



The Patapsco Forest Reserve: Establishing a “City Park” for Baltimore, 1907-1941

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THE PATAPSCO

My own – my native river,
Thou flashest to the day –
And gatherest up thy waters
In glittering array;
The spirits of thy bosom
Are waking from their rest,
And O! their shouts are banishing
Sad feelings from my breast.

From Charles Soran, *The Patapsco and Other Poems*, Third Edition,
with Additions. (Baltimore: Printed by Sherwood & Co., 1858)

In 1897, a contributor to the editorial pages of the *Baltimore News* informed readers that Baltimore had “but one great park.” Rather than lavish praise on Druid Hill Park, however, the editorialist chose to draw attention to the “undeveloped condition” of the city’s other parks. After taking the mayor to task for ignoring the problem and accusing the city of “wastefulness, neglect and bad management,” the writer concluded: “The parks of our city should be for the people – all the people – not for a particular class, or for those living in a particular district. Park pleasures and benefits should be available to all, and when a city grows as large as Baltimore now is it is self-evident that one park will not do for all. We should have a series of parks adequate to the wants of

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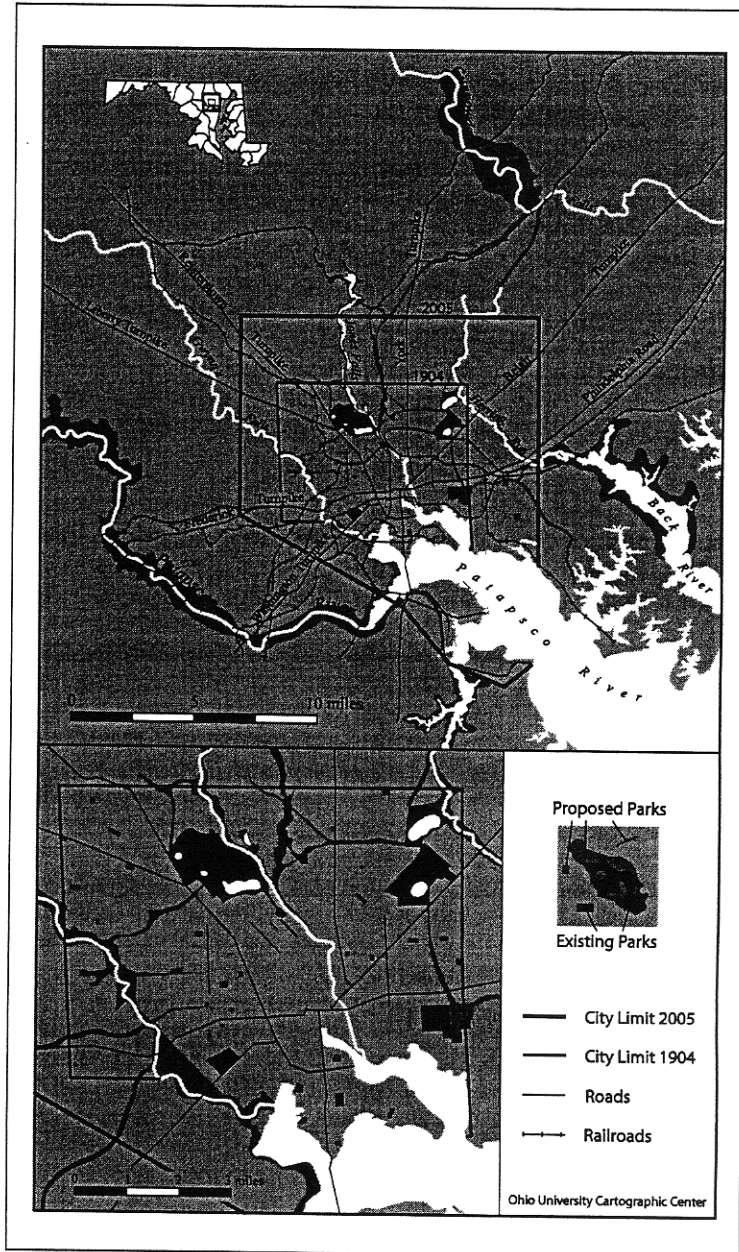
the people.”¹

Over the next ten years, conservationists, civic organizations, and government officials would see to it that improvements were made to the city's parks. In 1902 the city took a critical step when it hired the landscape architecture firm, Olmsted Brothers, to conduct a survey of park resources and to identify potential park expansion sites. In addition to promoting park development within Baltimore City, the firm proposed that the city government purchase “a belt of outlying property” in order to ensure that “the inevitable growth into the suburbs might be properly directed” and that “certain tracts of land in the path of this expansion might be retained for parks.”² Included in this belt was the Patapsco River Valley³ (Figure 1). Located in the surrounding counties beyond the city's limits, the Patapsco Valley presented proponents of the Olmsted plan with a unique challenge. To preserve this area would require a successful appeal to a broad spectrum of potential constituencies and cooperation from multiple layers of government.

