaps the awkward shape and the small size of the original lots on this block made the properties unusable. Doty's design in the form seen at left, survived substantially intact until recently with lot subdivisions being the most frequent alterations.[9] Unfortunately, the centermost square was destroyed during the 1960's for construction of a freeway ramp. This has diminished the once beautiful experience of moving down Madison Street, ruining an important feature of the city. The two remaining squares, however, are finely planted and well maintained. The largest of the original three squares has attracted several churches about its perimeter, the steeples of which mark the space from around the city. As Doty might have intended, the square is used for concerts on summer evenings, the church facades and towers seen through a canopy of trees.

Figure 6-1. The Town of Fond du Lac, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Fox, Mississippi, and Wisconsin waterways.

CHAPTER 6:
THE PLAN OF FOND DU LAC

In the fall of 1832, James Duane Doty stood on the banks of the Fond du Lac River and attempted to determine the best location for a bridge which would serve as an important link in the first highway to be built in the territory. Doty had recently received a contract from the federal government to determine the route of a military highway, the intent of which was to connect the three fortresses of the territory, and Doty had lost no time in beginning the survey.[1] Doty had long known that the construction of such a highway would have a profound effect on development and settlement, and that land adjacent to the completed road (especially land with access to navigable water) would quickly become among the most valuable in the territory as sites for the development of towns. Although the land was low and sometimes wet, the land at the southern extremity of Lake Winnebago, near the mouth of the Fond du Lac River was such a site. Another possible motivation for Doty's interest in this property is summarized in an 1880 history of Fond du Lac County:

"...One reason which induced Doty to select this site as a city, was the well established fact that nearly all the largest cities of the West are built upon the ruins of important Indian villages, and such were known to have existed here at no very distant day..."[2]

Doty had strong respect for Indian cultures and was in possession of substantial knowledge concerning local traditions. It is interesting to speculate that considerations such as previous Indian habitation played a significant role in his selection of townsites, as all of his developments up to this time had been located on or near previous Indian settlements.

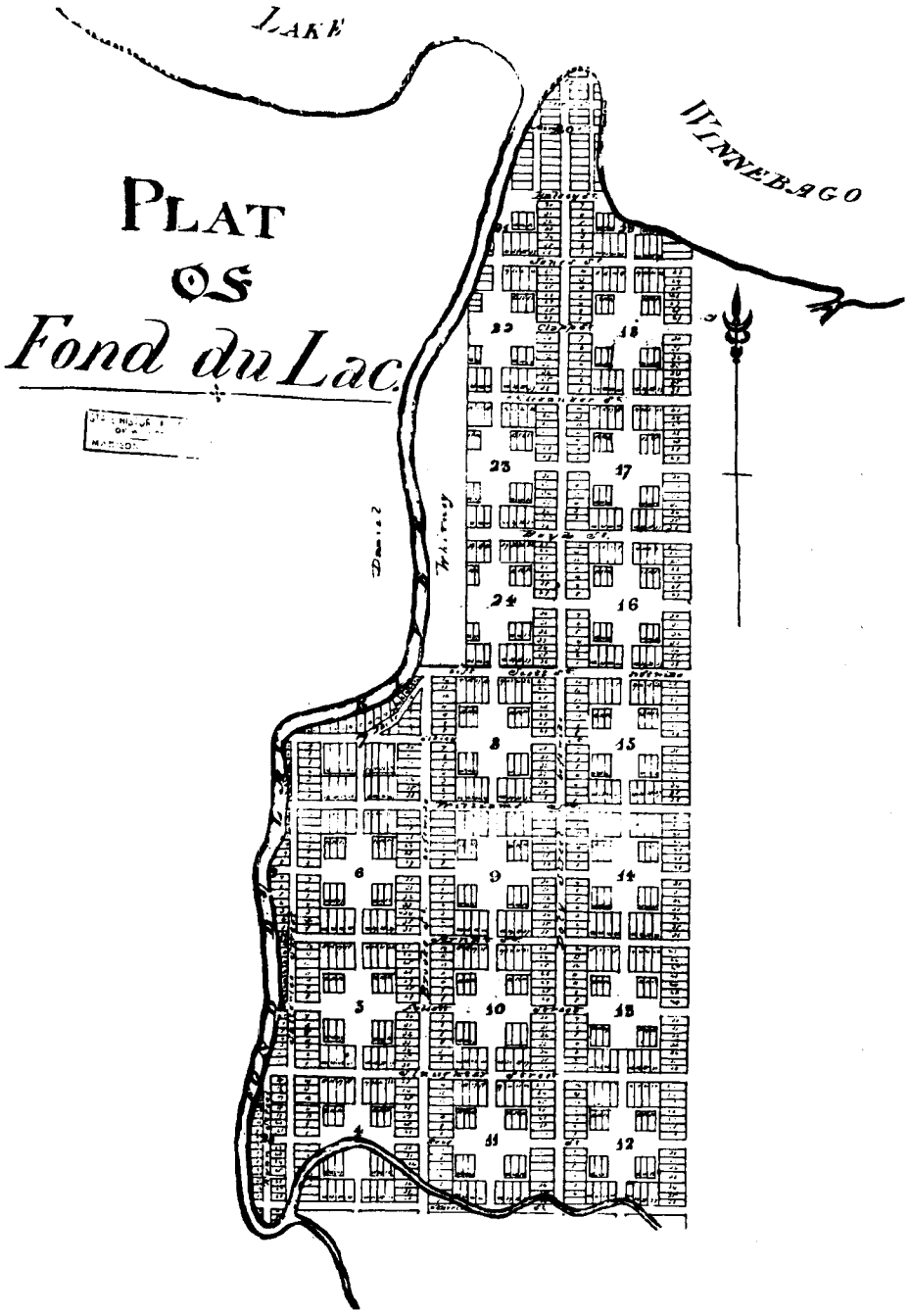

Figure 6-2. Plat of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin: ca. 1835. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Doty must have kept the place in his mind, for when the lands were first opened for sale in late 1835, Doty and another partner stepped into the federal land office at Green Bay. There they purchased about thirty-seven hundred acres at the intersection of lake, river and military road. Soon after the purchase of the property Doty took on numerous partners, including the surveyor Albert Ellis and formed the Fond du Lac Company with Doty as the largest shareholder and president. In the fall of 1835 a plan of a village was drawn, probably the drawing reproduced as figure 6-2. Doty's plan for Fond du Lac is highly unique, taking its power from the repetitive use of a cross-shaped public open space.[3] The plat begins as a uniform gridiron which has been imposed upon the serpentine shapes contained by Lake Winnebago and the Fond du Lac River. Doty then makes this grid unique by inserting seventeen cruciform shaped open spaces into the heart of each numbered ward, which can be read as "neighborhoods". The order and geometry of this pattern essentially ignores the natural shapes of the land. This creates several extremely awkward intersections, such as in blocks nineteen and twenty one. Major streets of sixty feet in width surround each numbered ward, while narrowed minor streets subdivide the ward into four quadrants, centering on a cruciform open space. While it can be assumed that the minor streets run straight through the cruciform open spaces, this fact is left unclear in the drawing.[4] Also left tantalizingly unclear is the specific nature of the numerous cruciform open spaces shown on the plan. What was Doty's intention and what was the genesis of the idea?

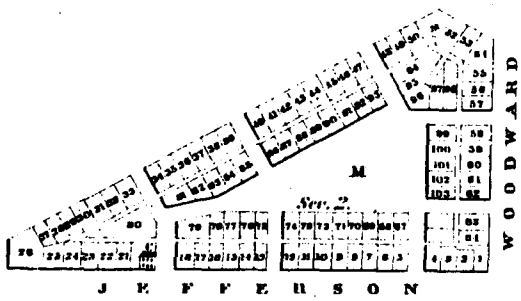

Figure 6-3. Partial plan of Woodward's scheme for Detroit: 1807. Note especially the "...internal space of ground, in the middle of every section..."

Doty's acquaintance with Judge Augustus Woodward and his familiarity with the plan of Detroit offers a possible clue as to the genesis of the Fond du Lac plan. After leaving Detroit in 1823 he had been in the city on numerous occasions, as recently as the spring of 1835, just before designing Fond du Lac. The plan of Detroit, as designed by Judge Woodward in 1807, featured a similar concept of a ward surrounded by major streets or avenues, which contained a central open space of unique shape. A partial plan of Detroit (as Doty would have known it) is reproduced as figure 6-3, showing one such open space. An 1807 description of this open space reads:

"...the internal space of ground, in the middle of every section, shall be reserved for public wells and pumps, for markets... for houses for the meeting of religious, moral, literary, or political societies...and in the same manner shall be paved, planted with trees, or otherwise improved or ornamented."[5]

Certainly Doty must have strolled through these tree planted spaces which sometimes contained small public buildings.[6] It is easy to imagine that Doty drew upon his direct experiences for inspiration and developed a plan similar in concept to Woodward's, although with a different geometry.

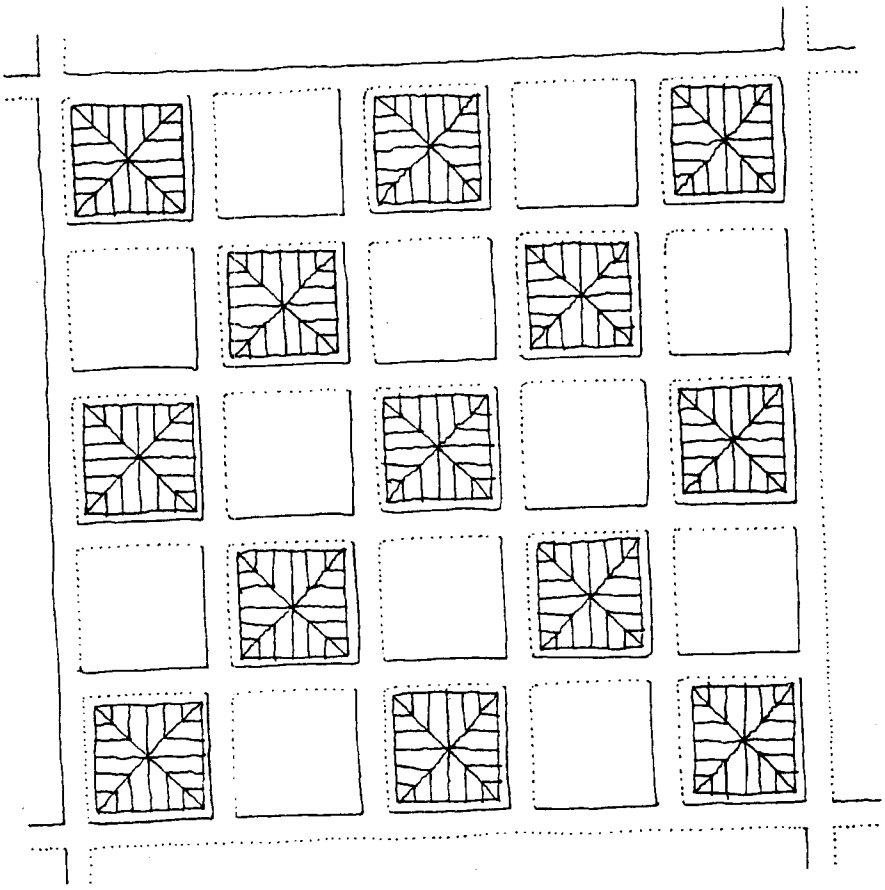

Figure 6-4. Reconstruction of a "chequer board plan" according to Jefferson. The plan utilizes a 1790 lot subdivision also by Jefferson.

The overall plan of Fond du Lac also recalls an idea promoted by Thomas Jefferson: the concept of the "chequer board plan." In an 1805 correspondence, Jefferson states:

"Such a constitution of atmosphere being requisite to originate this disease as is generated only in low, close, and ill-cleansed parts of a town, I have supposed it practicable to prevent its generation by building our cities on a more open plan. Let the black squares only be building squares, and the white ones be left open, in turf and trees... The atmosphere of such a town would be like that of the country..."[7]

It should be remembered that Doty's site for Fond du Lac was a low and sometimes wet location.[8] It is certainly possible that Woodward had described Jefferson's idea to Doty during the time the two were together in Detroit. Fond du Lac may by Doty's version of Jefferson's "chequer board" of open spaces, utilized here in particular due to the lowland location. Jefferson himself was involved in several attempts to build this "chequer board," at which he was unsuccessful. Development pressures always worked to have the greens re-platted into lots and sold, a fate which foreshadowed Doty's plan.

Figure 6-5. Perspective view of the Fond du Lac House.

In the winter of 1835-36, Doty traveled to New York with the plan for purposes of having it engraved and reproduced. While in New York Doty altered the design of the town slightly by adding an eastern tier of city blocks, thereby creating a new major north-south street, a street which is today Main Street.[9] The lithographic prints which Doty had made in New York were then extensively circulated, the drawing giving the appearance of a vast and successful city. At the time of its printing, however, there was not a single structure located within the town plat. Such promotion of sales may seem unscrupulous, but in fact no false claims are made with the plan. In comparison, nonexistent "paper towns" were sometimes drawn as already having received railroads, universities, courthouses and the like, in order to promote lot sales. Doty made no such false claims, but moved instead to direct the first constructions within the town himself. As he had done in Astor, Doty realized that a hotel or inn was a first requirement for lot sales. In the spring of 1836 the Fond du Lac Company erected a structure, an early view of which survives and is reproduced on the opposite page. The object of this construction was to provide a place of lodging and entertainment for prospective buyers. Often settlers lived for extended periods in the building, until their own homes were finished. The structure also served as the social center for the pioneer community and became something of a landmark as well. While simple and rustic when compared to the hotel that Doty had built in Astor, the "Fond du Lac House" had one unique feature: a large covered open space which passed through the main building.[10] Such a covered hall outside the only tavern and restaurant in the region must have been a lively public place, especially during summer heat or rain. Built by Indians under the directions of the Fond du Lac Company, the enclosed outdoor hall seems likely to have been an idea of Doty's, given his concern for providing outdoor public spaces in the overall Fond du Lac plan.[11]

Doty developed other schemes to aid in the development of the new city, some of them of grand scope. Doty had heard a tale of how Indian traders had paddled canoes loaded with goods, up the Fox River, across Lake Winnebago, up the Fond du Lac River, and then portage across land about two miles to reach the Rock River. Doty reasoned that if a canal were constructed between the Fond du Lac and the west branch of the Rock River (known as Doty's River), then a continuous waterway between Green Bay and the Mississippi would be opened. Such a waterway would be of enormous value and if it were completed Fond du Lac would become one of the major shipping towns in the territory. Schemes that seem wild in their extent today, once had considerable value and interest in another transportation economy. Doty was a New Yorker and was familiar with the great financial benefits that the Erie Canal had brought to the cities of New York. Few land speculators had the forethought in 1836 to imagine that the era of canals was already passing, soon to be completely replaced by railroads. Doty's thought concerning the locations of townsites is largely a product of the era of River and canal improvements and it will be seen that virtually every Doty townsite was associated with plans for navigable waterway proposals.

