

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHANGING FACE OF THE HERITAGE AREA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Bladensburg

The end of the eighteenth century represented an eclipse of the economic fortunes of Bladensburg. The prospects of its becoming a major tobacco port vanished as sediment filled the river and tobacco itself was being abandoned by farmers in the Bladensburg-Vansville districts in favor of more profitable crops. While some planters continued to cultivate tobacco, other farmers turned to the production of wheat, and following the establishment of the new federal city after 1800 there was a growing demand for garden crops. The two grist mills on the outskirts of town prospered.¹⁶⁰

There were a number of attractive homes in Bladensburg attesting to its former affluence. The Magruder house, built in the early 1740s, was home to Dr. Archibald Magruder during the nineteenth century. The Ross house, an imposing brick structure, also built in the 1740s on the Annapolis road, and survived only to be dismantled in the 1950s and reconstructed in Baltimore County. For Bostwick, built in 1746 by Christopher Lowndes, there is a bit more information. Devised to Lowndes' son, Benjamin, Bostwick was managed after the death of Christopher Lowndes and his wife (1785 and 1789, respectively) by the Lowndes' daughter Rebecca and her husband, Benjamin Stoddert. Stoddert undertook significant improvements at Bostwick in the 1790s, and actually purchased the property in 1799. Benjamin Stoddert (1751-1813) was a Georgetown merchant, and was in 1798 appointed by President John Adams to be America's first Secretary of the Navy.

In August and September of 1789, noted portraitist Charles Willson Peale visited Elizabeth (widow of Christopher) Lowndes at Bostwick, and at

¹⁶⁰ Just south of Bladensburg in modern-day Cottage City, the grist mill that was later known as Carleton Mill was active in the eighteenth century. Northeast of the town was another mill, built in 1822 by George Calvert, and known at that time as the Avalon Mill; in 1861, at the time of the publication of the Martenet Atlas of Prince George's County, it was operated by Taylor and Berry.

her request painted portraits and miniatures of her for her seven children. Peale then proceeded to the home of Rebecca and Benjamin Stoddert in Georgetown where he painted a group portrait of their three children. Peale's work on all of these portraits is recorded in detail in his revealing diary entries from this period (for excerpts from these entries see below, Appendix One). Benjamin Stoddert and his family spent much of his term as Secretary in Philadelphia, leasing out the out their Bladensburg property.

Between 1800 and 1802, Bostwick was the family residence of Henri Joseph Stier while he was overseeing construction of his fine Riversdale house (see below). During the winter of 1801 Rosalie Stier Calvert observed: "this house they are living in causes the greater part of their indispositions, for neither the doors nor the windows close properly and when it is cold we freeze!"¹⁶¹ Even after the family's move, Mrs. Stier continued to complain of the cold and the rats she had endured at Bostwick.

After the Stiers moved into their not-quite-finished house at Riversdale in the summer of 1802, and after the death of Rebecca Lowndes Stoddert, Bostwick became Benjamin Stoddert's principal residence. He is recorded in the 1810 census as residing at Bostwick with his four younger children. Interestingly, one of these children, Harriet, in 1812 married a Senator from Tennessee who had four years earlier survived a duel at the nearby Bladensburg Dueling Grounds.

¹⁶¹ Margaret Law Callcott, ed., *The Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991) 31 [hereafter cited as Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*].



Dueling Grounds

After Stoddert's death in 1813, the house was occupied by Colonel Thomas Barclay, the British commissioner for the exchange of prisoners during the War of 1812. Barclay, who normally felt confined in Bladensburg, was delighted to be there during the British advance on Washington, D.C., during the War of 1812. He balked at the American demand that he should remove himself to Hagerstown and the Americans ultimately sent a carriage which carried him away a mere two hours before the Battle of Bladensburg began. His assistant, George Barton, remained to guard the files and was there to offer refreshments to the victorious British officers after the battle. Bostwick was not looted by the British troops, but the President revoked Barclay's credentials.¹⁶²

¹⁶² See, for the Magruder house: William Hilleary House (Magruder House), National register of Historic Places, Inventory, Nomination Form, "Magruder House - Home of Prince George's Heritage, Inc.," *News and Notes from the Prince George's County Historical Society* 21/7 (August 1993): 7, Alan Virta, *Prince George's County: A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Company, 1998), 160 [hereafter cited as Virta, *Pictorial History*]; for the Ross house, Virta, *Pictorial History*, 162; for Bostwick: Christopher Owens, Report of 16 September 1974, M-NCPPC, Susan G. Pearl, "Bostwick in Bladensburg." *News and Notes from the Prince George's County Historical Society* 27 (October 1998): [2-4], Virta, *Pictorial History*, 55, Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 25-26, 33 (quote), Walter Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light* (NY: W.W. Norton, 1972), 27-28 (Barclay), 142-43; and for Stoddert: Virta, *Pictorial History*, 78, Robert Sobel, ed. *Biographical Directory of the United States Executive Branch, 1774-1977* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), 321 [hereafter cited as Sobel, *Biographical Directory*]. For more discussion of Bostwick, see the entry in Part Two on Bostwick.

The post road continued to draw travelers into Bladensburg. The Indian Queen Tavern, a wooden structure, was a preferred destination. It was owned by Jacob Wirt, who built a brick residence, now the George Washington House, about 1760. While the Indian Queen Tavern has not survived, the George Washington House over the years served as a residence, a store, a tavern and a hotel. Jacob Wirt's youngest son, William, became a prominent lawyer and served as the U.S. Attorney General from 1817 to 1829.¹⁶³

The tavern business was highly competitive. Thomas Lee Shippen observed in a letter in 1790 that he had “breakfasted . . . with an old black woman who keeps the best house in the town and calls herself Mrs. Margaret Adams. She diverted us with an account of the resentment which discovered itself towards her because the President (Washington) and his family had preferred her house to lodge as he passed through Bladensburgh. After trying every other expedient to distress her, they pulled down her ‘temple of Cloacina’ and there was the demolished building when we arrived, a monument at the same time of the envy of her fellow citizens and her own triumph.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Virta, *Pictorial History*, 86, 104, 175; Sobel, *Biographical Directory*, 364-5 (Wirt).

¹⁶⁴ Letter, Thomas Lee Shippen to William Shippen, 15 September 1790, p. 465. A “Temple of Cloacina” was a period euphemism for a privy or “necessary house.” In ancient Rome, the goddess Venus (called “Cloacina”) was said to preside over the sanitary sewer system, the Cloaca Maxima.



Side of the George Washington House

Travelers also sought recreation in Bladensburg. At the north end of Water Street, now Route 1, people came to enjoy the medicinal qualities of a mineral spring, known as Spa Spring. Sporting events, such as horse racing and cock fights, attracted visitors on a regular basis. After the establishment of the new federal city, Bladensburg's location just outside its boundaries made it an ideal location to settle affairs of honor between gentlemen on a field known as the dueling ground. The first documented duel took place at Bladensburg in 1808. In the most famous of the duels at Bladensburg, Stephen Decatur fell mortally wounded in a duel in 1820. During the Civil War the dueling ground became part of a union army camp and was used appropriately as a shooting range.¹⁶⁵

The most important development for the region was the creation of the new federal city on the Potomac River, organized in 1791 from parts of Prince George's and Montgomery counties. Forty inscribed boundary stones were set in 1792, at one-mile intervals, along the boundaries of the 10-mile-square District of Columbia; one of them stands, in good condition, in the modern-

¹⁶⁵ Virta, *Pictorial History*, 161 (Spa Spring), 98 (Dueling ground); Maryland Historical Trust, Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey, Civil War Fort Sites, Battery Jameson (Dueling ground). For a treatment of the significance of dueling in the nineteenth century, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (NY: Oxford, 1986). Unfortunately, nothing is mentioned about the Bladensburg Dueling grounds.

day Fort Lincoln Cemetery. That part of the county that became the District of Columbia was designated Columbia Hundred and the county continued to hold elections until the federal government took formal possession in 1800. Although settlement of the national capital bore little relationship to the monumental city envisioned by Pierre L'Enfant until the Civil War era, its proximity to Bladensburg would have a major impact on the surrounding area.¹⁶⁶

War 1812 and the Battle of Bladensburg

Maryland suffered more from the direct consequences of military conflict during the War of 1812 than during the Revolution. The Royal Navy roamed the Chesapeake at will, sacking small communities like Havre de Grace and bombarding Baltimore City, establishing a headquarters on Tangier Island, as well as attacking the national capitol through Bladensburg. The infamous label, the "Bladensburg Races," has served to characterize this battle in the most unflattering terms, although it was originally a partisan term discrediting President Madison's hasty retreat from danger.¹⁶⁷

In many ways the battle was lost before the first shot was fired. The thought that the national capital would be attacked was inconceivable to military planners who were more concerned with the failure of the Canadian campaign and the distressing news of British victories in the Northwest. If the capital were attacked, they believed that Fort Warburton (now the site of Fort Washington in Prince George's County) would defend the city against a direct assault from the Potomac River, which would provide enough time for an army, composed primarily of militia from the surrounding states, to assemble and defeat the invaders. When it became evident that the British had other plans, the authorities refused to call up the militia early so that it could train as a coordinated military force. Other than Fort Warburton, there were no permanent fortifications surrounding the city, because the Secretary of War believed that the battle would be won on the open field at the point of the bayonet.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ For a discussion of the parts of Prince George's County which became the Territory of Columbia after 1791, including the towns of Hamburg and Carrollsburgh, and were incorporated into the new federal city in 1800, see Louise J. Hinton, *Prince George's Heritage: Sidelights on Early History of Prince George's County, 1696-1800* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972), 141-2, 206-09 (elections, 1798-1800). For the creation of the federal city, see: Kenneth R. Bowling, *The Creation of Washington, D.C.* (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1993); for the implementation of the L'Enfant plan, see James Sterling Young, *The Washington Community, 1800-1828* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1966); for the boundary stone, see Virta, *Pictorial History*, 82, "Fort Lincoln Cemetery," Individual Property/District, Maryland Historical Trust, Internal NR-Eligibility Review Form, 3.