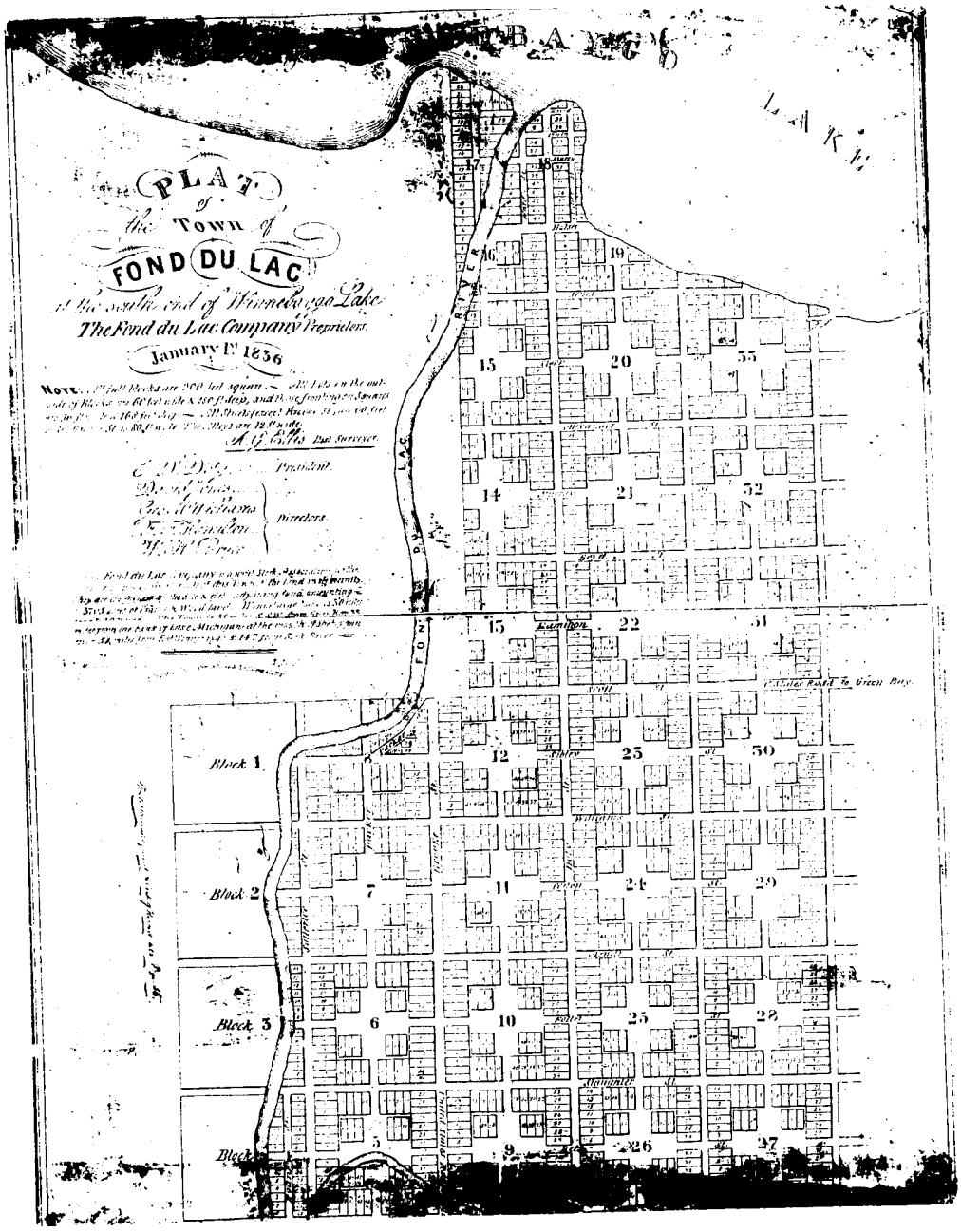

Figure 6-6. Plat of the Town of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin: 1836. Fond du Lac County Register of deeds.

Doty attended to many schemes devised to increase the value of his holdings, one of which was having the military road bridge rebuilt such that it aligned with Brooke Street in his new city. Travelers from Green Bay to the Mississippi then had to pass through most of the town in order to travel the route of the road. Doty also developed more devious plans, some of which are striking in their interconnections. Health care was always a problem on the frontier and Doty knowing this sought to lure a doctor from nearby Sheboygan with the promise of free property. Doty evidently felt that a guarantee of good health would promote lot sales. Seeking to kill numerous birds with one stone, Doty wrote a contract with a Dr. Darling deeding unto him over eighty acres immediately to the south of the newly platted town. The contract required that Dr. Darling build both a residence and a saw mill on his property, as well as live on the land and "cultivate it as a farm". This last proviso is interesting, as it was evidently done with the intention of providing the new city of Fond du Lac with a kind of buffer, preventing adjacent land from being platted into a townsite, and sold in competition with Doty's development. Doty knew the potential of such a scheme well, as he was at the same time stealing lot sales from Daniel Whitney's Navarino in Green Bay, having platted the town of Astor immediately adjacent to Whitney's development. Doty's plans with Dr. Darling were for a while successful, as the doctor built a house, practice, saw mill and left the eighty acres undeveloped. The doctor was, however, an extremely shrewd character with plans for Fond du Lac of his own.[12]

Dr. Darling, who had taken up residence in Fond du Lac in 1838, quickly became the leading citizen of the village. Besides the prominence that came with being the only doctor for miles, Dr. Darling ran the saw mill, became post-master, and allowed village residents to hold church services in his home. As the village grew, Dr. Darling invested heavily in land to the south and east of Doty's village plat and purchased stock shares in the Fond du Lac Company as well. Darling also rented the log Fond du Lac House from Doty and upon doing so promptly closed and locked the establishment. Moving all of its operations some distance away onto his own property, Darling opened a new building which he also called the "Fond du Lac House". When these things were accomplished, Dr. Darling instituted court proceedings intended to dissolve the Fond du Lac Company and have its assets divided among the shareholders. While this suit tied up all land holdings of the company and stopped sales completely, Dr. Darling took to platting his recent purchases into lots and streets, which he sold or gave to those who would agree to construct buildings upon them. This situation served to create a rapidly growing new village, separated from Doty's now foundering town by the eighty acres which Doty had deeded to Darling in the first place. In 1845 the court of Chancery of Green Bay found in favor of Dr. Darling and Doty's Fond du Lac Company ceased to be. Dr. Darling quickly platted his eighty acres of farmland into lots and deeded to the county a very small lot intended for the construction of a courthouse. This courthouse lot, surrounded by Darling's property, was accepted by the county and a building was built upon it.

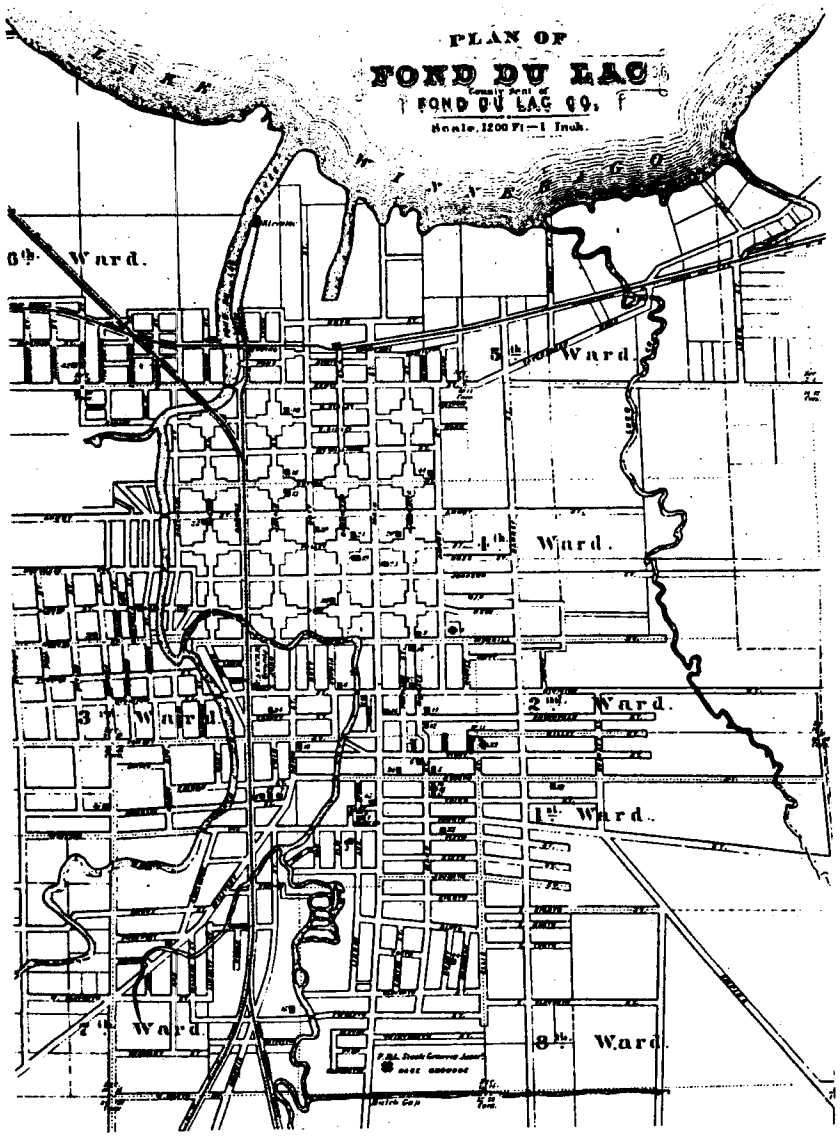

Figure 6-7. Plan of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin: 1878. American Geographic Society Collection.

The off-color maneuvers of Dr. Darling served to make his property the center of development in the new town. Doty's original plat was reduced to the status of outskirts. In all of these actions, Doty was soundly defeated, and for the City of Fond du Lac, this was an unfortunate thing. For Dr. Darlings various plats were done piecemeal, with little or no intention to the public good and welfare. Unlike the seventeen public open spaces set aside by Doty, Darling set aside no land whatsoever for public squares or greens. The result is that downtown Fond du Lac developed almost exclusively on Darlings property, in the form of a poorly laid out grid lacking in character and amenity. A plan of Fond du Lac as it appeared in an 1878 Wisconsin atlas tells the story. The cruciform open spaces of Doty's original plan can clearly be seen, and below it to the south is the chaotic layout of Dr. Darling. From the distribution of public buildings, shown as black figures on the plan, it can be seen that the "center" of town now occurs on Darling's plat, holding more than twice as many public institutions as Doty's original plan. Also of interest in this view is the fact that not all of Doty's original plat has survived: those wards nearest Lake Winnebago have disappeared. The land in this area being low and marshy, this area was deemed too wet for settlement by the early townspeople. In addition, one of the original wards, number fifteen in Doty's plan, has been re-platted into six rectangular blocks formed by Bannister, and north and south Sibley Streets. This was the first of numerous re-plattings that the original plan would receive.

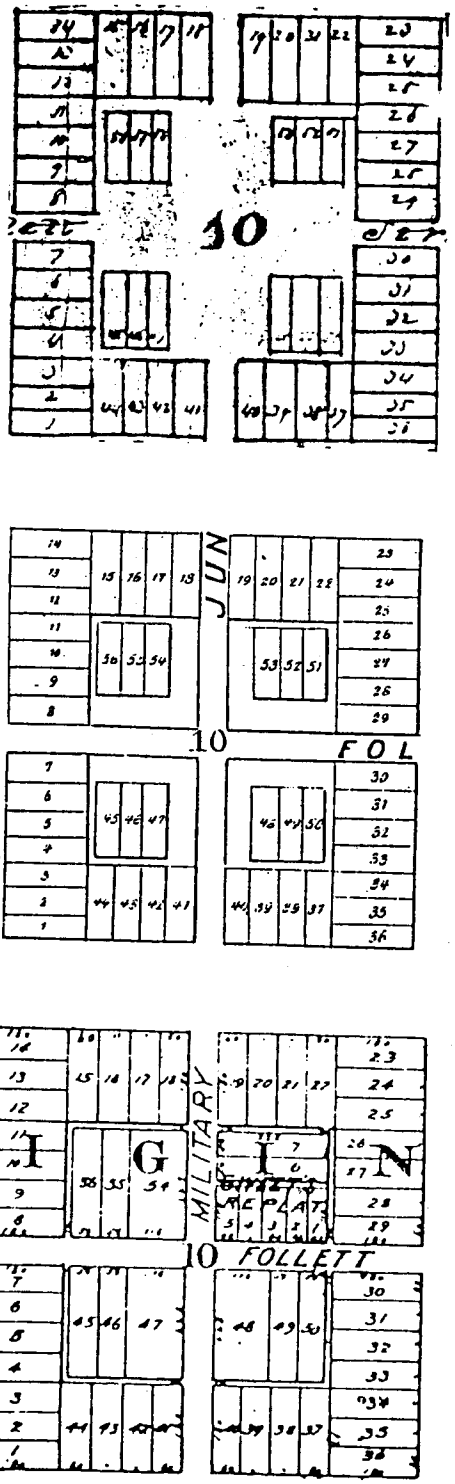

Figure 6-8. Plans of Ward #10 in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin: (top) 1835, (center) 1874, (bottom) 1949.

Overshadowed by Dr. Darling's efforts, Doty's plan suffered further erosions throughout the nineteenth century. In particular the cruciform public open spaces, so prominent in the early drawings, were all re-platted and eventually lost in the course of one hundred years. To understand these changes, a plan of a single 1835 ward or neighborhood is compared to an 1874 drawing of the same ward. The 1874 plan demonstrates that Doty's plat was executed with the streets running through the center of each cruciform open space, cutting the "green" into four small "L" shapes, each quite narrow in proportion. This division of land runs contrary to the manner in which squares had traditionally been planned, with streets running around the perimeter of a square containing and defining it as a common and public open space. The result of this was that the twelve central lots seemed to possess unusually large front yards. This left little or no impression of a public green or square shared in common and must certainly have discouraged any communal use of these spaces. There seems to have been little use or appreciation of these spaces, as no mention of them can be found in early detailed descriptions of the city. A later plan, taken from a 1949 city engineering map, shows that by this date Doty's cruciform greens had been abandoned, and re-platted by the city into private lots.