¹⁶⁷ Virta, *A Pictorial History* contains a short discussion of the battle with two convenient maps (94-95).

¹⁶⁸ For general treatments of the War of 1812, see Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A*

The British resolve to attack the American capital was in part a reprisal for the destruction of the public buildings in York, the capital of Upper Canada, during the American invasion. After sending a small force up the Potomac River as a feint, their major attack route was along the Patuxent River. This enabled them to trap Commodore Joshua Barney's small flotilla of armed barges as well as to deploy their troops within easy marching distance of their objective. The British troops were landed at Benedict and marched to Upper Marlboro after which they took the direct route to the capital. All roads led through Bladensburg.

The Americans quickly recognized the situation and began to assemble troops at Bladensburg. Avoiding capture, Commodore Barney had fought a delaying action on the Patuxent, and finally burned his boats outside of Upper Marlboro rather than surrender them; his men and cannon were then called into action from the Naval Yard. The majority of the defenders were untested militia from Maryland. Taking his constitutional role as commander-in-chief literally, President James Madison and several members of his Cabinet, including Secretary of War Armstrong, were also present at the early stages of the battle. Prudence soon dictated a hasty departure.¹⁶⁹

The laconic after-battle report of the British commander, Rear Admiral Cockburn, captures the day:

...the enemy, eight thousand strong, on ground he had chosen as best adapted for him to defend, where he had time to erect his batteries and concert all his measures, was dislodged as soon as reached, and a victory gained over him by a division of the British army, not amounting to more than fifteen hundred men, headed by our gallant general (Ross), whose brilliant achievement of this day it is beyond my power to do justice to, and indeed no possible comment could enhance.¹⁷⁰

This report also fails to do justice to the bravery and professionalism of Commodore Barney and his men, which even the British recognized and respected after he was captured wounded on the battlefield, but it was a fair statement of the capabilities of the untried militia facing a disciplined opponent. Having overrun the defenders at Bladensburg, the British advance to the capital was unopposed.

Forgotten Conflict (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light*, and Anthony S. Pitch, *The Burning of Washington: The British Invasion of 1814* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998). For a discussion of Ft. Warburton, see Virta, *A Pictorial History*, 103, and Earl Arnett, et al., *Maryland: A New Guide to the Old Line State*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 37-38.

¹⁶⁹ Louis A. Norton, *Joshua Barney: Hero of the Revolution and 1812* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000).

¹⁷⁰ "The Chesapeake Invasion 1814-1974," *News and Notes from the Prince George's County Historical Society* 24/7 (August 1996): 3-6.

Following the battle, George Calvert of Riversdale sent his field slaves to Bladensburg to assist in burying the dead.¹⁷¹

There are several aspects of the “Bladensburg Races” that have been unappreciated. Following the battle, Bladensburg served as a hospital for wounded of both sides, including the gallant Barney who was recuperating at the Ross House. The defenders of Baltimore, knowing that they were next, learned several valuable lessons from this defeat. They entrusted their defense to General Samuel Smith, who was a local political leader and a Revolutionary War officer, and rejected pressure to give the defeated militia commander at Bladensburg a second chance to redeem his reputation. General Smith, recognizing that the militia was no match for the British forces on open ground, structured the defense of Baltimore around a system of fortified positions. Having suffered defeat, and now facing an attack on their homes, the local militia had a greater resolve to fight the enemy. And then there was the experience of an Upper Marlboro physician, Dr. William Beanes.

Reminiscent of the old adage, “for want of a nail the battle was lost,” Dr. Beanes played a curious role in the events leading up to the composition of the *Star Spangled Banner*. Dr. Beanes, who was a Federalist and opposed the war, welcomed the British as they arrived in Upper Marlboro and was a gracious host when they occupied his home. After their victory the British re-boarded their transport at Nottingham, where they learned that Dr. Beanes had participated in the arrest and detention of stragglers from the attack on Washington. Feeling that he had betrayed their trust, they dispatched troops who arrested him and demanded the release of their soldiers from the county jail - in complying the jailers showed compassion by allowing two deserters to disappear into the night. Facing the unpleasant prospect of a military trial in Halifax, Dr. Beanes was closely confined on the flagship.¹⁷²

Dr. Beanes’ friends in Upper Marlboro mobilized to secure his release. They contacted Francis Scott Key, the U.S. District Attorney in the federal city, and he spoke with President Madison about obtaining his freedom. The government was concerned that the British had violated an agreement restricting the arrest of civilians. The President dispatched Key and John S. Skinner, an American agent for the exchange of prisoners, to negotiate for his release.

The American agents sailed from Baltimore and met the British fleet

¹⁷¹ See references to the battle and its aftermath in Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 272n1.

¹⁷² In addition to the general histories above, see Shirley Baltz, “Doctor William Beanes: Physician, Gentleman, Prisoner of War.” *News and Notes from the Prince George’s County Historical Society* 13 (December 1985): 53-56; E.F. Rivinus, “Beanes, Barney, and the Banner.” *Naval History* 13 (May/June 1999): 46-50; and Ruth Kimball Kent, “The Convivial Dr. Beanes.” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (December 1978): 389-93.

near the mouth of the Potomac River. The British commanders were unsympathetic to their entreaties until Skinner gave them testimonials and letters from their wounded indicating that, while they were recuperating at Bladensburg, they were being well treated. Under these circumstances, the British commanders were willing to free Dr. Beanes as a favor to the American agent for the exchange of prisoners.

The British admiral wined and dined the three Americans as guests but they were not allowed to leave the flag ship. By this time it was leading a convoy up the Chesapeake to attack Baltimore. The Americans were returned to their sloop and placed among the support ships during the bombardment of Fort McHenry. It was from this vantage point that Francis Scott Key saw the huge American flag by dawn's early light. But for Dr. Beanes he never would have been there.

Agriculture and Slavery

The Bladensburg-Vansville districts were undergoing important economic changes in the nineteenth century. Unlike the other agricultural areas of Prince George's County, this region gradually shifted from the cultivation of tobacco to the production of grain, and other commodities destined for urban markets. Simultaneously, entrepreneurs began to develop the region's water power resources to build a manufacturing base.¹⁷³

A portion of the story can be seen from the vantage point of two impressive surviving mansions, Montpelier and Riversdale. Montpelier, a particularly handsome five-part Georgian country house, was constructed in 1783 by Major Thomas Snowden and his wife. According to the 1798 Direct Tax records, he possessed 7,335 acres and owned 57 slaves in Prince George's County. The Snowdens were famous for their hospitality and among their guests were George Washington, his wife Martha, and Abigail Adams. Nicholas Snowden inherited the property when his father died in 1803. Nicholas, who also developed the Laurel Factory, pursued modern agricultural techniques in addition to make his land more productive.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Contrasting the Bladensburg and the Queen Anne districts within Prince George's County, researchers used data from the 1850 and 1870 agricultural censuses to compare agricultural production. They found that the Bladensburg district grew garden crops for the urban market which compared to the continued production of tobacco in Queen Anne. See James G. Gibb and Donald K. Creveling, "A Phase I Archeological Survey of the Proposed Anacostia Tributaries Trail in Hyattsville-Bladensburg, Prince George's County, Maryland," M-NCPPC (February 1993), 19-24.

¹⁷⁴ For descriptions of Montpelier and the Snowden family, see: "National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form," Virta, *A Pictorial History*, 72-73, William G. Cook, *Montpelier and the Snowden Family* (Upper Marlboro, MD: Cook, 1976), Effie G. Bowie *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (1947; Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1975). The information for 1798 in the Prince George's County section of the 1798 Direct Tax which is on microfilm at the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.

The Riversdale mansion was built at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Henri J. Stier, a Flemish emigré fleeing Revolutionary France in 1794, who purchased over 729 acres of property near Bladensburg in 1800 and moved into his uncompleted plantation mansion two years later. Accepting an offer of amnesty by Napoleon, Stier returned with his family to Europe, leaving the property in the hands of his daughter, Rosalie, and her husband, George Calvert. The plantation, a five-part country house which blends Flemish and American architectural styles, became the Calverts' principal residence, and they often entertained politicians, foreign representatives, and other dignitaries from the national capital, as well as local friends.¹⁷⁵

The design and completion of Riversdale is well documented through a series of letters between Rosalie Calvert and her family in Belgium; this correspondence also gives a wealth of detail about the Calverts' family and everyday life, as well as society and politics in the new federal city. One of the many factors that make the story of Riversdale unique is the painting collection that was housed at Riversdale from 1802 to 1816.