Why were all seventeen of Doty's public spaces at Fond du Lac lost, when the squares he designed at Astor, for example, have survived many generations? At Astor the squares were modeled after the traditional London residential square in which streets defined the perimeter of the green. At Fond du Lac the streets bisected the greens rather than surround them. This made them a part of the privately owned city block and discouraged use and perception of them as part of the public realm; to the extent that they were abandoned as public places, to be deeded over as private property. While it is highly unfortunate that none of the early work at Fond du Lac has survived, the same plan form was used in the plat of Marquette, Wisconsin in the year 1836. Marquette is a Fox River town developed by several shareholders of the Fond du Lac Company, Doty's involvement being somewhat limited. Marquette is especially interesting, in that several of the cruciform open spaces have survived until the present day, to give something of an impression of Doty' intentions at Fond du Lac.[13]

Figure 7-1. The Town of Marquette, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Fox, Mississippi, and Wisconsin waterways.

CHAPTER 7:
THE PLAN OF MARQUETTE

In the Fall of 1832, Doty stood on a bluff overlooking Lake Apuckaway, and sketched the profile of the lake on a plan of the proposed military road.[1] Since Lake Apuckaway was essentially a widening in the great Fox River, Doty must have taken note of the land below him as a townsite of some potential. Located as it was at the intersection of two of the territories most promising transportation routes (the Fox and the new military road), a town developed at this location would have numerous advantages. Marquette was platted in 1836 in a form virtually identical to Doty's plan of Fond du Lac, as he had revised it when having the plan lithographed in New York City. The original plat of the town lists proprietors Sherman Page of New York, Joel Sutherland of Philadelphia, Andrew Palmer of Toledo and Albert Ellis and John Arnd of Green Bay. Both Arnd and Ellis were shareholders in Doty's Fond du Lac Company and had been involved with Doty on numerous occasions. While Doty is not listed as one of the proprietors, he was probably involved in the development in some friendly capacity, as he seems to have been responsible for the passage of an act in the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature which incorporated the Marquette and Kentucky City Canal Company.[2] The Marquette and Kentucky City Canal Company was chartered to pursue the construction of a canal connecting Marquette on the Fox River to another townsite of Doty's: Kentucky City on the Wisconsin River. This canal would have bypassed Portage, taking a shorter route between Lake Apuckaway and the Wisconsin. Proposed at a time when it was assumed that water travel would continue to dominate commerce, such a canal was considered to be of great benefit to development and property values.

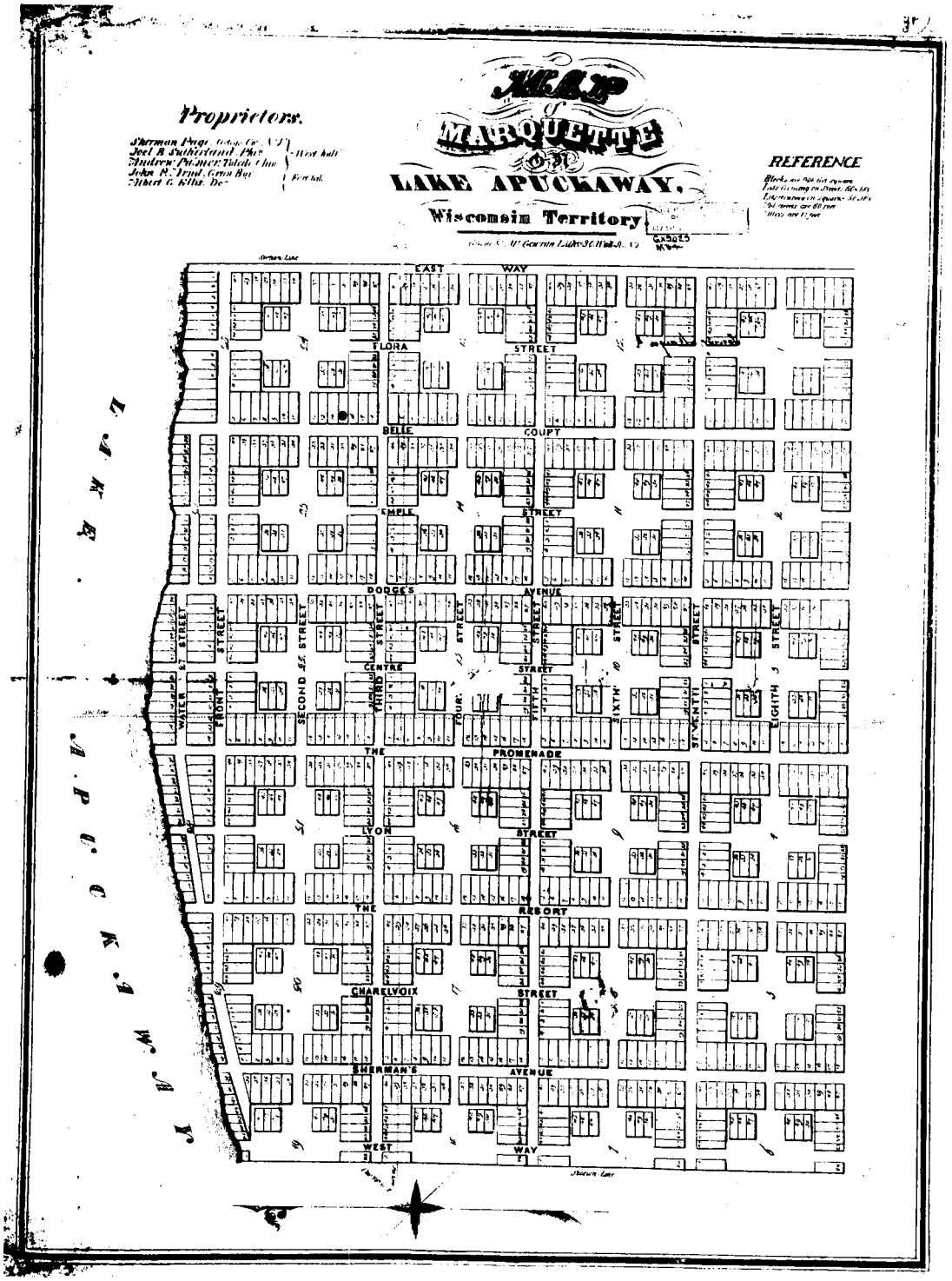

Figure 7-2. Map of Marquette, Wisconsin: ca. 1836. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

A print of the 1836 plat of Marquette survives and is reproduced as figure 7-2. Utilizing twenty-four wards, each with an internalized cruciform green, the plan could easily be mistaken for that of Fond du Lac. Referenced on the plan is pertinent dimensional information regarding various lots and public open spaces:

"Blocks are 900 feet square
Lots fronting on streets 60 X 180
Lots fronting on squares 56 X 168
All streets are 60 feet
Alleys are 12 feet."

The canal between Marquette and Kentucky City was never built and the village grew slowly and remained a small one.[3] Marquette did see limited activity from traffic on the Fox River, as farmers took their crops to market, and a granite quarry located in the city shipped most of its stone over water. Reaching a population of only four hundred people in the late nineteenth century, Marquette later experienced a decline that mirrored the collapse of water navigation on the Fox River.[4] A plan of Marquette as it existed early in the twentieth century is reproduced as figure 7-3. Taken from a Green Lake County atlas, the plan depicts the sparse settlement found in the declining river town. The form of the original plat has been retained essentially unaltered, with a small addition having occurred along the lake shore. The center of the village occurs in the area of ward twenty-one, where the plan depicts a post office, a school, a hotel, a "hall & store", as well as the "Caw Caw Club" all clustered around a cruciform shaped open space.

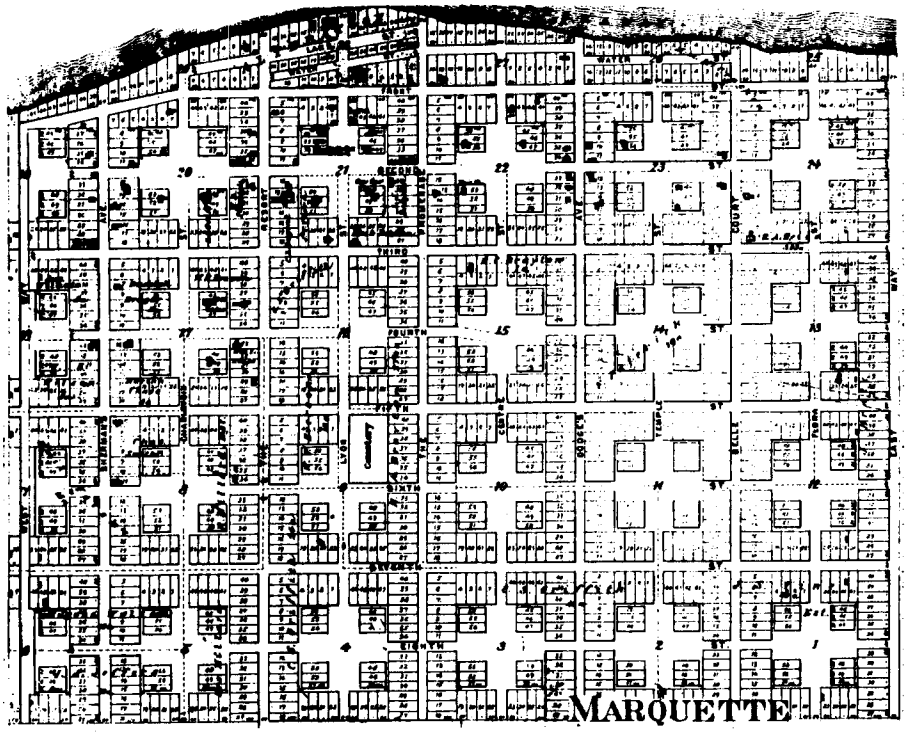

Figure 7-3. Plan of Marquette, Wisconsin: ca. 1900-1906 (above); and a photograph of square # twenty-one taken during that same era (below).

A 1909 photograph of this space exists, the date of which roughly coincides with that of the previous plan. The photograph describes the cross-shaped open space of ward twenty-one, with the "hall & store" in the left foreground. Enclosed by two-story wood frame buildings, the expansive open space is shown with Second and Lyon Streets running through its center. While a graveled lot serves for carriage storage for the store, the space is seen to be primarily kept lawns well planted with trees. The view possesses charms both urban and rural and perhaps gives an impression of what Doty had in mind for the "lost" spaces of Fond du Lac. It is an impression of a green, almost agrarian place, a place very different from the tightly enclosed main streets typical of urban development throughout the territory. The space as shown in the photograph survives in Marquette to the present day and its mature trees and considerable charms makes the loss of Fond du Lac's seventeen squares all the greater. It is probable that the low demand for property in the town (throughout its history) has provided for the continued existence of these spaces, unlike the re-platting and alterations seen in Fond du Lac.

Figure 8-1. Kentucky City, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Fox, Mississippi, and Wisconsin waterways.

CHAPTER 8:
THE PLAN OF KENTUCKY CITY

When lands in the western extent of the territory were opened for sale in 1836, Doty purchased a large parcel of property on the east bank of the Wisconsin River. Located several miles to the south of Portage, the site was selected because it included the outlet of the potentially navigable Doty Creek (as it came to be referred to). While Doty is listed in an 1880 History of Columbia County as the purchaser of the property, it seems that he was acting as an agent for several eastern speculative investors.[1] Doty invested funds from a joint account set up by John Jacob Astor, for example, the fur magnate for whom Doty had designed and developed the town of Astor on Green Bay.[2] At Astor, Doty had received one quarter of the monies generated by land sales in exchange for his services. It seems likely that a similar deal was struck at Kentucky City. For his fee, Doty would have selected the location based on his 1832 military road survey of the region, arranged for the purchase of the land, designed the town, hired a surveyor to locate important lot corners and attempted to promote the sale of property in the paper village by whatever means possible. For Doty, the promotion of townsites included the development of transportation links which would connect the new city to the commerce of the outside world. Doty knew of the spectacular success stories told by towns linked to the Erie canal in New York State. These tales had made a powerful impact upon his thinking, for at the Kentucky City townsite, Doty pursued several canal projects, all planned to make the fledgling town a shipping center attractive to investors and settlers.

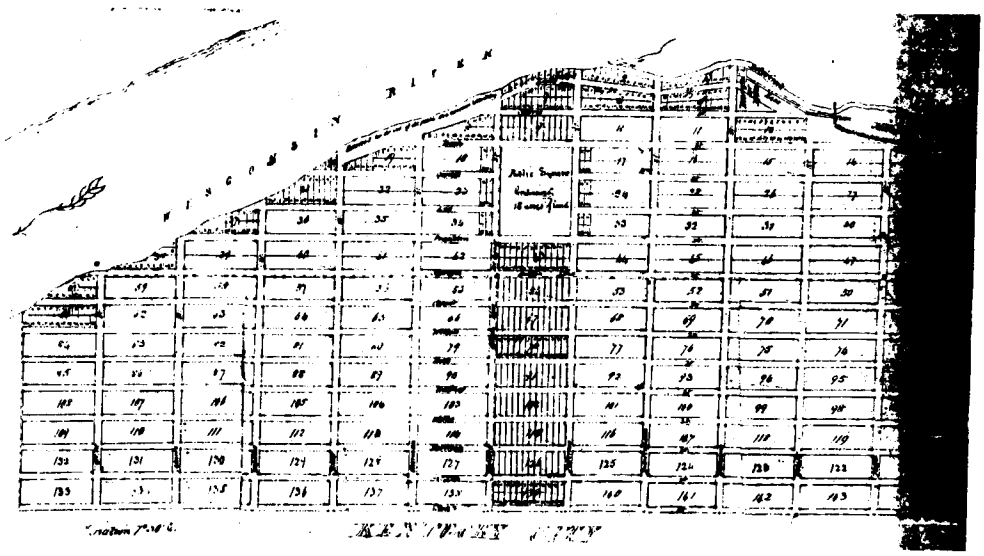

Figure 8-2. Plan of Kentucky City, Wisconsin: ca. 1836. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Shortly after his July, 1836 purchase of the Kentucky City site, Doty was promoting the passage of a canal bill in the territorial legislature. Working to connect two of his town sites, he had developed a proposal to construct a canal from Fond du Lac, to the nearest navigable spot on the Rock River, and from there to Kentucky City.[3] The proposal died on the floor, but Doty was to return later with yet another canal project: the "Marquette and Kentucky City Canal Company". Devised to bypass Portage, this canal would have provided a direct connection between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. This too was a failure and no canal projects were ever built in conjunction with Kentucky City. But Kentucky City was platted and opened for sale and a drawing, probably from 1836, survives.[4] Reproduced as figure 8-2, the plan shows a vast and ambitious city suitable for thousands of inhabitants. The plan takes the shape of a uniform gridiron of rectangular city blocks, the monotony of which is only partially enlivened by two reserves for public open space: a square and a landing. The square is large, containing eighteen acres in area. The street at the western boundary of the square connects directly to the Wisconsin River where Doty has reserved property for use as a public landing. A proposed dam and mill race are shown along Doty creek, with a reserve for mills also being depicted. In addition to these features, the extreme awkwardness with which the street grid intersects with the shoreline (in the western part of the city) is evident.

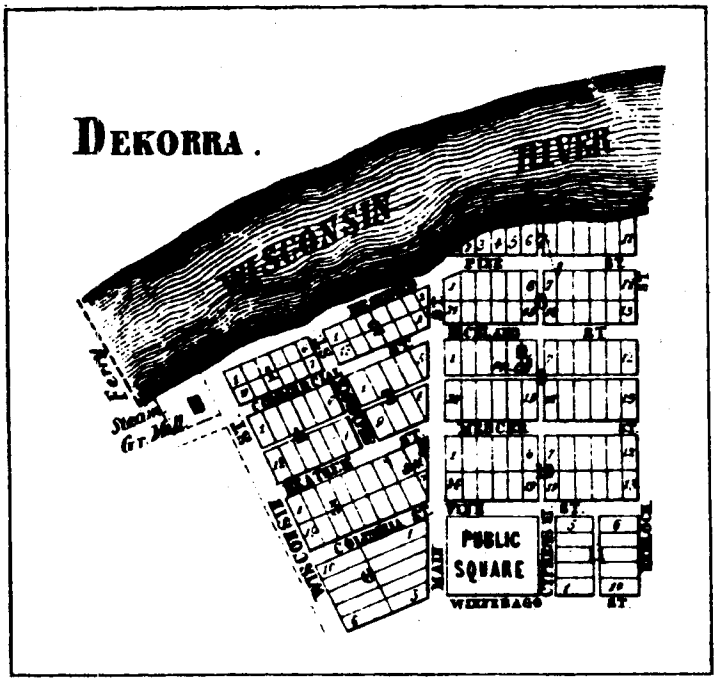

Figure 8-3. Plan of Dekorra (Kentucky City), Wisconsin: 1861. State Historical Society.

Kentucky City as a development was a failure. The land sales of 1836 led to a market scare and financial depression of 1837, which served to halt development in all but the most successful cities.[5] Doty's failure to pass the 1836 canal bill and the lack of amenity relative to other plans developed by Doty, may have also served to discourage investors. A landing and a hotel were built, but little additional development occurred there. In 1842, the city plat was reduced in size and altered in design. The name of the city was changed to Dekorra at this time, and the changes that were made to the plan are highly interesting. While the author of these changes is unknown, Doty may have been involved in this work. Reproduced as it appeared in an 1861 Columbia County Atlas, the greatly reduced City of Dekorra is shown on the opposite page. Much altered in appearance, Dekkora nevertheless retains the skeleton of Kentucky City. The vast public square has been reduced to one-sixth of its former size, the remaining parts subdivided as lots. The reservation for the public landing remains, and the street connecting it to the square has become "main street". The most significant change is the "correction" of the awkward collision of gridiron and shore, accomplished by setting the western grid of the city askew, to an angle parallel to the Wisconsin River shoreline. This creates a city of two parts, joined about main street, now clearly the most important street in the plan. The revised composition more easily accommodates the curve in the river, and because of its smaller overall size, it now seems to possess adequate public open space.

Figure 9-1. Wisconsinapolis, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Fox Waterways.

CHAPTER 9:
THE PLAN OF WISCONSINAPOLIS

Around the year 1870, the surveyor and long time Green Bay resident John Suydam, prepared a statement for the state historical society which was published in the Wisconsin Historical Collections. Suydam's recollections deal specifically with a tour he undertook with James Duane Doty in 1836, during which they laid out several cities together. A quote directly from Suydam reads:

"On the second day of November of the year in which the session of the Legislature was held at Belmont, Gov. Doty and myself started from Green Bay on horseback... On our way we stopped at various places...at Duck Creek, on the east bank of the Wisconsin River, about eight or ten miles below Portage City, where we laid out the town of Wisconsinapolis."[1]

Period maps of the territory reveal that Wisconsinapolis was not located at the mouth of Duck Creek as Suydam suggests, but was in fact situated nearby on the north shore of Swan Lake, a widening in the Fox River. While the aged Suydam has the location slightly wrong, his statement that Doty laid out Wisconsinapolis is a direct and first person account.[2] There is additional evidence to connect Wisconsinapolis to Doty, in particular a canal project, pursued by Doty and passed at the 1838 session of the territorial legislature. The act of the legislature incorporated the "Marquette and Swan Lake Canal Company", featuring Doty as the leading figure in the corporation.[3] Besides connecting Marquette and Wiscosinapolis on Swan Lake, the corporation would have built a canal directly to the Wisconsin River. The effect of these canals would have been to bypass Portage and transform the paper cities of Marquette and Wisconsinapolis into busy trading ports. Doty knew the region around Swan Lake well, as he had carefully mapped it during the planning of the military road in 1832.

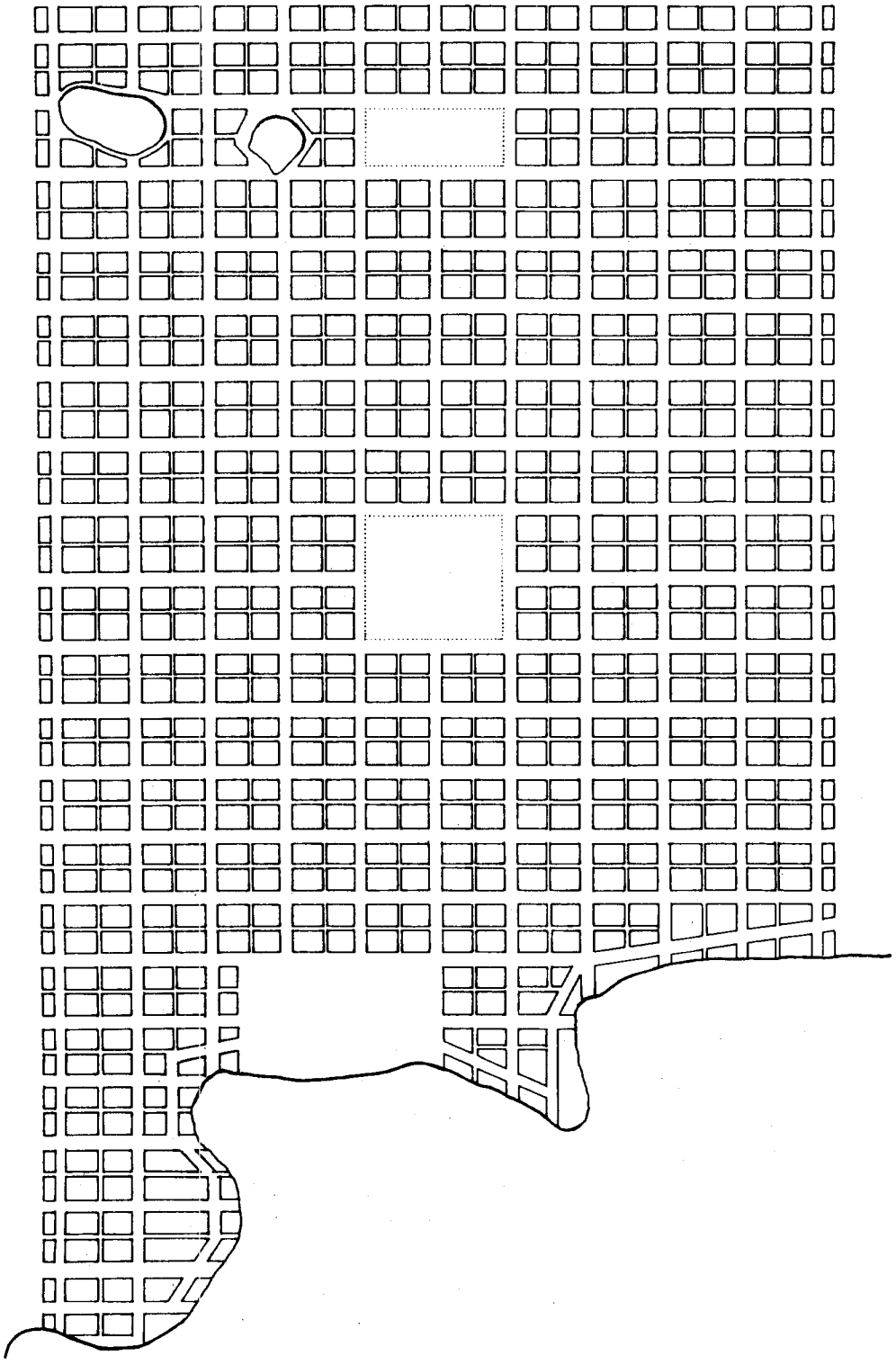

Figure 9-2. Plan of Wisconsinapolis, Wisconsin: ca. 1836. Re-drawn from a very poor print in the collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

A plan of Wisconsinapolis, probably drawn in late 1836, was filed in Green Bay on January 3, 1837. The plan list Dr. Lyman Foot and C. McDougall as the proprietors. Doty was an acquaintance of Foot, as they lived nearby each other in Navarino and Astor. Foot was doubtless aware of Doty's skill as the agent of John Jacob Astor in the development of Astor, and Foot may have retained Doty in a similar capacity. The design of Wisconsinapolis is a unique and powerful plan offering clues that Doty was in fact the author. Starting as a gridiron of streets and blocks, the plan features several unique public open spaces linked together in a sequence. A "Public Square" was laid out roughly in the center of the town with a long dimension of 912 feet. The square of Madison, which according to Suydam was laid out by Doty only days later, features a central square of 914 feet to a side. A street aligned with the central axis of the main square, connects directly to the banks of the Fox River. On the waterfront a major public plaza has been reserved, doubtless for use as a landing and for subsequent commercial activities. This plaza is drawn differently than the two squares of the plan, as it receives no lines defining a green. The implication is that of a large space entirely surfaced as a street, a feature that would make sense for a busy port location. City blocks enclose three sides of the plaza with the fourth side being open to the south to a small natural harbor. This harbor is further enclosed by city blocks that occupy two peninsulas, altogether forming a pleasing and picturesque impression that the city "embraces" the water at this point. Near the northern extent of the town is another square, this one long and linear in an east-west direction. This square has the effect of terminating the axis received from the harbor and central square and turning this axis towards two small lakes. These lakes are "captured" by the city and surrounded by streets, lending an impression of a public place filled with water. Altogether, Wisconsinapolis is a fascinating plan, an excellent example of how a simple and practical gridiron can be made unique and particular when care and skill are devoted to the design of public places.

The canals that could have transformed Wisconsinapolis into a boom town were never built. While the settlement was located on a widening of the Fox River, commercial traffic from the great lakes usually transferred to the Wisconsin River at Portage, never passing the site of the city.[4] Doty, who traveled to the session of the Territorial Legislature within days of platting Wisconsinapolis, seems to have forwarded the name of the paper city as a candidate for the new territorial capital. As records of the 1836 session record, Wisconsinapolis narrowly escaped being one of the most significant cities in the territory by a vote of six ayes to seven noes.[5] Doty's plan of Madison was accepted as the capital site at that same convention, and after that date Doty seems to have focused on the development of the new capital, leaving other cities to lay fallow. Although some lots were later sold, no structures ever seem to have been erected there. One of the few written accounts of Wisconsinapolis reads:

"Henry Merrill relates that upon one occasion a gentleman came into his store at the fort, and inquired at what hour steamboats left for Wisconsinapolis. He was told that at the time boats were very irregular, but he could direct him to the place. The man then inquired which was the best hotel. Mr. Merrill declined to answer that question, as he did not wish to injure his popularity as a business man by showing partiality in the case. A few hours afterward, when he returned from the "city," where no building larger than an Indian Wigwam had ever been erected, and where twenty-five white men had probably never set foot, he drove rapidly by, neither looking to the right or left, his curiosity having been abundantly satisfied."[6]

Figure 10-1. The City of Four Lakes, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Fox Waterways.

CHAPTER 10:
THE CITY OF THE FOUR LAKES

For land speculators operating in the Wisconsin Territory of the mid-1830's, few legislative issues could compare with the significance of the selection of the territorial capital. The promoters of over twenty fledgling villages and speculative "paper towns " knew that any townsite selected as the capital would become an immediate boom town and speculators dream. Territorial government monies would pour in to acquire lands, build buildings and construct roads leading to the new capital. Settlers and eastern investors would quickly purchase hundreds, if not thousands of lots based on the assumption that land in any town chosen capital would soar in value and be a sound long term investment. It was with these riches in mind that the City of the Four Lakes was platted. Land for the townsite was purchased in August of 1835 from the Green Bay land office by the register of that office, Colonel William B. Slaughter.[1] Slaughter, a resident of Green Bay, was an acquaintance of J.D. Doty and was certainly aware of the skills that Doty had demonstrated as the agent in the platting and sale of lands at Astor (Green Bay). With the conditions that Doty would lay out a townsite and have necessary survey work executed, Slaughter conveyed to Doty a third share in the Four lakes property.

Figure 10-2. Landscape sketch of the area around Four Lakes, as it appeared around the mid-nineteenth century. Drawing by Adolf Hoeffler, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Doty knew that the Four Lakes region held promise for townsite speculation. During the Blackhawk War, for example, hundreds of white soldiers had seen the Four Lakes region, and its mysterious oak forests and pastoral prairies had been richly described in several east coast newspaper accounts. This publicity and awareness would certainly benefit any potential Four Lakes townsite developer. And by the end of 1835 settlers had excellent access to this region, largely due to the efforts of Doty himself in the layout and subsequent construction of the military road from Fort Howard in Green Bay to Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien. Nearly touching Lake Mendota at its northern edge, the road would mean safety from Indians and easy access to a booming trade route for any new city in the lake region. In addition, a nearby canal was being contemplated that would connect the Wisconsin and Rock Rivers, placing the new city near yet another promising trade route.