Henri Stier, a sixth-generation direct descendant of Peter Paul Rubens, was the caretaker of the family's collection of 63 old world master paintings, and had carried them out of Antwerp in 1794 at the time of the invasion by French Republican troops. Some of the paintings had been hanging at the Paca House in Annapolis while the Stiers lived there (1797 - 1800), but for the most part, the paintings had been kept in storage and shown only occasionally to connoisseurs and prominent painters such as Rembrandt Peale, Gilbert Stuart, etc. Stier left the paintings in Rosalie's care at Riversdale when he returned to Antwerp in 1803, but their correspondence over the next 13 years makes constant reference to the value and care of the collection.

In 1816, Stier directed his daughter to repack the paintings and ship them back to him in Antwerp. This she did, but was convinced to open her house for two weeks to allow the art-loving public a view of the paintings before they left American shores. The open house, in April 1816, drew connoisseurs from up and down the east coast to view paintings by Rubens, Van Dyck, Jan Brueghel, Titian and many others. The paintings were then packed (with advice from several contemporary painters) and shipped, arriving safely in Antwerp in August 1816. This was the earliest and most important painting collection in the new United States. Three of the paintings remain in the ownership of Rosalie Stier Calvert's descendants in the United States; the

¹⁷⁵ See Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, J. Gibb, "Riversdale," *Historical Archeology*, 31/3 (1997): 51-64, Morton "Pat" Miller, "The Building of Riversdale-Part I." *Riversdale Letter* 17 (Winter 1999): 2-4, "Riversdale Mansion," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, 1997, and Virta, *A Pictorial History*, 91.

others have, over the years, found their way into museums and private collections all over the world.¹⁷⁶

George Calvert (1768-1838), was a direct if illegitimate heir of Charles Calvert, the Fifth Lord Baltimore, and the son of Benedict Calvert, who owned Mount Airy plantation in southern Prince George's County. His family was also connected by marriage to the Washington family, which was a decided advantage when he was courting Rosalie Stier (1778-1821). They were married in 1799 and made their home on Calvert's plantation, Mount Albion (now known as Goodwood), on the Patuxent River north of Upper Marlboro. With the return of the Stiers to Europe in 1803, however, they moved to Riversdale.

¹⁷⁶ This information has been provided by Susan Pearl. For more about the paintings, see Pearl, "Old World Master Paintings at Riversdale," *Riversdale Letter* 18 (Winter 2000): 2-4; (Spring 2001): 2-4.



Riversdale's Stairway

Calvert, who also had extensive land holdings in the area surrounding Riversdale as well as his Mt. Albion property, was a progressive farmer. Committed to the large scale cultivation of tobacco, which was not particularly profitable in the uncertain times of the early nineteenth century, he sought to enrich the land through the use of fertilizers. Recognizing that the land surrounding Riversdale was not suited for tobacco, especially after it was flooded, he raised cattle on the meadowlands and grew crops for animal feed. Wheat was grown on land he leased. He later built a grist mill on his property.

Calvert pursued various business activities. He was the President of the Baltimore-Washington Turnpike in 1813, was on the board of directors of the Bank of Washington, and welcomed the expansion of the railroad through his property. At the same time, he refused Federalist entreaties after the War of 1812 to become the Governor of Maryland. He died in 1838.

Calvert's legacy was expanded by Charles Benedict Calvert (1808-1864), the middle of their nine children. Inheriting Riversdale and much of the family real estate, Charles Benedict pursued his father's commitment to modern agriculture. He was so successful that Frederick Law Olmsted favorably described the Riversdale plantation in his book, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1856), one of a series that was highly critical of slave agriculture. He praised Calvert's dairy operation, which produced milk for the local economy, his system of crop rotation, and his use of fertilizers to rejuvenate the soil. Disparaging the quality of work by slaves, he also commented on Calvert's efforts to employ Irish laborers for ditching, who Calvert found to be "...dishonest, would not obey explicit directions about their work, and required more personal supervision than negroes. From what he had heard and seen about Germans, he supposed they did better than Irish." Notwithstanding such xenophobic sentiment, Charles Benedict did not join the nativist political movement which swept Maryland in the 1850s.¹⁷⁷

Charles Benedict Calvert was instrumental in creating institutions to promote agricultural reform. He was an active force in the establishment of various agricultural societies, whose purpose was to publicize agricultural reform and to offer prizes for creative ideas, and the national Bureau of Agriculture in 1862 (elevated to cabinet level as the Department of Agriculture in 1889.) He was also a founder of the Maryland Agricultural College whose campus was built on his 428-acre Rossborough farm property and opened in 1859.¹⁷⁸

With the advent of the sectional crisis leading to the Civil War, Charles Benedict Calvert was elected as a loyal unionist for Congress. He had been a member of the Whig party, which had favored internal improvements and other pro-business programs, and supported the election of Abraham Lincoln. During the war he advocated keeping Maryland in the union, but he also defended the rights of property owners, especially those whose slaves were absconding with the support of the union forces. He retired from public service after one term and died in 1864.¹⁷⁹

One of the greatest problems in interpreting the institution of slavery

¹⁷⁷ Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, in the Years 1853-1854, With Remarks on Their Economy* (1856; NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), 6-13, 11 (quote).

¹⁷⁸ See George Callcott, *A History of the University of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1966); Virta, *A Pictorial History*, 151.

¹⁷⁹ Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 387-88.

has to do with the types of records available to historians. Most, like censuses and tax records, deal with aggregate information - the numbers, perhaps information on ages, and values of slaves as a form of property. Some records have additional information. The 1798 federal Direct Tax record provides data on the construction of housing. The property of John Hill lists seven log "Negro Quarters, each, 16 by 16." Other property descriptions list "quarters." The 1853 Riversdale plantation map shows fifteen dwellings scattered over the nearly 2000-acre property, of which nine or ten were occupied by slaves. Calvert owned 52 slaves according to the 1850 census and 45 in 1860. One of the dwellings was described as being one large multi-purpose room with a loft. Perhaps surprisingly, the dwellings were scattered across the plantation, suggesting that slaves had greater autonomy judging by a lack of immediate physical control by overseers.¹⁸⁰

The history of Riversdale, however, is far richer than just the story of the "big-house," because we have a glimpse of the plantation from the slaves' point of view, another factor that makes this site unique. One of its slaves, Adam Francis Plummer (1819-1905), kept a diary dating from his marriage to Emily Saunders in 1841 to his death in 1905. The diary was used by a descendant, Nellie Arnold Plummer, to tell the story of the Plummer family in *Out of the Depths; or, The Triumph of the Cross* (1927). The diary itself is presently unavailable.¹⁸¹

The Plummer story is an intensely human experience providing new insight into the social dynamics of slavery. Adam became a valued field hand, with the additional skill of mending shoes, and he was taught to read in secret by another slave. Although some slave owners punished literate slaves by selling them, fearing that they would be a conduit for abolitionist propaganda, George Calvert tolerated it because of Plummer's reputation as a reliable hand. Plummer and Emily Saunders, who was a slave from a plantation about 6 miles southeast of Riversdale, were married in the New York Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., in 1841. This was remarkable because most slaves were not formally married. She continued to live at her owner's plantation after their marriage, so that he was only able to visit her on weekends - from Saturday evening until Monday morning - for the next

¹⁸⁰ See Prince George's County section, 1798 Direct Tax records. For a comprehensive and insightful reconstruction of the Calvert's slave population from various census, tax, and inventory records, see Margaret Law Callcott, "Slaves and Slave Families at Riversdale," *The Riversdale Letter* (Fall 1996): 2-5, "Slave Housing at Riversdale," *Riversdale Letter* (Fall 1994): 2-4, "Inventory of a Slave Cabin," *Riversdale Letter* 12 (Spring 1995): 2-4. See also the Riversdale Plantation Map (1853) and George H. Callcott, "The Riversdale Plantation Map of 1853." *Riversdale Letter* 12 (Winter 1995): 2-4.

¹⁸¹ For the Plummer story, see Nellie Arnold Plummer, *Out of the Depths; or, The Triumph of the Cross* (1927; New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1997; Bianca Patrice Floyd, *Records and Recollections: Early Black History in Prince George's County, Maryland* (Riverdale, MD: M-N CPPC, 1989), 43-51.

decade. Plummer moved into his own cabin, between the mansion and the railroad tracks, that year and was given permission to farm several acres and to earn money from the sale of produce and chickens.

The Plummers developed a plan to escape from slavery. Using their marriage license as “proof” that they were Free Blacks, they hoped to make escape with their two children in 1842. Unfortunately, Emily shared their secret with an aunt and when they planned to escape they could not find the document. The aunt also told her mistress and Emily was reduced from working inside as a house servant and cook to working in the fields.

Emily’s mistress died in 1851 and her slaves were distributed among her heirs. Emily and her three children were sold at a slave auction in Upper Marlboro to the Thompson family living in Washington, D.C., where they would live until 1855. In that year the Thompsons moved to a Howard County estate, Woodlawn, where Emily and her children lived in an austere slave quarter. Whereas Adam had been allowed to visit his family twice weekly in Washington, D.C., such visits after 1855 were reduced to the Easter and Christmas holidays. Several of the Thompson children joined the Confederate Army and the family remaining at Woodlawn supported the cause.