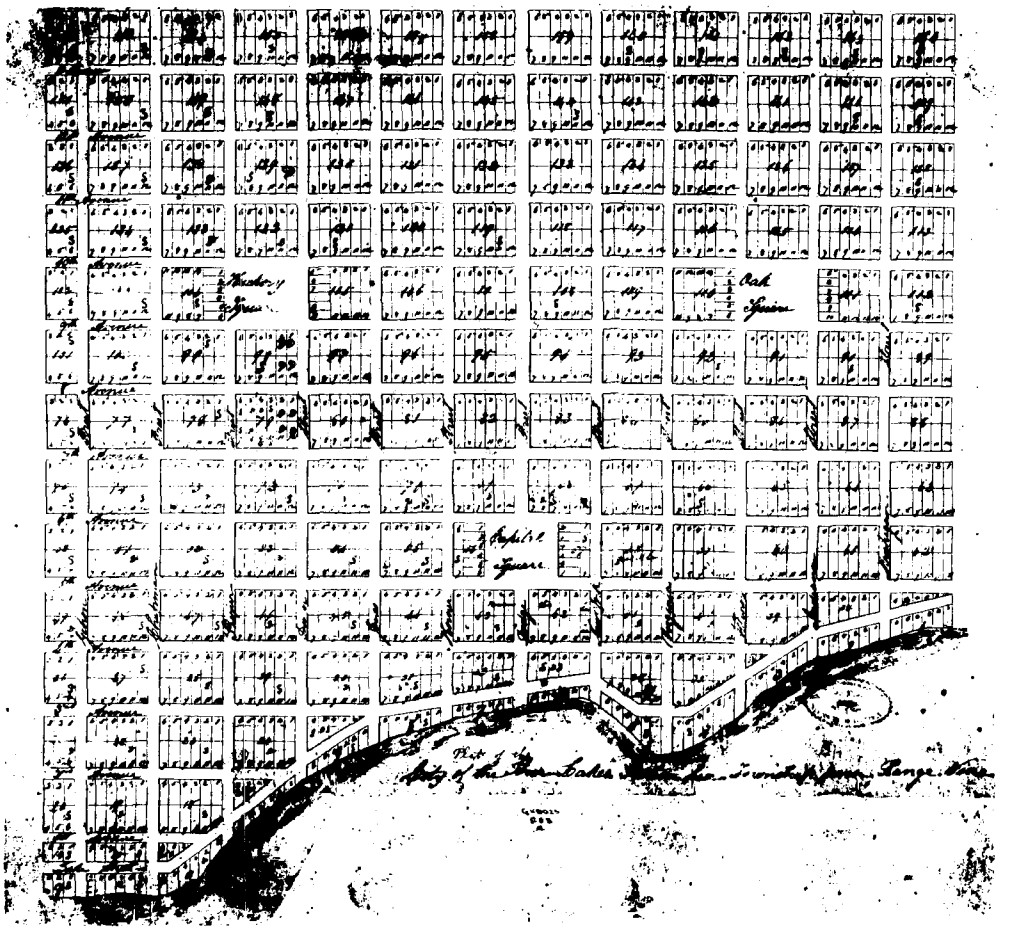

Figure 10-3. Plat of the City of Four Lakes, Wisconsin: ca. 1836. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The plan which Doty developed in the summer of 1836 is a simple but elegant scheme. Doty's design begins with the euclidean grid which had been imposed upon southern Wisconsin during the federal survey of the territory conducted from 1833-1835.[2] This grid collides with the serpentine shoreline of Lake Mendota to the South, terminating every north-south street in the city with a vista of water. Into this regular and practical grid Doty inserts five public spaces which serve to transform the featureless grid into a city of unique character. First, Doty takes the central north-south street of the grid (Dodge Street), and widens it to become a "highway" which would extend North to intersect the Fort Crawford - Fort Howard Military road connecting the city with the territory. By this simple act Doty determines the most important commercial street in his plan, as businesses would surely have lined this important road to take advantage of the activity along its length. On this road Doty then places the most important element of the plan, the site for the territorial capital (Capital Square). The square sits on axis with Dodge Street and an edifice, built in the square, would have terminated the vista of any visitor arriving from the north by means of the military road. Likewise the capital would have been an impressive sight when seen up Dodge Street from Lake Mendota. The Dodge Street-Capital Square axis has the effect of dividing the city into two areas, a subdivision that Doty recognizes by providing each of the two neighborhoods with its own central square: Hickory Square and Oak Square. With parklike names that describe his intentions, Doty positions these spaces as simple missing city blocks. As they do not interrupt the grid as does Capital Square, these squares are recessive as opposed to the dominance of the capital. In order to take best advantage of the insertion of these public amenities, Doty alters the design of the city blocks to the east and west of each square. By altering the lot subdivisions, twenty-four as opposed to sixteen lots can front on each space. Finally, a twisting and winding street, Lake Street, runs parallel to the Mendota shore. This street serves to smoothly join grid and irregular waters edge and would have given this segment of the city unique character derived from natural shapes.

The townsite was drawn by Doty in the summer of 1836 and was surveyed in time to be presented to the Territorial Legislature for consideration as a potential capital site in the 1836-1837 session. Strangely, a lobbyist that had been hired to sell the charms of the new townsite failed to reach the legislative session, and the dream of the City of Four Lakes as the new territorial capital died in a six to seven vote.[3] Doty, who was present at the legislative session, was there to promote yet another townsite located in the four lakes region and apparently did not speak to the issue. As at least five of the cities up for consideration had been developed by Doty, he could hardly have promoted them all. The failure of the City of Four Lakes to win the title of capital was the death knell for the young townsite. Madison, the successful capital, was located just five miles away across lake Mendota, and with two sites so close together in the wilderness only one would survive. Even an effort to establish a University of the Territory of Wisconsin in the City of Four Lakes failed, with the university and its development riches eventually settling in nearby Madison. While a few houses were built along the imaginary streets by 1843 the property was again taxed as farmland, and the City of Four Lakes ceased to be.

Figure 11-1. The City of Madison, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Fox waterways.

CHAPTER 11:
THE PLAN OF MADISON

In early 1836 James Duane Doty was in the city of Detroit where he met with the new Governor of the Michigan Territory: Steven Mason. Like most men of means in the territory of 1836, Mason was willing to invest funds in land speculation and townsite development. Doty, having been involved in numerous townsite developments in Wisconsin, was more than prepared to give advice on the subject to a potential investor. Before Doty left Detroit, he had written to the land office in Green Bay with instructions to register the purchase of a narrow isthmus of land between the third and fourth lakes, in the Four Lakes Region. Mason and Doty purchased the site in equal shares of what was to become The Four Lakes Company. The Company, eventually including another investor (Francis Tillou), conveyed to Doty the authority to act as trustee and agent in order to divide, layout, promote and sell property in the new town.[1] This arrangement gave Doty virtually complete control over the disposition of the land, allowing him to act independently without seeking the approval of the investors. Doty's absolute authority was well deserved in this venture, for few in the territory were as knowledgeable with regard to the selection, development and politics of townsites. In the year 1836, Doty's expertise would have been considered especially valuable. It was in that year that the legislature was to convene in order to determine which city would become the seat of government, certainly the most coveted prize in territorial townsite speculation. And so when Doty began work on the isthmus townsite, it was certainly with this prize in mind that he labored: to make Madison the greatest settlement of the territory, the capital of Wisconsin.

Figure 11-2. Wilderness landscape near Madison. Sketch by Adolf Hoeffler, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

An absolute attribution of "designer" is almost always problematic, especially with regard to early city plans. In the case of Madison, however, we have a first person account that clearly labels Doty as the originator of the plan. In late 1836 Doty hired John Suydam to act as surveyor for the initial measurements at Madison, and around 1870 Suydam wrote down his reminiscences of their voyage and work together:

" On the second day of November of the year in which the session of the Legislature was held in Belmont, Gov. Doty and myself started from Green Bay on horseback, he with his green blanket and shot-gun, that had been his companions on many a trip through the almost trackless wilds of Wisconsin, and I with my compass and chain. We were both provided for camping out wherever night should overtake us; and for the more solid part of our forage, we were to depend upon the Governor's gun...

...Finally, after about eight days from the time of leaving home, we reached what was then called "Four Lakes." We came by the trail that led around by the north side and west end of Fourth Lake, and found near what might be called the north-west corner, and perhaps two miles from where the university buildings now stand, a small log house, occupied by a man whose name I have forgotten, who entertained our horses and ourselves nights, and assisted us day times in making the plat of the future city. This took us, I think, three days..."

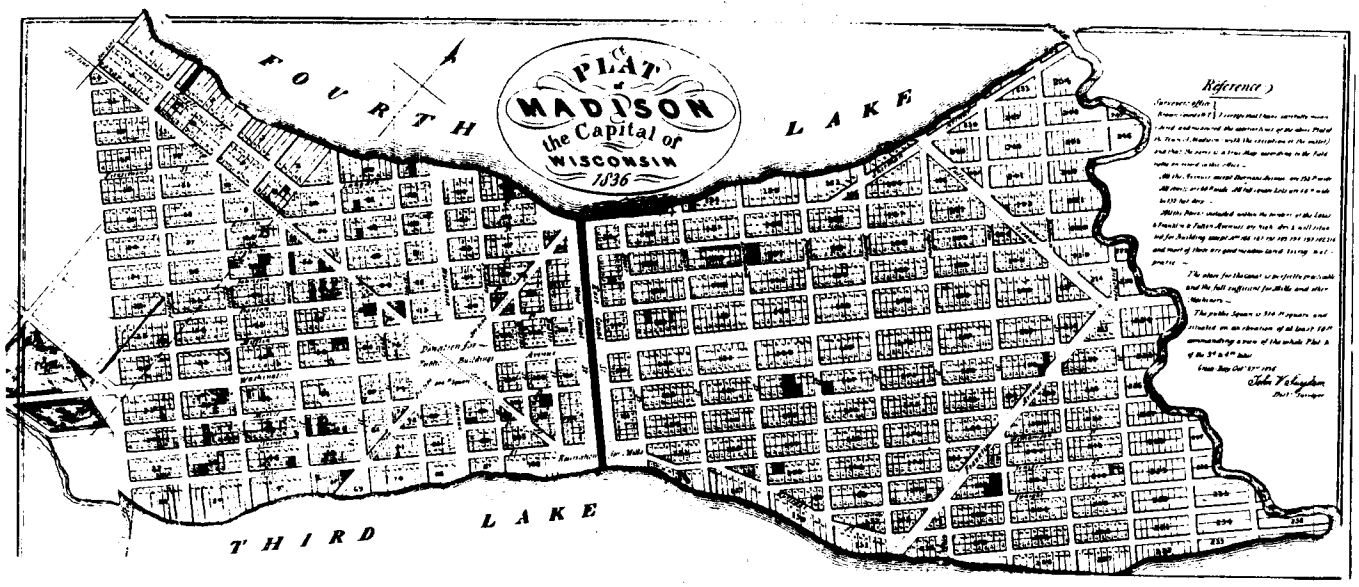

Figure 11-3. Plat of Madison, Wisconsin: 1836. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

"...We went directly to Belmont, where the legislature was in session. On arriving there, I immediately set about drawing the plat of Madison, the Governor, in the mean time, giving me minute directions as to its whole plan, every item of which having originated with him while on the ground, as being the most suitable, and best calculated, to develop the peculiar topography of the place..."[2]

The drawing that Suydam describes survives to the present and is reproduced on the opposite page. With plan in hand, Doty forcefully lobbied to convince legislators that Madison should be chosen as the capital site. Doty was a convincing man and had developed techniques of persuasion specifically for the occasion. As several persons who were present at the session later attested, Doty evidently deeded corner lots to a number of legislators, presumably in return for their favor.[3] After heated debate and unsuccessful ballots on over twenty proposed locations (five of which were towns Doty designed) Madison was selected as the territorial capital.[4] While Doty's alleged lot bribery must have been an inducement, one can assume without much fear of contradiction that several of the numerous promoters present were doing likewise. In fact, Doty's selection of location and the design of the city itself, can be seen to have been the primary motivators in the selection of capital. The location of Madison, centered in between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, was politically acceptable since extreme eastern and western cities could not win broad support.

Figure 11-4. L'Enfant's plan of Washington, D.C. as revised by Ellicott: 1792.

Perhaps of greater significance than its "neutral" position in the territory, Madison possessed a unique and striking plan which served to cast its competitors in a poor light. While all of the competing towns utilized a uniform gridiron plan, Doty had overlaid the grid with a system of baroque radial avenues that converged on a vast central square. This radial planning made Doty's plan unique, appearing in stark contrast with the gridiron plans of such towns as Milwaukee. It is not only this contrast that worked in Doty's favor, but also the similarity between the radial planning of Madison and the design of the federal capital in Washington. What forms would be more suitable, he could have argued, than those chosen to represent the seat of government for the nation? Doty was familiar with the plan of Washington having visited the city as recently as the previous year. For the plan of Washington, Pierre L'Enfant had superimposed two distinct systems, one on top of the other.[5] A gridiron of rectangular city blocks formed the basis of the Washington plan, over which was laid a pattern of diagonal avenues which served to connect the major monuments and open spaces of the city.

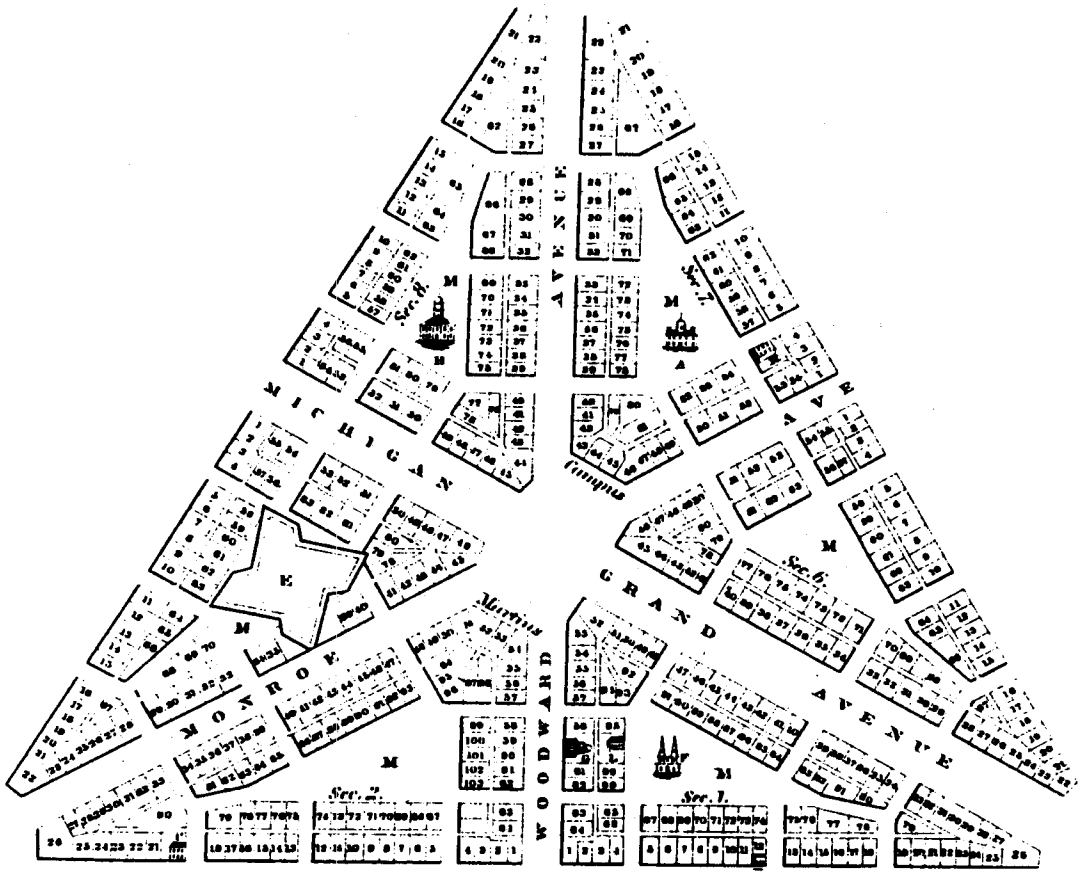

Figure 11-5. Partial plan of Woodward's scheme for Detroit, Michigan: 1807.