The events leading to the Civil War had a destabilizing effect on the Plummer family. Anticipating that prices of slaves would diminish, plantation owners liquidated their investments by selling their slaves. Several members of the Plummers’ extended family were sold south, including one of their daughters, Sarah Miranda Plummer, who was sold to New Orleans. After slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia in 1862, one of their sons escaped there to freedom, to be followed by another in 1863, who joined the Union forces. After the publication of the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves of masters who supported the Confederacy, Emily escaped from Woodlawn with her children. Unfortunately, the Proclamation did not apply to slave-owners in border states who were nominally loyal, so that her master had them arrested and confined in the Baltimore City jail as run-aways. Learning that his family was incarcerated, Adam Plummer got permission to visit them in jail. Three weeks later, under circumstances that are not entirely clear, they were released after a judicial hearing. They boarded a train and for the first time in their twenty-two year marriage, the Plummers lived together as a family in Riversdale.

Adam was appointed as the foreman of the Riversdale plantation by Charles Benedict Calvert in the spring of 1864 and his wife became the cook for the Clark Hyatt family for wages. Following the end of the war the Plummers sought to bring their daughter, Sarah Miranda, back from New Orleans. A son was dispatched to retrieve her and her child. They returned to Riversdale in the fall of 1866. The family became founding members of the St.

Paul Baptist Church of Bladensburg. Since Charles Benedict Calvert had died in 1864, the Plummers sought a more permanent economic situation, and Adam purchased eight acres of land in East Hyattsville in 1868 from Benjamin Guy, one of the real estate developers who would be instrumental in the development of Hyattsville as a suburban community.

The history of Riversdale, however, offers more about inter-racial relations in a slave society. Like the master of Monticello, George Calvert had a long-term relationship with one of his slaves who bore him many children. Taking over control of the family property on his father's death in 1788, he entered into a long term relationship with Eleanor Beckett, who bore their first child in 1790. George Calvert married Rosalie Stier in 1799, and prevailed upon one of his indentured servants from England, William Norris, to marry Eleanor Beckett that same year. Although George and Rosalie Calvert had a comfortable and successful marriage that produced nine children, George Calvert continued his relationship with Eleanor Beckett. Two years after his marriage, Calvert manumitted ten of his slaves, including Eleanor Beckett Norris and her then five children. After William Norris's death, Calvert relocated Eleanor from his Mount Albion property to a farm in nearby Montgomery County, and thereafter manumitted four Norris children. In all, Calvert manumitted 23 members of the Beckett-Norris family.¹⁸²

¹⁸² See Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 278-84, Philip D. Morgan, "Interracial Sex in the Chesapeake and the British Atlantic World, c. 1770-1820," in *Sally Hemings & Thomas Jefferson: History, Memory, and Civic Culture* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1999), eds. Jan E. Lewis and Peter S. Onuf, pp. 52-84.



Riversdale Mansion

Travel and Transportation

Even with its demise as a tobacco port, Bladensburg continued to occupy a central place in the region's transportation system. This was especially true after the development of the new federal city in the 1790s. The major north-south road, now Route 1, followed the post road connecting the major cities along the Atlantic seaboard. Most importantly, it connected the District of Columbia with Maryland's most dynamic metropolis, Baltimore City, which became a hub for railroad and water transportation in the nineteenth century. Not surprisingly, this route would also be followed by the railroad in the not too distant future.

Route 1 may have been a direct route but it was never a reliable all-weather roadway until the introduction of modern road surfaces. Consequently it was dotted with taverns and inns – such as Bladensburg's George Washington House Inn, the Rossborough Inn in what would become College Park, the White House tavern in Beltsville, and the Vansville tavern – all of which served the needs of weary travellers and horses. Even the completion of the Baltimore-Washington turnpike did not represent a significant

improvement.¹⁸³

The road journey on the mail stage between Baltimore and Washington, D.C., took an entire day. By 1830 an average of one hundred stage coach passengers took this trip daily, spending \$2.75 for a ticket. The alternative route by steam boat was more costly, almost ten dollars, for a more restful sojourn which took from one to two days. That year approximately forty thousand people made the journey by stage, and another two thousand six hundred by boat. Transportation of commercial goods took even longer. At a cost of nine to ten dollars a ton, it would take two to three days to ship products by wagon, whereas by water it would be only five dollars a ton for a longer trip.¹⁸⁴

The entrepreneurs who incorporated the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in 1827, and pushed the first route into Baltimore's rich agricultural hinterland to secure that trade from the rival canal company, also recognized the potential of the railroad to revolutionize transportation between the two cities of Baltimore and Washington. They began planning the Washington Branch in 1833 and projected that the journey by rail would take only two hours, at a cost for passengers of \$2.50, and for freight a mere \$1.50 a ton. It is also not surprising that forward-looking planters who owned property along the proposed route, such as George Calvert, embraced the railroad.

The major challenge for the Washington Branch engineers was the construction of a massive stone bridge, connecting Relay and Elkridge, over the Patapsco River. Designed and built under the watchful eyes of engineer Benjamin H. Latrobe, Jr., son of the architect of the capital of the same name, it was a massive stone viaduct some 704 feet long constructed of local materials. Known as the Thomas Viaduct this structure is still being used on the main line, having survived the devastating floods of the Patapsco River, and it was so well constructed that it bears the weight of modern and much heavier trains.¹⁸⁵

The construction of the Washington Branch was marred by violent labor disputes between Waterloo and Vansville in 1834-1835. Irish and German immigrants provided cheap physical labor for almost every canal and railroad construction project in the antebellum period. Divided by ancient religious and cultural rivalries, the Irish often fought among themselves,

¹⁸³ J. Louis Kuethe, "A List of Maryland Mills, Taverns, Forges, and Furnaces of 1795." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 31 (1936):155-69, Virta, *A Pictorial History*, 89 (Rossborough Inn), White House Tavern (Brown's Tavern). Prince George's County, Historic Site Summary Sheet.

¹⁸⁴ James H. Dilts, *The Great Road: The Building of the Baltimore & Ohio, The Nation's First Railroad, 1828-1853* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), Chapters 11 and 12, 152 (fares), 157 (freight) [hereafter cited as Dilts, *The Great Road*].

¹⁸⁵ Dilts, *The Great Road*, chapter 12.

sometimes united to fight the Germans, and these workers combined to protest the employer's practice of paying them in depreciated paper money. In June 1834 rival Irish groups attacked one another's shanty towns, murdering two of their employers, and in the fall the Irish attacked German workers. State and local forces, including volunteers under the command of the manager of the Savage Factory, Horace Capron, united to put down the insurrection and to apprehend the murderers. Labor unrest continued. German workers with muskets attacked a group of their kinsmen over wages near Bladensburg in the spring of 1835. Irish workers burned a tavern at Waterloo in July of that year. Local residents looked forward to when this construction project would be finished.¹⁸⁶

The Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was completed in 1835. At a cost of almost one and a half million dollars, it spanned the thirty-mile distance between the nation's capitol and Baltimore, paralleling the Washington and Baltimore Turnpike, and acted as a stimulus to local economic development along its path. Other branches were quickly added to make connections to Annapolis, as well as other Maryland destinations, and after the Civil War the rival Pennsylvania Railroad jumped at the chance to build a spur line into Washington by taking over the financing and construction of the Baltimore and Potomac line to Southern Maryland. In this way, the Pennsylvania Railroad challenged the B&O's monopoly of rail traffic between the nation's capital and Baltimore.

Railroads, both in terms of their construction and improvements to their rolling stock, were at the cutting edge of technological development in the nineteenth century. Much of this progress would be more evident in far distant steel factories and locomotive shops, but there was also evidence of such innovation along the Washington Branch. Early railroad bridges, such as the Carroll and Thomas viaducts, were durable but costly stone structures. Looking for cheaper alternatives, engineers soon discovered the advantages of iron as a malleable construction material. Floods had destroyed two railroad bridges in 1847, one spanning the Little Patuxent river at Savage and the other over the Anacostia river at Bladensburg, and they were ultimately replaced by the novel Bollman Truss iron bridges. Latrobe, Wendel Bollman, and Albert Fink introduced a revolutionary bridge design, made of iron, which was widely copied in the nineteenth century. Almost all of these bridges were destroyed after being replaced with more modern structures, but one example has survived, located next to the Savage Factory near Laurel.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Dilts, *The Great Road*, 177-81; Horace Capron, *Memoirs*, 3 volumes (unpublished copy held by the Laurel Museum), I: 41-42.

¹⁸⁷ Dilts, *The Great Road*, 361-62.

Furnaces & Mills

Land owners also searched for profits from non-agricultural uses of their lands. The Snowdens wanted to develop ore deposits and were instrumental in developing the Muirkirk Furnace property near their Montpelier mansion.

The Snowdens had developed an iron works before 1734 on the north side of the Little Patuxent River. It was later identified as the Patuxent Furnace which was sold to Evan T. Ellicott & Company in 1831. The Ellicotts were a major force in the evolution of the Patapsco river as a center for flour milling and cotton manufacturing at this time. They erected another furnace to manufacture pig-iron into bars for use at their Avalon works.¹⁸⁸

The Ellicotts incorporated the Muirkirk Manufacturing Company in 1846 in another iron-rich location south of Laurel, on another parcel of land once owned by the Snowden family. Muirkirk was named after an iron-making area in Scotland. The Muirkirk Furnace, built sometime around 1847, was described in the 1850 manufacturing census. Capitalized at \$15,000, it employed 34 men in two buildings for monthly wages of between \$18-25, producing over 2,100 tons of pig iron, valued at \$52,000. In 1853 the firm was sold to New England industrialists who produced ordnance during the Civil War. Charles E. Coffin, a son of one of the industrialists, purchased the property in 1867, renaming it the Muirkirk Iron Company, and developed it into a major producer of high quality pig-iron.¹⁸⁹

Muirkirk became the site of a small industrial village. In addition to the furnace and its support structures, there were about thirty two-story frame row houses for the workers, a store, and a mansion which Coffin built on adjoining farm land. The firm continued operation until 1920, and as recently as six years ago, one beehive-shaped charcoal kiln and several workers' houses still stood at the site.¹⁹⁰

Plentiful rivers and streams served multiple purposes for residents on Maryland's western shore. They were a means of transportation as well as a valuable source of power which stimulated early industrial development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the earlier period most industrial sites operated on a small scale, employing only a few workers, and were designed primarily to serve local needs. Mills were often constructed of available stone and powered by water which was channeled through a race from an upstream dam to a wooden water wheel. The Calvert family utilized water to power grist mills and a saw mill

¹⁸⁸ Cook, *Montpelier and the Snowden Family*, 302.

¹⁸⁹ Muirkirk Furnace, Maryland Historical Trust Addendum Sheet, Virta, *A Pictorial History*, 128, and, for a drawing of the village, see G.M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1878*, ed. Frank White (Reprint ed. Riverdale, MD: Prince George's County Historical Society, 1975).

¹⁹⁰ I thank Susan Pearl for this information.

on their extensive properties near Bladensburg. Lumber was actually floated down the stream as a means of transportation. Contemporary maps also show at least two mills on the outskirts of Bladensburg throughout the nineteenth century. The most durable was Carleton Mill, also known as Digges, Penn's, or Moyer's Mill, which was a wooden structure at the western outskirts of the city that ground wheat throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The other, built by George Calvert in 1822, and known as the Avalon Mill, was on the north east border of Bladensburg outside the city limits. The Adelphi mill, the only mill from this period still standing, was built on the Northwest Branch circa 1796 to accommodate the increasing production of wheat in the region.¹⁹¹

Given the small size and limited operations of these grist mills, there is but scanty evidence from which to reconstruct their operations. The 1820 federal manufacturing census offers some insight into the Adelphi mill. Consuming between \$18-20,000 worth of wheat and corn, the mill employed three men, who worked for a total annual wage of between \$400-500, annually producing between \$20-22,500 worth of flour and meal. The two water-powered mills in Bladensburg are in the 1850 manufacturing census. Five men worked for Henry Carleton to produce meal and plaister and John Taylor employed five men and a woman to produce the same products at the Avalon Mill. Similarly the 1860 manufacturing census details information about a grist mill at Laurel Factory which employed a man and a woman, who were paid \$15 and \$5 in monthly wages respectively, and produced 10,000 bushels of meal annually, valued at \$4,000.¹⁹²

The Vansville district was also the site of one or more water driven powder mills. Near the border of Montgomery County, the Carroll family built a powder mill in the early eighteenth century. The 1820 manufacturing census lists a "powder establishment," which employed ten men, who produced 18,000 pounds of powder annually. It is not indicated in future manufacturing censuses.

On the Paint Branch, in the same general area of the Vansville district, the Washington Blanket and Woollen Manufactory company was incorporated in 1814. The manufacturing census lists it as not being in operation in 1820, but it was in full operation in subsequent censuses. In 1850, under the

¹⁹¹ Virta, *A Pictorial History*, 57 (Carlton or Penn's Mill), 79 (Riggs or Adelphi Mill); Arnett, *Maryland: A New Guide...*, 392 (Adelphi Mill). Many of these mills are identified in the various atlases of the county: Riversdale Plantation Map of 1853; Simon J. Martenet, *Atlas of Prince George's County, 1861*, ed. Joyce W. McDonald (Reprint ed., Riverdale, MD: Prince George's County Historical Society, 1995); and Hopkins, *Atlas of 1878*. For a discussion of the Riversdale Plantation Map, see George H. Callcott, "The Riversdale Plantation Map of 1853," *Riversdale Letter* (Winter 1995): 2-4.

¹⁹² This information was taken from the manuscript Manufacturing Censuses for 1820, 1850, 1860, 1880 which was generously shared by Dr. Stephen Hardy. Average wages were determined by dividing the number of workers into the wages paid.

direction of Owen Carroll, it employed 8 men and 36 women, who produced 6,500 yards of woollen cloth and blankets, valued at \$4,500. A decade later he employed 6 men and 3 women, who produced 9,000 yards of coarse woollens, valued at \$5,000. This business may have failed during the Civil War. The factory was indicated on the 1861 Martenet map and in the Hopkins Atlas of 1878 was indicated as "Old Grist Mill, Owen Carroll."¹⁹³

The true potential for water power would be realized in the nineteenth century with the development of Laurel Factory, the center of a industrial community renamed the Laurel in 1875, on property owned by the Snowden family. This development reflects not only the forces of modernization but also the willingness of the slave-holding landed elite to embrace innovation and new technology in search of profit.

Nicholas Snowden (1789-1831) recognized the untapped potential of the Patuxent River when he built a stone flouring mill in 1811 on a site which would later become Laurel. In 1820 the manufacturing census identified it as a merchant mill, representing an investment of \$2,000, consuming between 10-15,000 bushels of wheat to produce wheat for breadstuff valued at \$12-18,000 annually. It employed two male workers whose combined annual wages were \$600. Snowden leased this property to an entrepreneur, who converted the flour mill into a factory for spinning yarn, for a twelve year term in 1824. During this period Robert Pilsen installed the first loom for weaving cloth and cotton duck - "duck" being the Dutch word for canvas. These products were carted by wagon to Elkridge and then shipped to other factories in the region. At one time over 100 workers were employed in this factory.¹⁹⁴

The full potential for building a cotton manufactory on this site would be realized after 1836 under the management of Horace Capron (1804-1885). He was the son of a physician who devoted his creative energy to developing early cotton and woolen factories in New York, such as the Oneida Mill (1807) and the Oriskany Company (1809), before establishing the firm of Scofield and Capron, a woollen manufactory in Walden village in Orange County, New York. Frustrated in his desire to obtain an appointment to the military academy at West Point, young Capron drifted into the manufacturing business by working in the factories of Peter and Abraham Schenks in Dutchess County, New York. When the owners of the Warren Cotton factory on the Gunpowder River in Baltimore County sought a new manager to modernize their facility in 1829, the Schenks recommended Capron. The Warren factory employed 1,200 workers to produce calicoes. Capron's

¹⁹³ In addition to the information provided in the Manufacturing Censuses cited above, see also "An Act to Incorporate the Washington Blanket and Woollen Manufacturing Company of Prince-George's County," Chapter CXLV, *Laws of Maryland* (1814).

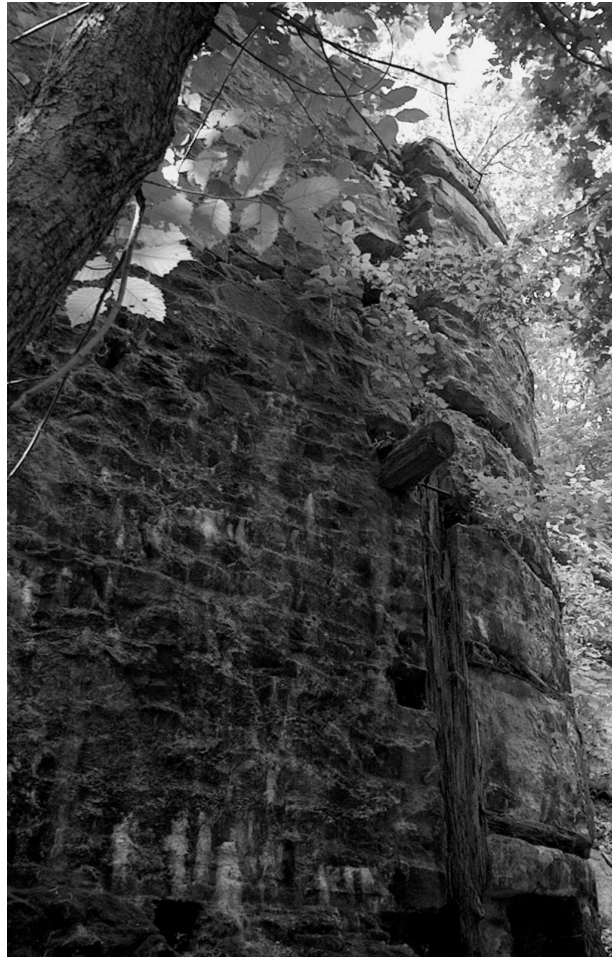
¹⁹⁴ For an account of Nicholas Snowden's activities, see Cook, *Montpelier and the Snowden Family*, 29-32.

reputation as a creative and efficient manager was grounded on his ability to increase production two-fold, using the same machinery and reducing the work-force, during his two-year tenure. The Warren factory burned down in 1831 and was not rebuilt. Capron quickly found new employment at the Savage Factory on the Little Patuxent River at a higher salary. The challenge there was to replace the antiquated system for powering the machines, which used inefficient and unreliable cross shafts and cog-wheels, with a modern one using an overhead power shaft and belts. He accomplished this without reducing production. As he observed in his unpublished memoirs: "These various successes had brought me into notice among the most prominent men not previously familiar, or personally interested in manufactures."¹⁹⁵

Horace Capron assumed control of the Snowden family manufacturing interests soon after his marriage to one of Nicholas Snowden's daughters in 1834. Following the death of Nicholas Snowden in 1831 and the expiration of the factory lease, Capron purchased property in the area of the factory held by other family heirs and incorporated the Patuxent Manufacturing Company in 1836. The purpose of this new corporation was to manufacture cotton, iron, and other articles. The investors, including two of his brothers-in-law and several other persons, pledged to raise \$200,000 to capitalize this enterprise.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ For a general history of the regional factory development, see Henry K. Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley: Cradle of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2001). For Capron's account of his career, see Capron, *Memoirs*, I: 11-41 (quote, 41).