The regular grid of streets and blocks of the capital city had been proposed by the sensible Thomas Jefferson, who was experienced as a surveyor in the layout of grids on the American frontier. L'Enfant, while accepting the grid as his basic block structure, wished to take advantage of local topography in order to give the scheme character and uniqueness. One example of this strategy was to locate important civic monuments on the tops of existing hills, in this way allowing the natural terrain to determine the location of the cities primary features. Suydam's comment that Doty had "...calculated to develop the peculiar topography of the place..." in his planning of Madison, demonstrates that Doty had very similar concerns. Doty was also in possession of even more direct experience with radial planning, as he had lived in Detroit and had personally known its designer: Judge Augustus Woodward. But while Doty's plan for Madison and Woodward's Detroit share many of the same concepts, the geometries which organize the two schemes are quite different. Woodward's plan was based on a triangular module, which was to be repeated as the city grew in size. This rather complicated system of land subdivision proved too difficult in application, and it was eventually rejected by the simple and practical men of the frontier. Doty, who had witnessed Woodward's "failure," would have been reluctant to follow in his footsteps in the design of Madison. He chose instead the much simpler gridiron of Jefferson as the basic module, contrasting this grid with a few unique and carefully placed public spaces. Unlike Woodward's Detroit, the majority of street intersections and lots in Doty's plan are rectangular and have survived until the present day.

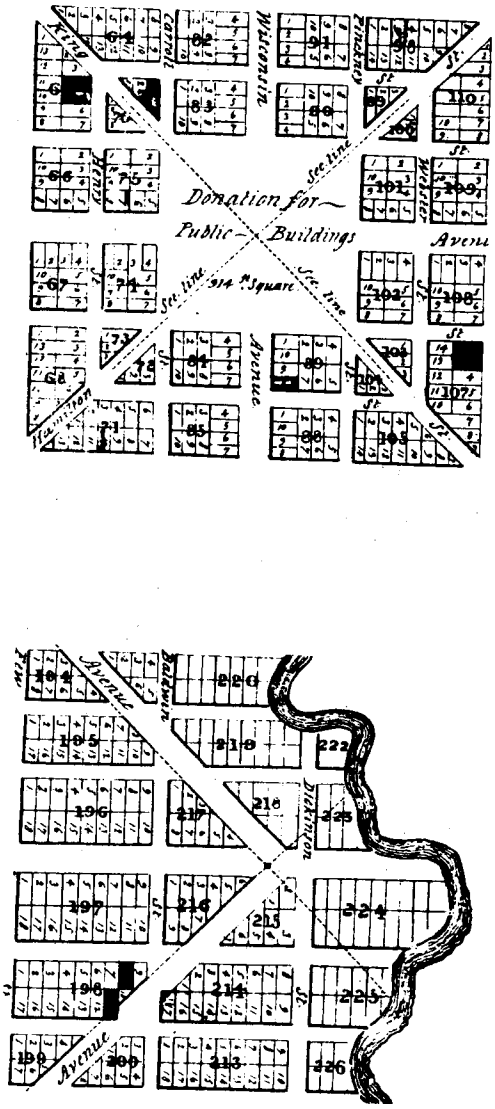

Figure 11-6. Detail of the square (top), and a detail of the entrance trident (bottom) from the 1836 plan. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The plan of Madison is a unique and ambitious scheme, a plan in which Doty's earlier experiments in the design of cities comes to maturity. The scheme focuses on a vast (914 X 914 feet) central square, which is reserved for the capitol building. Radiating from this central space are four diagonal streets and four major avenues. The diagonal streets are located along township survey section lines, for Doty must have noticed that these section lines crossed near the top of the highest hill on the isthmus. This hilltop supplied Doty with the location for the central square, the section lines became the axes of the radiating diagonal streets. These features were then overlaid with a gridiron of rectangular streets and blocks. This grid was oriented roughly parallel with the linear shape of the isthmus, thereby easing the collisions of grid and lakeshore. This methodology of respecting existing features is of course similar to that expressed by L'Enfant, and it is likely that Doty was thinking in terms of things he had seen and admired in Washington. Doty planned two additional diagonal streets and these too followed the positions of township section lines. Unconnected to the central square, these two unbuilt diagonal avenues would have formed a powerful entry sequence into the city for those approaching Madison from the east, offering a trident of vistas to both lakes and to the central square beyond. The form of this trident entrance is quite similar to the Piazza del Popolo entrance to Rome, where the road from Florence enters the city and visitors are greeted with such a trident of vistas. While Doty never visited Rome, he is known to have collected several guides that described the experiences of European cities.[6]

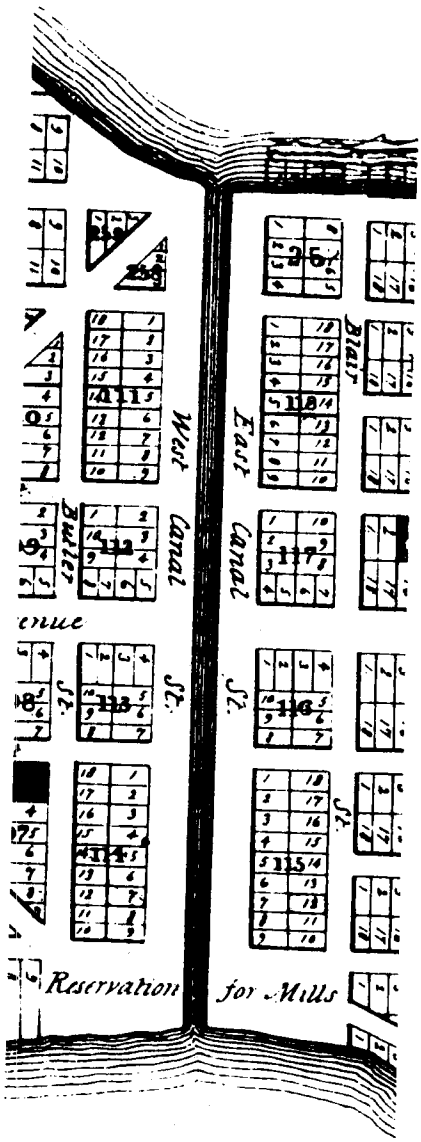

Figure 11-7. Detail of the canal from the 1836 plan. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Connecting the two lakes Doty has shown a canal which divides the town into two parts. Doty was a product of the canal era and all but a few of his designs had featured them. Doty had optimistically hoped to connect Madison with the territories water transportation network, a scheme which never transpired. This canal was also to serve as a mill race providing power for saw and grinding mills. This mill race takes advantage of the natural difference in elevation of the two lakes, and a square is reserved at its southern end for the construction of mills. This "mill square" opens to the lake, and the city seems to embrace the water at this point. Doty makes several other deviations from the standard gridiron, generally to adapt the scheme to the irregular shapes of the lake edges. The grid has been slightly altered in the area about the central square, where the city blocks are halved in their size. This subdivision produces a greater number of street corner lots in an area that was certain to be among the most desirable for commercial enterprises.

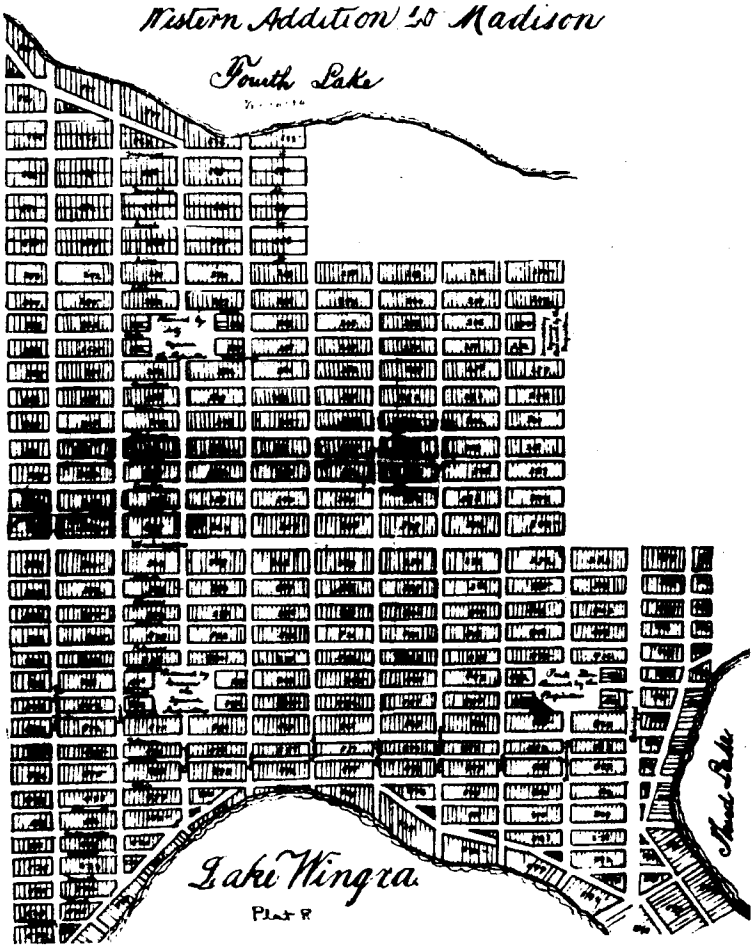

Figure 11-8. Plan of the Western Addition to Madison, Wisconsin: ca. 1836. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

In the weeks after Doty's design for Madison was selected as the territorial capital a wild surge of lot sales in the paper town occurred. Hundreds of lots were sold within weeks of the Belmont decision, some individually, some in parcels of a hundred of more. With this boom in lot sales as encouragement, Doty and several investors laid out a western addition to Madison within two months of the decision at Belmont.[7] A drawing of this addition is reproduced on the opposite page. This freehand sketch is representative of the kind of plan that Doty would have handed over to a surveyor in order that a more finished and carefully drafted version could be drawn. The plan, which features an irregular or stepped eastern edge, could not be smoothly grafted onto the earlier plan of Madison as property immediately west of the original city was already in the hands of other developers. Doty's design for the first addition to Madison features none of the radiating avenues of the original city, but was instead developed in the form of a gridiron divided by a wide avenue. The two resulting "districts",one on either side of the broad "Washington Avenue", each receive two large public squares. These squares, while considerably smaller than the vast "Capitol Square" of the Madison plan, are still quite large, with greens that would have been just over 450 X 700 feet in size.

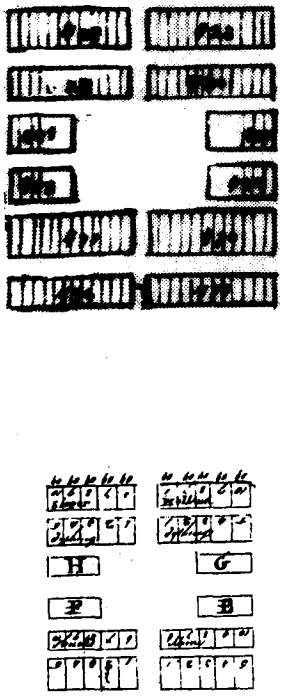

Figure 11-9. Detail of a square from the Western Addition (top), and a square from the plan of Savannah, Georgia (bottom).

The manner in which these squares are designed is very similar to the configuration of the squares at Savannah, Georgia, although the Savannah squares are somewhat smaller. In this context one is reminded of Doty's plan of Fond du Lac and the overall similarity that it has with the Savnnah plan of repetitive squares internal to a ward or neighborhood. These similarities suggest that Doty was familiar with the Savannah plan, and was willing to experiment with its elements. Two of the squares in Doty's plan of the Western Addition are labeled "Doty Square" and "Seminary Square." "Seminary Square" holds particular interest in that it is only half complete in this layout. The property required to complete the square was owned by a friend of Doty's, Aaron Vanderpool, who had hired Doty as an agent in land speculation. Doty intended to donate the property (his and Vanderpool's) of "Seminary Square" to the territory, in the hope of establishing a University of the Territory of Wisconsin there.[8] Doty was most likely thinking of his old mentor Woodward here, in that Woodward had been instrumental in the founding of the University of the Territory of Michigan. While Doty was unsuccessful in his attempt, his efforts established the idea that the University should be established on or near the location of "Seminary Square." From that time onward, early Madison residents took to calling this area "College Hill " which eventually led the first university regents to purchase this spot from Vanderpool in 1848. Doty must be credited then, with the general location of the State University. It is also possible that in Doty is the genesis of the green square or park concept used in the siting of the early campus buildings, which were planned in 1850 to sit as classical objects in an open parklike setting.

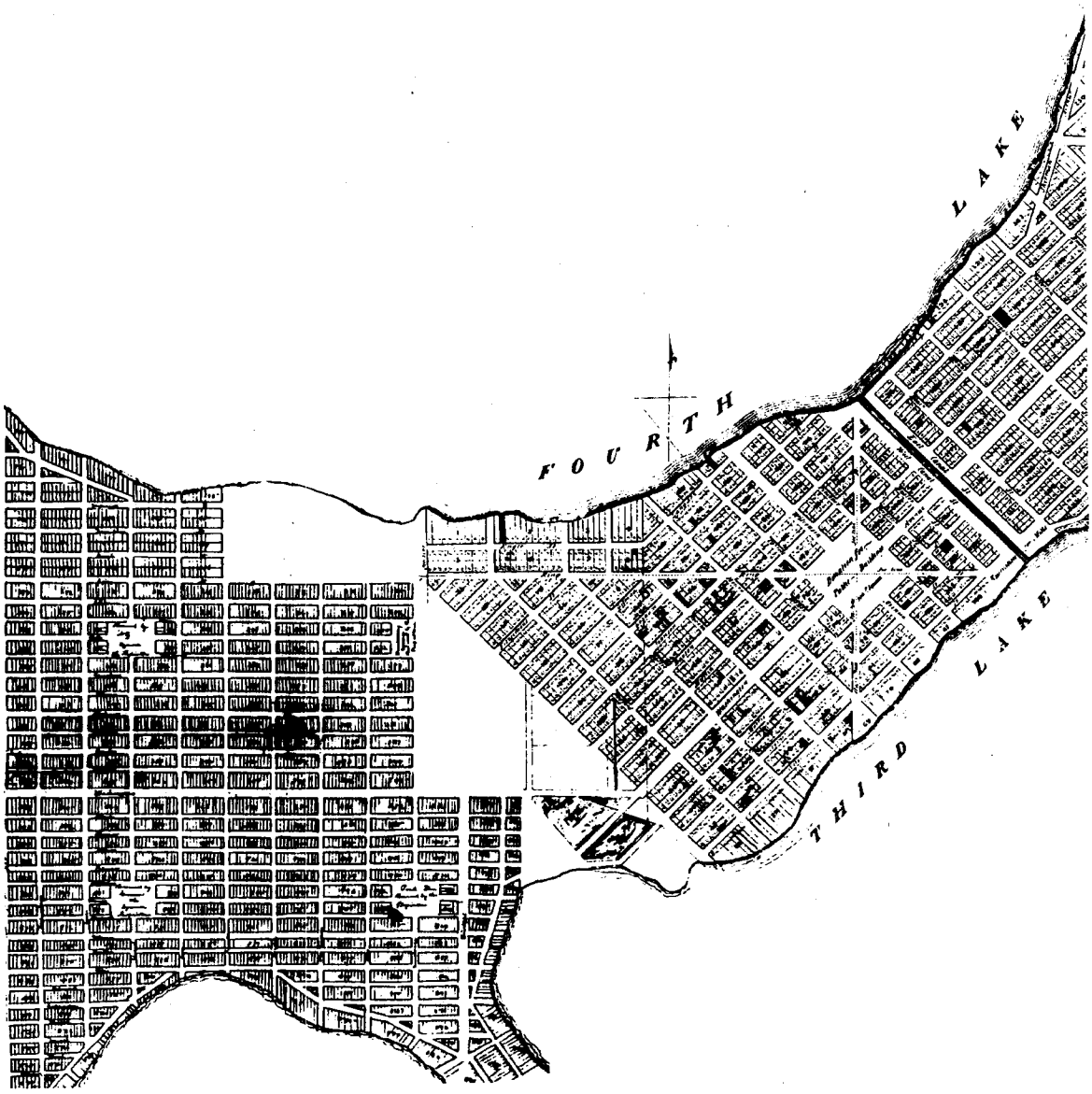

Figure 11-10. Reconstruction of how the Western Addition adjoined the earlier plan of Madison, Wisconsin.