¹⁹⁶ "An Act to incorporate the Patuxent Company," Chapter 26, *Laws of Maryland* (1835).



Remains of the Dam on the Patuxent River

By 1845 two large factories - Laurel Factory and Avondale Factory - had been built on the site employing between 700-800 operatives, most of whom were women. The firm also constructed fifty blocks of two-story stone and brick houses for these workers, most of which are still standing. They were rented for between \$1.25 and \$2.00 a month. The monthly payroll was about \$9,000. Capron was proud that he always paid wages in money and never cheated his employees by issuing company scrip.¹⁹⁷

The 1850 manufacturing census describes the Patuxent Manufacturing Company as employing 200 men and 300 women operatives. The men earned an average monthly wage of \$9.54 and the women \$5.00. The factory annually produced three million yards of sheeting valued at \$250,000. The Avondale factory employed 15 men and 40 women and it produced cotton osnaburg and

¹⁹⁷ For Capron's descriptions, see *Memoirs*, I: 65, 66.

sheeting valued at \$25,000. Both factories were served by the Laurel Machine Company which employed 45 men and utilized steam power to produce machines for the mills. In 1850 the firm built a more substantial mill dam across the Patuxent River - 222 feet wide and twenty feet high - which channeled water into a 640 foot race to power water turbines. While water continued to be the primary source of power the firm also installed small steam engines to power the factories when the water level was too low.

This village of two thousand people was run as a company town. As a contemporary magazine observed in 1848: "...there is no community in the country, where the obligation of honor, honesty, and truth, and of religion and morality are more scrupulously observed." In the absence of municipal government, Capron attributed this idyllic environment to the fact that as the manager of the corporation he forbade the sale of spiritous liquors on company land, or the establishment of grog shops within a mile of the community. He was especially proud of a system of conflict resolution where he would sit in judgment of every type of community dispute as if he were the manor lord. The community was served by four churches, a lyceum, and an assembly room, and Capron also erected a school house at his own expense.¹⁹⁸

Capron was also a progressive force in the application of modern agricultural techniques on his wife's extensive land holdings. He proudly wrote about the increased production due to application of fertilizers and crop rotation. He was an officer in local, state, and national agricultural societies and published his findings widely in agricultural journals. It is not surprising that in 1867 President Andrew Johnson appointed him as the head of the precursor of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and that he would later be called to Japan as an advisor to modernize its agricultural practices.¹⁹⁹

Horace Capron severed his ties to the Laurel Factory after 1852. Following the death of his wife in 1849 and the long term effects of the Crash of 1847 on the operation of the Patuxent Manufacturing Company, which caused the failure of many other manufacturing concerns throughout the nation, he sold his interests to his partner, George P. Tiffany, and moved west. George Wheeler purchased the Avondale factory.

The history of the Laurel Factory following Capron's departure reflected the vicissitudes facing cotton manufactories in the late nineteenth century. Fire destroyed the mill in 1855 but it was immediately rebuilt. The manufacturing census of 1860 records that the mill employed 40 men and 210 women. The men were paid an average monthly wage of \$25 and the women

¹⁹⁸ For a description of the Laurel Factory village, see "A Visit to Col. Capron's Farm," *American Farmer* IV (July 1848): 6; for Capron's comment, *Memoirs*, I: 67.

¹⁹⁹ For short biographical treatments of Horace Capron, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, II: 484-5; Virta, *A Pictorial History*, 108.

\$9.52. The population census of the same year shows that there were 285 foreign-born in the Vansville District, which represented 61% of the county's foreign-born population, and suggests that immigrants were beginning to supplant native born workers in the Laurel factories. The mill suspended operations during the Civil War and faced an uncertain future in the even more competitive post-war period. After closing again in the spring of 1877 it was reorganized with a new superintendent, General G.H. Nye, who ran the operation until 1886 when the mill was put up for auction. The notation "Scotch Town" on the outskirts of Laurel on the 1878 county atlas reflects the fact that immigrants working at the factory had carved out their own residential area. Although the pattern of ownership is unclear thereafter, it is likely that the Laurel Mill was purchased by the Cotton Duck Corporation, which owned and operated many Baltimore area mills at this time. In 1903 the president of that corporation announced the closing of its smaller units, including the Laurel Mill, and the transfer of their production to southern mills where costs were lower. Thereafter the mill made draw strings for tobacco products for awhile, but the building was vacant during World War I. The mill was razed in the 1940s and the mill dam breached to allow fish to spawn upstream in the 1950s. While remnants of the mill dam and the race are still evident today, the old factory site has been erased by the construction of the community pool.²⁰⁰

The Avondale factory continued in production much longer. Recognizing that there was a glut of cotton manufactories in the state, and that wheat and other grains were being produced in greater volume in the Laurel region, George Wheeler converted the firm back into a merchant mill. The 1860 federal census describes it as a water powered merchant mill producing 8,700 barrels of flour valued at \$49,200. Its work force consisted of three men whose average monthly wage was \$28.33. Wheeler sold his interests in the property to Benjamin F. Crabbs in 1878 and the mill became known as Crabbs Mill until 1906, when he sold out. Between 1915-17 the flour mill was converted back to a factory producing cloth embroidery for dresses and military insignia patches. After World War I it became a tractor factory and two wings were added to the main stone building. The machines fell silent in the early 1950s and the city of Laurel purchased the property in 1961. After being used to house the city department of Parks and Recreation until the

²⁰⁰ See material held in vertical files at the Laurel Museum, which includes a typed "Brief History of the Cotton Mill," especially "New Laurel Factory," *Planter's Advocate and Southern Maryland Advertiser*, 10 July 1857; *Baltimore Sun*, 15 August 1877 (mill re-opens under Nye), *Laurel Review*, 3 April 1886 (public sale announcement, description of property), "And with the Mill, a Town Was Born," *Laurel News Leader*, 3 Sept. 1970 (includes picture of mill). The Laurel Museum also holds the manuscript diaries (1877-80, 1882 and 1885) of manager General George H. Nye. See also, "Laurel Cotton Mills Dam," Maryland Archeological Site Survey.

deterioration of the building made it uninhabitable, and after being listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1979, the city debated how best to preserve and renovate this historic building. The question was resolved in 1991 when homeless persons, sheltering in the building, accidentally set it on fire, resulting in its total destruction.²⁰¹

The Civil War and Reconstruction

The Civil War precipitated enormous changes in Maryland. Although nominally a union state, large numbers of Marylanders joined the Confederate forces, and many of those who remained openly sympathized with the southern cause, especially if they owned slaves. It was only through the intervention of the national government that Maryland did not join its sister slave holding states in 1861. The Vansville and Bladensburg districts, which comprise the ATHA, represented 30% of the total Prince George's County population in 1860. Compared to the rest of the county, it had 200 slave holders (25% of the total), 2,190 slaves (20%), 295 free blacks (25%), and 365 (77%) foreign born.²⁰²

The military conflict was brought home to Marylanders in 1863 and 1864. Large numbers of men marched and fought battles in Maryland during General Robert E. Lee's 1863 campaign but Confederate troops treated civilians with respect. All of that would change in 1864. In response to the harassment of civilians by northern troops in Virginia, Confederate General Jubal A. Early sought revenge by extorting goods and treasure from the general population as his troops roamed Maryland. While the main operation took place in Frederick and Montgomery counties, the commander of the Confederate Maryland Line, General Bradley T. Johnson, brought the war to Beltsville.

General Johnson's orders were to disrupt rail transportation and communications around Baltimore and to liberate Confederate prisoners from the Point Lookout prisoner of war camp in St. Mary's county, who would then participate in an attack on the national capital. He unleashed Major Harry Gilmore who attacked the rail lines north of the city with great success. After a leisurely march, during which General Johnson visited the estates of old friends who were Confederate sympathizers, his force ultimately moved to disrupt the rail line at Beltsville. There he found a thousand dismantled

²⁰¹See material held in vertical files at the Laurel Museum, especially *Laurel Leader*, "City Studies Avondale Mill Office-retail Proposal," 4 June 1981 (picture), David N. Rubin, "Empty Avondale is rich in history," 25 April 1985 (picture), Timothy W. Maier, "Homeless men tried to Avondale Mill blaze, 26 December 1991, and Leigh Bassett, "Fire Destroys Avondale Mill," *Old Mill News* (Spring 1992): 11 (pictures). See also "Avondale Mill Complex," Maryland Archeological Site Survey.