The plan shown on the opposite page attempts to reconstruct Doty's idea of how the Western Addition to Madison would have been grafted onto the original plan. The gridiron of the addition is parallel and perpendicular to the diagonal of King street, which has been extended directly into the plan of the addition. Washington street, the primary street of the earlier plan, has also been extended into the new scheme, although its orientation has been shifted 45 degrees to align with the new grid of the addition. Suydam's original plan of Madison shows this realignment of Washington in the margin to the left of the plan. This was probably added by Doty during the development of the design for the western addition scheme. In addition to the realignment of Washington, Doty has done the same to ten other streets, all shifted to the new grid and then extended into the new plan. This shifting or reflection to a new grid has made the dimension of the new city blocks narrower, explaining why most of the lots in Doty's addition are a full block deep. Doty evidently felt that a subdivision of such blocks would have resulted in lots too small in size. One most interesting result of these "through lots", is that it turns every other street into an alley or lane. Buildings would have fronted on Washington, for example, making the next street north into an alley. Doty has, in fact, drawn the streets and alleys in slightly different widths, even on this freehand plan. The streets are shown as more generous in size than the alleys or lanes. The alternating pattern of street and alley works out such that the central axis of the squares align with the wider streets and not the lanes.

Figure 11-11. Early photograph of the First Capitol erected in Madison, Wisconsin.

Although lot sales in the newly declared capitol had initially been furious, a major economic crash of 1837 deadened development activity. While progress continued in Madison, it soon became apparent that the Western Addition was overly ambitious and it was abandoned. Even for the new capitol things moved slowly. Certainly many lots had been sold, but few owners moved to develop them. Two years after the Belmont decision, the Territorial Legislators converged on the new town to find only about thirty buildings clustered about the square and Kings Street.[9] While most of the structures were crude log affairs, several frame buildings had gone up. Most impressive was the fact that construction on the sandstone clad capitol building had progressed quickly, allowing the legislators to partially occupy the building in the winter of 1838-39. While work on the interiors continued until 1844, the capitol building was substantially completed by 1839. Built in a doric neoclassical manner, the local sandstone building featured a metal clad dome that had an effect of "glancing like silver in the sun's rays." This dome was often referred to as "Doty's Dome," suggesting that he had some involvement in architectural planning. Doty had, of course, designed the site for the capitol which had a strong effect on the buildings appearance. The rather modest building was positioned in the center of the vast capitol square, surrounded by the natural vegetation that had been wilderness only two years previous. The effect of this siting was very similar to Jefferson's "classical villa in a romantic park" ideal which Doty had seen executed in Detroit. In addition to its role as the physical center of the city and the political center of the territory, the structure served as a social center as well; serving as dance hall, theatre, church, meeting hall and funeral parlor. In a very real way the existence of this structure allowed the city to be "complete," even though only thirty or so other crude structures existed at the time.

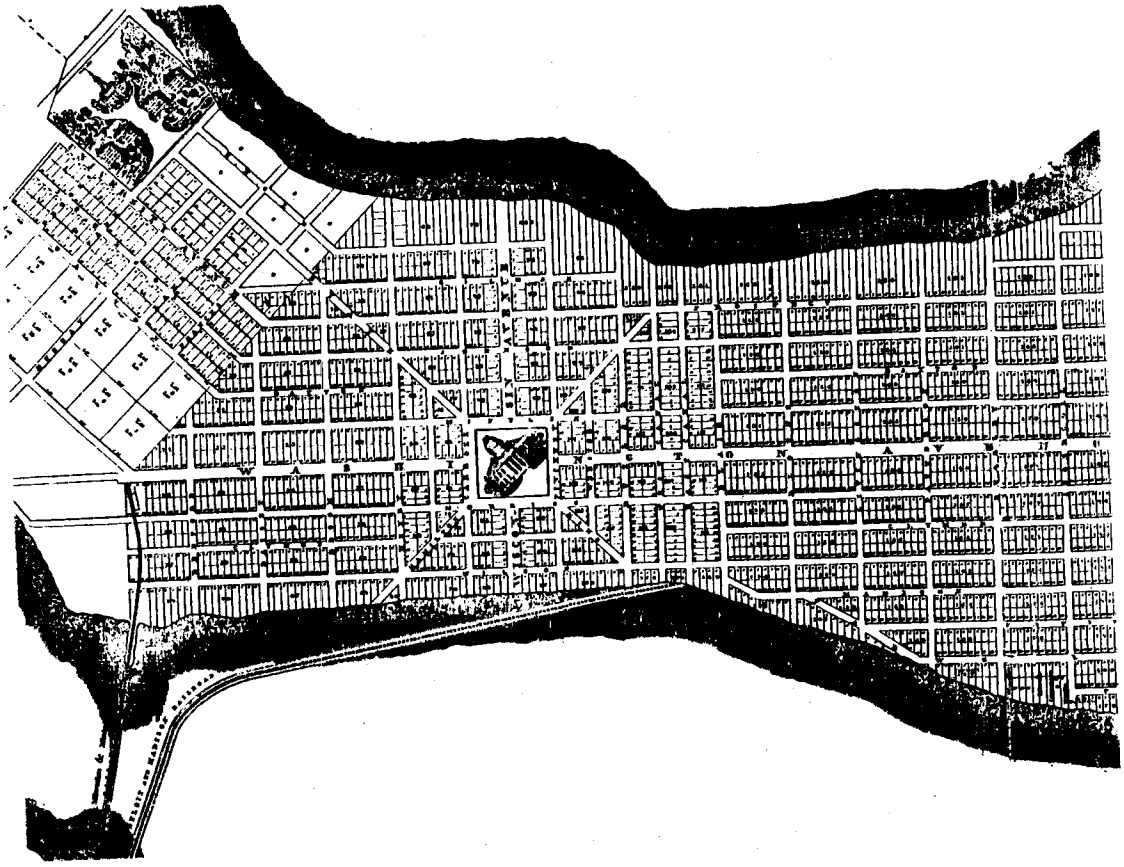

Figure 11-12. Plan of Madison, Wisconsin: 1855. American Geographic Society Collection.

The 1855 plan of Madison, reproduced at left, shows that by that date several alterations to Doty's original plan had already been made. Doty's western addition has been abandoned, although several of his concepts for the area have been executed. The grid of this part of the city has been turned 45 degrees to parallel King Street, now called State Street. The area in which Doty had located "Seminary Square " has indeed become the parklike grounds of the Territorial University. Madison's two great civic institutions now face each other from either end of State Street, with both capitol and university buildings set in large, romantic park settings. The folded-down pictorial views of the capitol and the university as drawn on the 1855 plan, is aptly descriptive of their importance in the city; not another building is shown on the drawing. The plan also reveals that the central area of Doty's design has survived intact, essentially as drawn on the 1836 plat. To the east, however, changes can be seen. The canal planned by Doty has not been built, and due to a large hill that that would have required a great deal of earth removal the scheme has been abandoned and the area replatted. Seven new city blocks have been inserted between East and West Canal Streets, shutting off what would have been a unique public open space connecting the two lakes. Equally disappointing is the loss of the open space reservations at the two canal mouths. Both spaces have been replatted as private lakeshore lots. Unfortunately, these private lots now terminate two of the diagonal streets from the capitol rather than providing vistas of the lakes as had originally been planned. Further investigation reveals that two of Doty's original diagonals, those that were part of the entrance trident, have been omitted entirely. While these changes were all compromising losses, they are essentially the last major alterations made to Doty's plan, and the scheme as altered in the 1855 plan at left, has survived substantially intact until the present.

Figure 11-13. Plan of Madison, Wisconsin: 1890. American Geographic Society Collection.

While the square, streets, and avenues of the original plan survived basically intact, Doty's generous lot subdivisions have not. The lot size chosen by Doty in his 1836 plat of the city was 66 X 132 feet, large even by contemporary standards. Doty's choice of such a large lot size (a feature seen in most of his designs) was probably influenced by Woodward's Detroit plan. Woodward had also used large lots of 60 feet in street frontage. The Jeffersonian ideal of the free-standing villa surrounded by parklike open space comes to mind in this regard. This large lot size served the early development of the city. Later in the nineteenth century, however, lots on the isthmus around the capitol were built out, while property values and demand for space continued to rise. The result of this demand was that many lots in the central area of the plan were subdivided, re-platted and sold. A common subdivision was the half-lot, 33 X 132 in size. The generous side yards of single family homes were sometimes used for the construction of two flat or even three flat structures.[10] This had an effect of drastically increasing the density implied in Doty's original plan. A plan of Madison as it appeared in the year 1890 demonstrates this phenomenon. This plan depicts accurate building footprints and gives an idea of the extent to which re-plats have occurred; if compared to Doty's 1836 plan. Block 52 in the 1836 plan featured 18 lots while the same block has been subdivided into 27 lots by 1890. It can be observed that these subdivisions and re-plats are most common within five blocks of the capitol square, as these lands had the highest value. It will be remembered that Doty had reduced the block size in this central area, in part to account for increased value around the square. In doing so he had also reduced the size of numerous lots around the capitol grounds. While Doty seems to have anticipated the effect on value that the square would have on surrounding property, he did not foresee the extent to which this would occur.

11-14. View of Madison in 1851. Drawing by John Wengler, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Despite the changes seen to James Duane Doty's 1836 design, the plan remains substantially intact today. Three different Wisconsin capitols have been built in the square on the hill and yet the original planning ideals remain much in evidence. The charm and character that can be seen in the early view opposite have largely been retained today, even though the majority of buildings seen in the view no longer exist. This character derives largely from the natural beauty of the isthmus and the plan which was so intelligently placed upon it.

Figure 12-1. The Town of the Island, located on a map of Wisconsin depicting the Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Fox waterways.

CHAPTER 12:
THE TOWN OF THE ISLAND

By 1844 much of Doty's career was in a shambles. Doty had risen to the high office of Territorial Governor during the years 1841-44, but his tenure there had not been well received by the people of the state. He had failed in many of his attempts to consolidate power and promote programs. Doty's long time dream of a network of canals and river improvements connecting a string of great cities had collapsed in failure. Many of the cities that he had designed and promoted had remained on paper. A few of his cities had indeed become successes, but due to his financial straights they were now out of his control and in the hands of rival promoters who were often less than sensitive to his visions. From these troubles Doty retreated, to build home for his family on a secluded island that bore his name: Doty Island. A record of his past exploits, the island had been so named when the Menominee Indians, for whom Doty had acted as legal consul, had requested that the beautiful island be given to him as payment for his service to them.[1] Although the place bore his name, he had never received the gift. He had, however, purchased several parcels of land on the island and by 1845 he had control over a substantial portion thereof. Doty commenced construction on what was to be his final residence in Wisconsin, a rustic assemblage of buildings called "The Grand Loggery."[2]

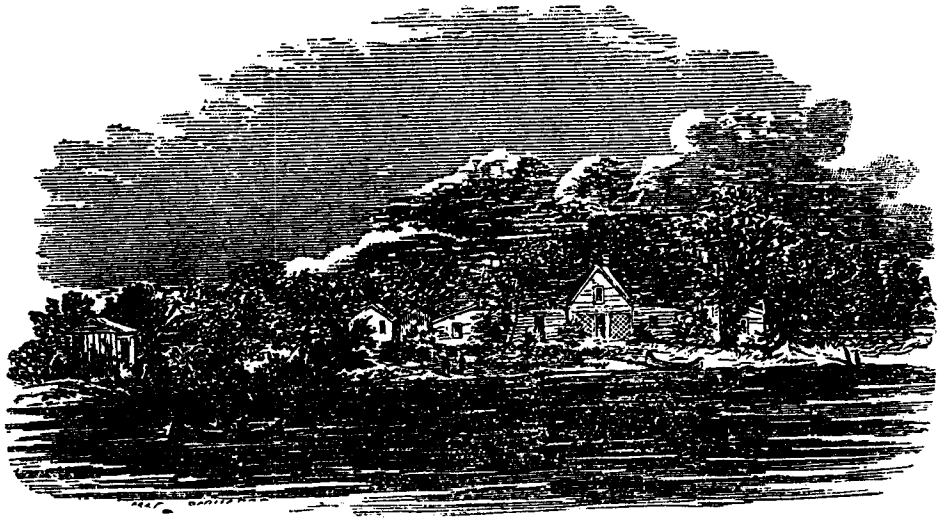

Figure 12-2. View of the village-like collection of structures comprising the "Grand Loggery" on Doty Island: ca. 1850.

Composed of several outbuildings clustered around a main house the complex grew over a period of several years:

"*...He added wings to the house and put up little shelters and storage houses and stables as the need arose, until the place resembled a miniature village...*"[3]

After having spent many years attempting to design and build cities, it seems highly appropriate that for his final Wisconsin retreat he should build a home for himself in the form of a village or miniature city. Set in an idyllic landscape of mature hardwoods bordering a lakeshore, Doty at last found a village over which he could maintain complete control. As Doty worked on the Loggery he continued to acquire the remainder of the island property. Eventually, Doty platted a town on the site, probably his last design. A print of an 1857 lithograph which Doty had printed in London survives, and is reproduced as figure 12-3. Called the "Town of the Island", prints of this scheme were displayed on the Strand in London where an agent could even sell lots in the romantic and secluded settlement. As early as 1851, Doty had planned a scheme novel for its day: building homes on large five-acre lots for lease to prospective tenants.[4] While Doty had often used the Jeffersonian concept of the "villa in the park" for the siting of public buildings, here it becomes a speculative tool: ready-made gentleman's country residences. Doty's plan for the "Town of the Island" shows such large lot sizes, some as large as the five-acres described above. Unfortunately, Doty does not seem to have found the time to build his speculative "villas in the park."

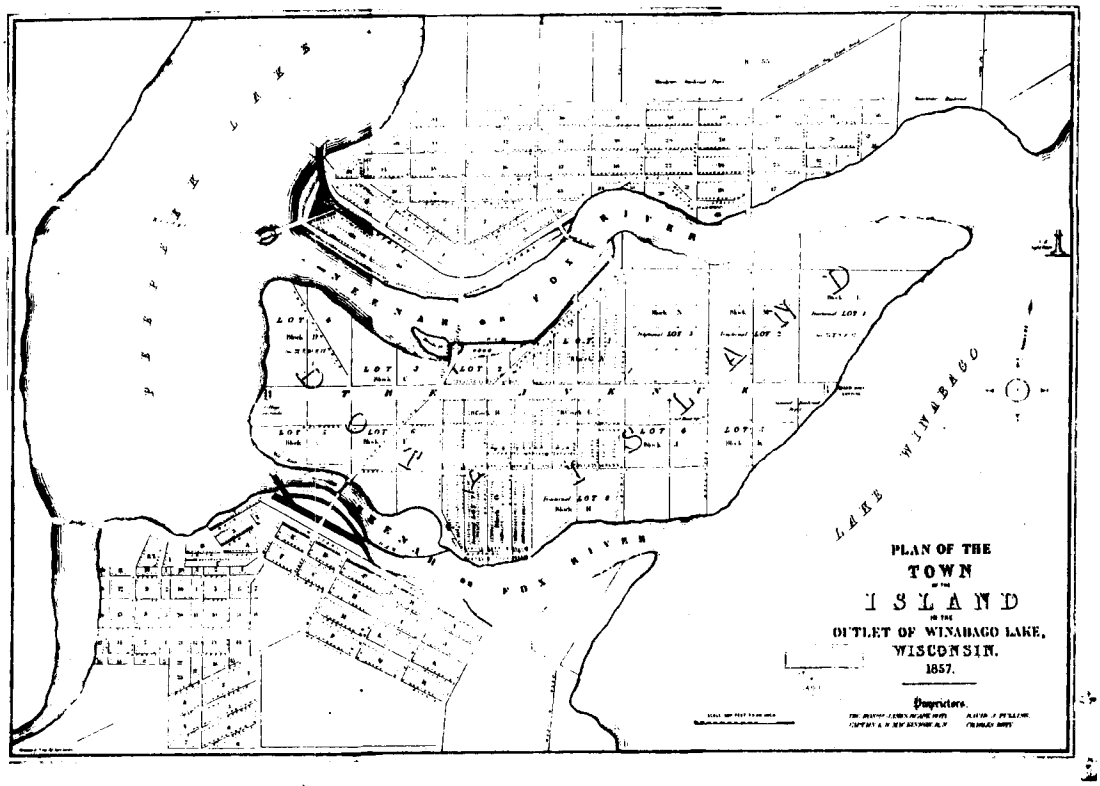

Figure 12-3. Plan of the Town of the Island, Wisconsin: 1857. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

In the center of the island Doty has provided a more traditional city plan layout of lots, streets and blocks. The large lots surround the "city " in a form all too familiar to us today. Passing down the center of the island is "The Avenue," a broad thoroughfare whose terminations literally sloped down into the water to become boat landings. Today this avenue has become a very beautiful boulevard well planted with trees, with the eastern termination still sloping directly down into the water. The idea of "quiet retreat" as first sought by Doty, is still very much in evidence on the island. Doty reserved several parcels along the avenue for public uses, a block for a courthouse square, a block for "College Grounds," and a parcel for a railroad depot. Such provisions, none of which ever came to be, would seem to compromise the charming isolation that many visitors admired there. While Doty's scheme for the island is interesting in its suggestion of speculative country villas, the plan overall has little of the innovative power or spark seen in the plans of Fond du Lac or Madison. His career as an imaginative and prolific designer and promoter of cities was over.

Footnotes to Chapter I:
The Apprentice in Detroit

1. Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Madison, 1954, 3-5.

2. John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America, Princeton, 1965, 269.

3. M.M. Quaife, This is Detroit, 1701-1951, Detroit, 1951, 35.

4. Smith states that the presiding judge of the Michigan Supreme Court suggested that he enter the bar. See footnote 5.

5. Frank B. Woodford, Mr. Jefferson's Disciple, a Life of Justice Woodward, East Lansing, 1953. Woodford states that Woodward was presiding judge on page 8.

6. Ibid., 1-5.

7. An Act Concerning the Town of Detroit, Laws of the Territory of Michigan, 1807.

8. Woodford, Jefferson's Disciple, 20-21.

9. Ibid., 25.

10. Michael Dennis, Court and Garden, Boston, 1986, 230-236.

11. Letter from Jefferson to Harrison, 1803, U.S. Dept. of State, Territorial Papers, 89.

12. Michigan Historical Collections, XIII, 473-483.

Notes to Chapter 2:
The Plan for Prairie du Chien

1. Doty's work as a circuit judge is documented by: Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Madison, 1954, 51-59.

2. For a brief history of the early city see: Peter L. Scanlan, Prairie Du Chien, Menasha, 1937.

3. The 1824 deed with which Doty conveyed the courthouse property to Crawford County is preserved in the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society. See the Doty Letters, Box #2.

4. This highway, although contemplated as early as 1824, was not laid out until 1832. Construction on the project was not completed for several years after that date.

5. Several plans of the fortress as built on Doty's property can be found in: Peter L. Scanlan, Prairie du Chien, Menasha, 1937, 136, 140.

Notes to Chapter 3:
The Plan of Munnomunne

1. For a detailed account of Doty's career as a territorial circuit judge see: Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Press, 1954.

2. For a discussion of Fort Howard and its significance on the frontier see: Alice E. Smith, The History of Wisconsin, Vol. I, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Press, 97-105.

3. This was an act of the Legislative Council in Detroit entitled "An act to establish the seats of Justice within the Counties of Brown and Crawford", which had been signed into law in 1824 by Doty's supporter, Michigan Territory Governor Cass.

4. Jack Rudolph, Birthplace of a Commonwealth, Brown County Historical Society, 1976.

5. Jeanne Kay, "John Lawe, Green Bay Trader", Wisconsin Magazine of History, Volume 64, Number 1 / Autumn, 1980.

Notes to Chapter 4: The Military Road

1. This quote is from a copy of a letter from Doty to Austin E. Wing, December 1, 1826, in Volume I of the Doty letter Book. This book is in the Huntington Library in Los Angeles, California. A microfilm of the book is in the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, in Madison, Wisconsin.

2. In Doty's correspondence to Wing, he used the spelling "Munnomonee," which was the spelling used on the plat he did with Lawe. His earlier plat had the spelling "Munnomunee." Doty was scrupulous about Indian spellings.

3. An excellent example of the economic potential of the military road construction can be had in the Wisconsin lead mines in the southwest corner of the state. Before the road, miners had no reasonable access to Lake Michigan shipping commerce to move the heavy products of their work. Year-round horse drawn cart transport made their products more competitive and accessible in wider markets.

4. For a description of the road and its significance see: Alice E. Smith, The History of Wisconsin, Vol. I, 1973, 434-37.

5. Undoubtedly the finest article written on the subject of the road is, Richard D. Durbin and Elizabeth Durbin, "Wisconsin's Old Military Road: Its Genesis and Construction", Wisconsin Magazine of History, 1984.

6. See Edwin D. Karn, "Roadmaking in Wisconsin Territory", Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1959.

7. An interesting modern account of the military road as it currently exists can be found in Gary Porters, "The Old Military Road", Wisconsin Magazine, The Milwaukee Journal, October 23, 1988.

Notes to Chapter 5:
The Plan of Astor

1. Jack Rudolph, Birthplace of a Commonwealth, Brown County Historical Society, 1976, 11-12.

2. Astor's fur trade is described by Alice E. Smith in both the History of Wisconsin, Vol. I, and James Duane Doty.

3. For a brief discussion of Whitney see: Rudolph, Birthplace of a Commonwealth.

4. For a period plan of New York, and other cities as drawn around the time that Doty would have seen them, see: Melville C. Branch, Comparative Urban Design, New York, 1978.

5. Some of these observations were presented in simpler form in: James W. Shields, "J.D. Doty and the Design of Cities on the Wisconsin Frontier," Wisconsin Architect, August 1986.

6. This sounds trivial, in fact Astor's early investments and "donations" were substantial.

7. The bank on Crooks Street went under almost immediately after opening.

8. All $ figures from: Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Madison, 1954, 166-67.

Notes to Chapter 6:
The Plan of Fond du Lac

1. See, Richard D. Durbin and Elizabeth Durbin, "Wisconsin's Old Military Road: Its Genesis and Construction," Wisconsin Magazine of History, 1984.

2. C.W. Butterfield, The History of Fond du Lac County, Chicago, 1880, 566-67.

3. Some of these ideas were first published in: James W. Shields, "J.D. Doty and the Design of Cities on the Wisconsin Frontier," Wisconsin Architect, August 1986.

4. Fond du Lac is briefly mentioned in: John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America, Princeton, 1965, 364.

5. Act Concerning the Town of Detroit, Laws of the Territory of Michigan, 1807.

6. Doty worked and lived only one block from such a square.

7. Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Comte de Volney, Feb., 1805, in A.A. Liscomb and A.L. Bergh, eds., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, XI, 66-67.

8. Much of Doty's original plat was deemed to low to develop, and the modern city is plagued by water problems.

9. C.W. Butterfield, The History of Fond du Lac County, Chicago, 1880, 333.

10. Ibid., 334.

11. Dog trot houses, common to the southern united states, are not common in Wisconsin. A review of the early structures depicted in, Richard W.E. Perrin, Historic Wisconsin Architecture, Wisconsin Society of Architects, 1976, reveals not a single Wisconsin dog trot. I have assumed therefore, that such a building type was not run of the mill, and could be the result of Doty's thinking on the subject.

12. William A. Titus, "Fond du Lac in Pioneer Days," Fond du Lac Centennial, 1936, 26-29.

13. See chapter 7 of this text: The Plan of Marquette.

Notes to Chapter 7:
The Plan of Marquette

1. Doty's sketch can be found reproduced in: Richard D. Durbin and Elizabeth Durbin, "Wisconsin's Old Military Road: Its Genesis and Construction," Wisconsin Magazine of History, 1984, 19-20.

2. Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Madison, 1954, 186.

3. Robert W. and Emma Heiple, A Heritage History of Beautiful Green Lake Wisconsin, Ripon, 1976, 102-103.

4. Elaine Reetz, Come Back in Time, Vol. I: Communities, Princeton, Wi., 1981, 39-41.

Notes to Chapter 8:
The Plan of Kentucky City

1. For an early history and description of the region see: History of Columbia County, Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880, 726-32.

2. Doty's role as agent in speculation is described in: Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954, 176-184.

3. Ibid., 185.

4. This plan is from The Moses Strong Papers in the State Historical Society Collection in Madison. Doty hired Strong in 1837 to resurvey the layout of Madison, and many plans of Madison are also in the Strong Papers. It is possible that Strong was involved in the design of Kentucky City, although his role remains uncertain.

5. Brief histories of Columbia County paper cities are given in: Andrew J. Turner, The Family Tree of Columbia County, Portage, 1904, 48-54.

Notes to Chapter 9:
The Plan of Wisconsinapolis

1. Recollections of John V. Suydam, Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. VI, 1872, 390-392.

2. Alice E. Smith has suggested that Suydam was referring to Kentucky City, due to his misstatement that Wisconsinapolis was located on the Wisconsin at the mouth of Duck Creek. Kentucky City was not located on Duck Creek, but several miles south on Doty Creek. A paper city called Baltimore City was laid out at the mouth of Duck Creek, about which little literature survives. It is known that the Marquette and Swan Lake Canal Company wished to reach the Wisconsin by means of Duck Creek. This would have produced a continuous link between Marquette, Wisconsinapolis, and Baltimore City, a scheme that could suggest Doty's involvement in all three towns.

3. The Marquette and Swan Lake Canal Corporation is described in: History of Columbia County, Chicago,1880, 842-43.

4. Jackson A. Turner, The Family Tree of Columbia County, Portage, 1904, 49-50.

5. Relevant minutes of the 1836 Wisconsin Territorial Legislature can be found in: Wisconsin Historical Collections, Volume 6, 394.

6. This quotation is taken from: History of Columbia County, Chicago, 1880, 842.

Notes to Chapter 10:
The City of the Four Lakes

1. Thwaites, Ruben. The Story of Madison, 1836-1900. 1973 reprint edition.

2. A survey crew headed by Orson Lyon carried out this work for the federal government during 1834.

3. Mollenhoff, David. Madison a History of the Formative Years, Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1982, p. 21.

Notes to Chapter 11:
The Plan of Madison

1. Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Madison, 1954, 192-196.

2. Suydam's account is published in: Wisconsin Historical Collections, Volume 6, 1872, 390-392.

3. Reuben G Thwaites, The Story of Madison, Madison, 1973 ed., 3-5.

4. The cities under consideration were: Astor, Belleview, Belmont, Burlington, Cassville, City of Four Lakes, Du Buque, Fond du Lac, Helena, Koshkonong, Madison, Milwaukee, Mineral Point, Osceola, Peru, Platteville(?), Portage, Prairie du Chien, Racine, Wisconsin City, Wisconsinapolis.

5. John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America, Princeton, 1965, 246-262.

6. Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Madison, 1954, 355.

7. David V. Mollenhoff, Madison, A History of the Formative Years, Madison, 1982, 21.

8. Ibid., 67.

9. Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Madison, 1954, 208.

10. Re-plattings and "densification" are described in: David Mollenhoff, Madison, A History of the Formative Years, Madison, 1982, 352-357.

Notes to Chapter 12:
The Town of the Island

1. Alice E. Smith, James Duane Doty, Madison, 1954, 117-118.

2. John F. Kienitz, "Wilderness Travelogue and Doty's Loggery," Wisconsin Magazine of History, June, 1948.

3. This observation comes from an interview of a long time Neenah resident (conducted in 1949 by Alice E. Smith) whose father had spoken of the loggery.

4. Doty's early "suburban" style development was described in: Lauchlan B. MacKinnon, Atlantic and Transatlantic: Sketches Afloat and Ashore, London, New York, 1852.