²⁰² These figures were derived from information in the *Atlas* (1861).

cavalry of Wilson's Division who were bivouacked near the train station. The Confederates charged and scattered the Unionist position. The battle of Beltsville was over as quickly as it had begun.²⁰³

As they were moving towards Upper Marlboro on their way to Point Lookout, General Early recalled Johnson's force, cancelling their orders to free Confederate prisoners, and directed them to his headquarters at Silver Spring. Marching down the Washington road to the Agricultural College, and then following the line of Federal pickets defending the capitol, they were assigned to guard the rear of the Confederate force against attacks by the Second Massachusetts cavalry. After skirmishes at Rockville and Poolesville, they re-crossed the Potomac into Virginia.

General Johnson summarized his efforts with some satisfaction: We had isolated Baltimore from the North, and cut off Washington from the United States, having made a circuit from Frederick to Cockeysville on the east, to Beltsville on the south, and through Rockville and Poolesville on the west. We had failed in the main object of our expedition, which was to release the prisoners at Point Lookout, convert them in to a new army, capture Washington, establish our communications across the Potomac by Manassas Junction...and by making this a new base of operations, force Grant to let go his hold and come to the rescue of Pennsylvania.²⁰⁴

Even he realized that this plan was far too ambitious for the force that was employed to implement it.

As General Johnson's description of his part in the Early raid revealed, there were many Confederate sympathizers in the Old Line State willing to support the cause. Those counties along the Potomac River were perfect spots for clandestine activities, moving spies and contraband goods across the border, which the federal authorities were never able to contain. Union forces had to be posted along the railroad lines to protect them from sabotage. In one incident in 1862 sentries apprehended a Confederate sympathizer unscrewing the nuts and bolts of the railroad bridge over the Little Patuxent River near the

²⁰³ Bradley T. Johnson, (General C.S.A.). "My Ride Around Baltimore in Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-Four," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 30 (1902): 215-25, as well as Timothy R. Ackinlose, *Sabres and Pistols: The Civil War Career of Colonel Harry Gilmor, C.S.A.* (Gettysburg: Stan Clark Military Books, 1997), 105-22.; for another first person narrative, see also Harry Gilmor (Colonel, C.S.A.), *Four Years in the Saddle* (NY: Harper & Bros., 1866). See also, Richard R. Duncan, "Maryland's Reaction of Early's Raid in 1864: A Summer of Bitterness," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 64/3 (Fall 1964): 248-79.

²⁰⁴ Johnson, "My Ride Around Baltimore in Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-Four," 223-24.

Annapolis junction.²⁰⁵

Slavery died a hard death in Maryland. Although Maryland was technically a slave state, the institution on the eve of the Civil War was concentrated in two areas, Southern Maryland and the Lower Eastern Shore, and there were many Free Blacks residing in the other areas, especially Baltimore City. Because Maryland was a border state, one which the Lincoln administration wanted to remain loyal to the union, federal authorities feared undermining popular support for the union, and were therefore reluctant to impose policies to free the slaves which were imposed in areas occupied by the northern armies. Indeed, when General Benjamin Butler arrived in 1861 to occupy Baltimore City he assured the Governor that federal forces were available to put down a rumored slave insurrection.

There were a number of factors, however, that eroded the institution of slavery in Maryland during the Civil War. They include the proximity to the national capital; the presence of the Union military and the recruitment of black soldiers; and the evolution of free labor. African Americans, both free and slave, paid an enormous human toll to achieve the destruction of slavery.²⁰⁶

The District of Columbia acted as a powerful magnet to slaves from the surrounding areas who yearned to be free. As the chief supply depot for the eastern theater of war and the national capital, the District offered to African Americans jobs that paid good wages. This attraction was magnified in April of 1862 when slavery was abolished in the national capital. As a Union officer observed in 1864:

Nine owners out of ten will insist upon it that their slaves are much attached to them and would not leave them unless enticed or forced away. My conviction is that this is a delusion. I have yet to see a slave of this kind. If their families could be cared for or taken with them, the whole slave population of Maryland would make its exodus to Washington.²⁰⁷

The presence of Union forces in Maryland also served to destabilize slavery. Many northern soldiers were sympathetic to the plight of slaves. Runaway slaves flocked to the army camps where they were often welcomed

²⁰⁵ "The Arrest of One Bloomenfield," *News and Notes from the Prince George's County Historical Society*, 37-38.

²⁰⁶ See Ira Berlin, et al., eds. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series I, Volume 1: The Destruction of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), Chapter 6: Maryland, 331-41 (essay), 342-91 (documents).

²⁰⁷ William Birney, 28 January 1864, in Ira Berlin, et al., eds. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series II, The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 215.

as an additional source of labor. Men were allowed to stay; women and children were sent to refugee camps. In the early years of the war loyal Maryland slave-owners successfully recovered their property. Congressman Charles B. Calvert, the master of Riversdale, importuned the government on behalf of his constituents to restore runaway slaves to their masters, and complained bitterly when one of his own slaves accompanied northern troops on a train to Harper's Ferry. Reflecting Calvert's influence, and President Lincoln's concern about losing support in this crucial border state, government officials tried to accommodate these requests.²⁰⁸

The decision to recruit African Americans into the union military in 1863 further undercut slavery. Union recruiters initially sought to enroll able-bodied free blacks and slaves of disloyal owners; by 1864 they were willing to include even those who were not perfectly fit. The reaction to this policy in Maryland was surprising. Loyal slaveholders complained that recruiters allowed their slaves to enroll along with those of disloyal owners. Non-slave owners were unhappy that their labor pool of Free Blacks was shrinking, giving an advantage to slave owners who had a reliable labor source. By November 1863 recruiters were accepting able-bodied black men regardless of the allegiance of their owners.²⁰⁹

Union recruiters were especially aggressive in freeing slaves of disloyal owners who had placed them in slave pens or county jails to prevent their escape. Colonel William Birney, who was given the job of recruiting a colored infantry regiment in Maryland, visited Camlin's Baltimore City slave pen in 1863, which he described:

The part of the prison in which slaves are confined is a brick-paved yard about 25 feet in width by 40 in length, closed in on all sides. The front wall is a high brick one; the other sides are occupied by the cells or prisons two or three stories in height. The yard is not covered in. It is paved with brick. A few benches, a hydrant, numerous wash tubs and clothes lines covered with drying clothes were the only objects in it. In this place I found 26 men, 1 boy, 29 women, and 3 infants. Sixteen of the men were shackled together, by couples...

Five of the male slaves, and two of the females, belonged to disloyal Prince George's County residents. Most of them had been imprisoned there, for no other offense than being a slave, for longer than a year.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ See Congressman Calvert's letters, 8 July 1861 (p. 347), 17 July 1861 (p. 169-71), 31 March 1862 (p. 363), in Berlin, *Freedom, Ser. I: The Destruction of Slavery*.

²⁰⁹ Berlin, *Freedom, Ser. II: The Black Military Experience*, 197-225.

²¹⁰ William Birney, Superintendent of Maryland Black Recruitment, to HQ of the Middle Department and 8th Army Corps, 27 July 1863, Berlin, *Freedom, Ser. II: The Black Military Experience*, 198-99.

In 1864 another union force went to Upper Marlboro to recruit slaves who were incarcerated in the Prince George's County jail. An officer reported that "...I went up and found the Court yard filled with people of all colors and sexes..." and then he entered the lower part of the jail which was "...two rooms about ten feet square each, in the front room were about a dozen women with their children, all colored, who were confined there by orders of their so-called masters for safe keeping. I was informed ... that many of them had been there since the War broke out, and that their masters were some of them in the Rebel Army....In the back room were eight able bodied men (Colored) all chained to one large staple in the center of the room, by both legs, with Chains like ordinary cast chains, each manacle had been put in hot and rivetted down with a hammer and anvil....The filth and stench was...utterly inhuman...." Against the protests of the jailors, the men - after their chains had been removed - were enlisted into the Union army, and the women freed.²¹¹

The resentment between the Army recruiters and the slave owners, many of whom were Confederate sympathizers, was clearly captured by Colonel William Birney in 1863:

The Western Shore slave owners are more unscrupulous than the same class elsewhere. Two of them killed my lieutenant...others helped off the murderers, nearly all of them justified the murder; and now, we have strong grounds for suspecting that four of my soldiers, who have died suddenly - after an hour's convulsions - have been poisoned by the emissaries of these men.²¹²

The families of the African Americans recruited into the Union Army also paid a heavy price. In the south, where the Union Army was in occupation, assistance was provided for families of soldiers. In Maryland, none was available, and those families that were able to escape to contraband camps at Point Lookout or in Washington, D.C., were still susceptible to arrest as runaways. Families of Free Blacks who remained were sometimes evicted; those of slaves could expect harsh treatment.

Emancipation ought to have been the death blow to the institution of slavery but the Maryland slave-owners showed remarkable ingenuity in transforming freedmen into second class citizens. President Lincoln's famous Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves in 1863 in the south, did not affect slaves in the ostensibly loyal border states. Maryland's general emancipation bill went into effect on 1 November 1864 formally ending the

²¹¹ Lt. Col. Joseph Perkins to Superintendent of Maryland Black Recruitment, 28 March 1864, Berlin, *Freedom, Ser. II: The Black Military Experience*, 217-19.

²¹² Col. William Birney [endorsement], 8 Nov. 1863, Berlin, *Freedom, Ser. II: The Black Military Experience*, 214.

peculiar institution in the state. Slave owners, especially in the lower Eastern Shore, quickly took advantage of apprenticeship laws to bind young African American children to themselves. Such apprenticeship contracts were registered in the country Orphan's Courts and enforced by the legal system. Since few parents were willing to leave their children, this meant that they were tethered to their former masters as well. Union military authorities tried to counteract this practice with some success, but ultimately freedmen found themselves facing the tender mercies of their former owners. Freedmen were also encouraged to enter into binding labor contracts as wage laborers. The contracts were often enforced to their detriment.²¹³

During the war the federal government established the Freedmen's Bureau to assist former slaves in their transition to freedom in areas occupied by union forces. The Bureau established an office for Prince George's County in Bladensburg in June of 1866. Major Henry, the Superintendent of the office, observed that fewer than half of the 13,677 colored people who were counted in the 1860 census remained in the county, creating a major labor shortage. The Bureau sought to encourage the establishment of freedmen's schools, to assist freedmen to become self-sufficient, and adjudicate disputes in a hostile legal environment.²¹⁴

The Freedmen's Bureau assisted freedmen in building and staffing schools. Forbidden from learning to read and write by the slave codes, freedmen and their supporters recognized that education was an essential component of independence. In July 1867 Major Henry reported:

there are at present two Freedmen's schools in operation in this County, one at Bladensburg and the other at Muirkirk Furnace, with some 100 scholars. The lumber of the school house at Bladensburg was furnished by the Bureau. The one at Muirkirk was erected by a Mr. Coffin of Boston. The New York Society of Friends sends the teacher at this place, and the N. E. Society, the one at Muirkirk. Lands have been obtained for school purposes at the following places, and school houses will be erected during the fall, as soon as harvesting is over; Beltsville, near Laurel, Oxen Run, Marlboro, Nottingham, and Piscataway.²¹⁵

In October 1866 a Colored Free School Society organized in Upper Marlboro,

²¹³ See Ira Berlin, et al., eds. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series I, Volume II, The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Upper South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Chapter 4: Maryland, 481-99 (essay), 499-548 (documents).

²¹⁴ Major G.E. Henry to Lt. Col. William M. Rogers, 22 Oct. 1866, file A-9691, held by the Freedmen & Social History Project, University of Maryland, College Park.

²¹⁵ Henry to Rogers, 19 July 1867, file A-9691, Freedmen & Social History Project.

affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church, pledging “each female member to pay 20 cents per month and each male member to pay 30 cents per month” which they felt would be adequate to support the school. All of this was done in the face of persistent community opposition. In the words of Major Henry: “I think the objecting to the education and improvement of colored people is not as strong as it was; still there is much opposition manifested to their being allowed the chance of improvement in any form.”²¹⁶

The Freedmen’s Bureau had a special interest in the incorporation of freedmen into the free labor economic system. Freedmen worked as field hands for “\$10-15 a month with rations and quarters and the privilege of making a garden and raising chickens, pigs, &c.” Only a few worked “shares”; where they were share-croppers dividing the profits equally with the property owner after the harvest. Planters complained about the scarcity of labor, the indolence and insubordination of freedmen, and the meddling of the Freedmen’s Bureau in local affairs. Freedmen complained about ill-treatment, an inability to collect wages due them, and an unresponsive legal system to adjudicate their complaints fairly.²¹⁷

The Bureau felt a special responsibility to adjudicate labor disputes between freedmen and their employers. One of the greatest problems concerned workers leaving their employment before the end of their contract. Not surprisingly, employers refused to pay any uncollected wages. In some cases employers purposely drove off the worker to avoid payment; in others, the worker lost interest in the job and wanted to move on. While many freedmen worked under oral agreements, or entered into long term contracts, the Bureau favored monthly written contracts for their protection.²¹⁸

The state legal system presented one of the greatest problems to freedmen. Although emancipation ought to have vested freedmen with the privileges of equal citizenship, there were reports that local authorities refused to accept their testimony in disputes with whites, and that before white juries in the county courts “it has been a hard matter to secure the justice due them.” Similarly, there was a report in 1865 that a freedman convicted of a minor crime was whipped as part of his punishment, which, while not authorized by statute as punishment for blacks or whites, was defended at the time by the State’s Attorney as the “common unwritten law of the land.” Similarly,

²¹⁶ Report of the Trustees of the Colored Free School Society of the Town of Upper Marlboro, 1 Oct. 1866, file A-10202; Henry to Rogers, 19 July 1867 (quote), file A-9691, Freedmen & Southern Society Project.

²¹⁷ Henry to Rogers, 14 July 1866, 22 Oct. 1866, 18 June 1867, 19 July 1867, file A-9691, Freedmen & Southern Society Project.

²¹⁸ See Ira Berlin, et al., eds. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series I, Volume II, The War Time Genesis of Free Labor: The Upper South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Chapter 4: Maryland, 481-99 (essay), 499-548 (documents).

notwithstanding a decision that apprenticing African American children was unconstitutional, a Freedmen's Bureau officer reported that "...the decision is little regarded in certain parts of the state, and every obstacle is thrown in the way of parents recovering their children, by those who have them in possession, and by the local authorities."²¹⁹

Confronted with such attitudes, it is not surprising that African Americans relied on themselves to organize their communities in the immediate post-war period, or moved out of the area altogether. Those that stayed often developed communities centered around churches and schools.

The experience of the Calvert slave family, the Plummers, illustrates the options open to freedmen. One of their first objectives was to recover family members who had been sold "down the river" to Louisiana. They were successful, where others were not, because family members had learned to write as slaves and knew where their kin were. While many of the Plummers left the Riversdale plantation in search of better opportunities, Adam F. Plummer purchased eight acres in east Hyattsville for a thousand dollars in 1868. Full payment was due in two years but Plummer was able to pay it off six months early by borrowing from family and friends. Within four years he repaid them as well. After constructing a log house, Plummer moved his family from Riversdale, and lived at his new "Mount Rose" property until his death in 1905.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Report of a trip to ascertain the condition of the freed people in the Counties of St. Marys, Charles, & Prince George's, Maryland, by Lt. S.A. Clark, 21 August 1865, file A-9860, Freedmen & Southern Society Project.

²²⁰ Floyd, *Records and Recollections*, 45-48.



Abraham Hall

African Americans also established a small residential community called Rossville, near Muirkirk. This community developed around Queen's Chapel, established in 1868, which was also the location of the freedmen's school, and found employment on neighboring farms or at the Muirkirk Furnace. After the death of a local land-owner, land near the church was subdivided, and families were able to purchase lots and build permanent homes. They also formed a benevolent association, Rebecca Lodge #6, Benevolent Sons and Daughters of Abraham, and built a wooden meeting house that is still standing, known as Abraham Hall. Such benevolent societies provided mutual financial support in times of crisis, including death benefits, and were a critical component of community cohesion at a time when government provided no social services. When the Queen's Chapel church burned down in the 1890s the congregation worshiped in Abraham Hall until the new church was completed in 1901. Other African-American churches also held services there from time to time.²²¹

²²¹ "Rebecca Lodge #6 of the Benevolent Sons and Daughters of Abraham," Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form; Susan G. Pearl, *African American Heritage Survey* (Upper Marlboro, MD: Prince George's County Planning Department, Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning Commission, 1996), 17-22.

African-American churches also played an important role in community building in Bladensburg. Sarah Miranda Plummer, a former slave who had been sold to New Orleans and returned following the war, founded a Baptist meeting which worshipped in her home. In 1874 the congregation purchased the Bladensburg Presbyterian Church from a group that had befriended local African Americans since before the Civil War. Named the St. Paul Baptist Church, the old Presbyterian Church is now known as the Free Hope Baptist Church (since 1970).²²²



Free Hope Baptist Church

Suburbanization

The Reconstruction period in national politics coincided with suburban development in this region. Developers recognized the potential for growth beyond the limits of the District of Columbia and organized several residential projects designed to accommodate the growing demand for middle-class housing. One of the first was a community named Spa City in 1868, to be

²²² "St. Paul's Baptist Church," Prince George's County, Historic Site Summary Sheet; Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form.

built on the outskirts of Bladensburg, near the mineral springs. Another promoted The Highlands in the 1870s, where Cottage City later developed, and constructed several homes. The third sought to expand an existing community, Hyattsville. The key element in all of these plans was the proximity of the railroad. Only one house survives of those built in the Highlands around 1870. The most successful of the communities of this period was Hyattsville, first subdivided in 1873, and described as early as 1878 as “a beautiful village, [with] tasteful houses in the modern style of architecture, ornamented with gardens and lawns . . . one of the foremost villages between Baltimore and Washington.”²²³ Hyattsville emerged as a combination of a residential and light commercial/ industrial community which straddled the railroad, as well and the main road between Washington and Baltimore. It was soon followed by other successful residential subdivisions of the late 1880s: Charlton Heights (now Berwyn Heights), College Lawn (now College Park), and Riverdale Park.²²⁴



Riverdale Train Station

²²³ Dawson Lawrence, “Historical Sketch of Prince George County, MD,” 1878.

²²⁴ Alan Virta, “Only a Twenty Minutes Ride from Washington,” *News and Notes from the Prince George’s County Historical Society*, 14 (June 1986): 25-28; “Hyattsville Historic District,” National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form; Gibb and Creveling, “A Phase I Archeological Survey...,” 25.