The story of the Patapsco Forest Reserve advances our understanding of Progressive-Era park building by casting light on the complex web of relationships that enabled a forest reserve – and later a park – to be created at this site. As landownership records, state government documents, newspaper accounts, and the original Olmsted Brothers reports show, members of Baltimore's progressive elite class teamed with the Maryland State Board of Forestry to establish the reserve. As our research demonstrates, the strategy they adopted – which combined the spirit of the City Beautiful movement with the pragmatism of utilitarian conservation – coupled with the proximity of the proposed reserve to Baltimore, proved to be critical when it came to enlisting the support of key allies, including conservationists, public utilities, industrialists, and suburban real estate speculators and developers. Proponents argued that a state-owned and managed forest reserve would meet state, city, and private needs by promoting scientific forest management practices, protecting the Patapsco's watershed, creating recreational opportunities for urban residents, increasing the economic value of suburban developments, and safeguarding the viability of the river's industries and public utilities. In short, state ownership would ensure the Patapsco's economic viability while providing a “city park” for nearby Baltimore.

According to Witold Rybczynski, “The history of planning of the American city has been chiefly a story of private accomplishments and private monuments: palatial department stores, railroad terminals, skyscrapers, baseball stadiums.” He cites one important exception.

Figure 1 (next page). (Top) Major Stream Valleys, Baltimore, Maryland. Source: Olmsted Bros., Report upon the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore, 1904. (Bottom, left) Proposed and Existing Parks, Baltimore, Maryland ca. 1904. Source: Olmsted Bros., Report upon the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore, 1904. (Bottom, right) Hutzler Camp Site, Patapsco State Forest, 1921. Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3933-179.



During the second half of the nineteenth century, "almost every large city ... planned and built a public park." In many cases, a system of public parks was designed and constructed. What is striking about these parks, especially those designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and his sons, writes Rybczynski, is their endurance: "Today, 40 years after urban renewal, we are demolishing public housing projects, and some cities have even dismantled urban freeways. Yet in the 140 years since Central Park was built, no one has ever suggested it was a mistake." Although the activities that take place in these public spaces has changed over the years and they have, at times, suffered from neglect, they remain fixtures in the urban landscape.⁴ Given the trend toward privatization that is currently reshaping America's urban areas and the attention that both physical and social scientists are devoting to advancing our knowledge of how cities function as ecosystems, a detailed examination of the forces that produced publicly held open spaces in the past is particularly timely.⁵

The Olmsted Vision

Like other large cities in the U.S. at the turn of the twentieth century, Baltimore shifted its approach to park development from a model based largely on the contemplative ideals of the Romantic Era to one more closely aligned with the rationalistic principles of the City Beautiful movement.⁶ As Terence Young points out, this shift occurred as Darwinian interpretations of nature, which emphasized imbalance and struggle, supplanted romantic ideas about the physical world. Once viewed as balanced and "inherently good," nature alone could no longer be counted on to remedy problems that social reformers and park planners had attributed to the brutalizing effects of the "booming industrial city." Originally designed to meet the needs of men suffering from their involvement in "public, entrepreneurial, and commercial activities," romantically planned urban parks were altered to satisfy the recreational as well as aesthetic demands of a much larger and more diverse segment of the general public.⁷ In Baltimore the result was that the "priority of space and resources that the city's park system had formerly given to flower beds and clipped lawns" was now redirected to the "massive construction of athletic facilities and extensive acquisition of new park lands for recreational purposes."⁸

The changes that Baltimore experienced during this period can be traced at least in part to the efforts of the Municipal Art Society. Founded in 1899 by several "upper class Baltimoreans," the Municipal Art Society shared much in common with another "City Beautiful" group of the day, the American Civic Association. Convinced that beauty promoted goodness and moral rectitude, the American Civic Association "implemented its agenda to beautify the environment through numerous projects to make riverfronts and housing attractive, plant street trees,

remove billboards, and create parks." Imbued with the same high-minded ideals, the Municipal Art Society initially sought to "beautify the city" by adorning public streets, parks, and buildings with sculptural and pictorial decorations.⁹ Soon, however, its members were pressuring city officials into constructing a modern sewer system.¹⁰ Then in January 1902, the Society's Committee on Suburban Development was "authorized to negotiate with a suitable landscape architect and engineer to carry out a definite scheme for parks, planning of streets, drainage and development of the city in its suburban sections."¹¹ About this time, many of Baltimore's middle and upper class residents were moving away from the city's center and into the rolling hills closer to Baltimore County.¹² The Society hoped that planned development would permit these areas to retain their rural character. On the recommendation of President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, the Society hired Olmsted Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts.¹³

In 1903 Olmsted Brothers submitted its report. Warren Wilmer Brown notes that it was "immediately accepted by the Society and without loss of time it was adopted and paid for by the Board of Park Commissioners, of which Major Richard M. Venable was then president."¹⁴ Brown goes on to state that "Venable was so convinced of the value of the Park Report that he marshalled a movement which brought about the passage by the Maryland Legislature of 1906 of an Act authorizing the City of Baltimore to put a loan of One Million Dollars on the ballot for the purchase of additional land for parks. This Loan was approved and through it various extensions and improvements of the park system were made."¹⁵

According to James B. Crooks, the plan "was a masterpiece that served as a basis for park development for two generations."¹⁶ Illustrated with maps and photographs, the report "gave substance to the Municipal Art Society's ambitious vision: to create numerous small parks and playgrounds, expand the larger city parks, develop parkways and stream valley parks in the suburbs, and select and set aside large reservations beyond the metropolitan area for future use."¹⁷ W. Edward Orser adds that "even though the charge of the plan was to concentrate on the suburban zone, its recommendations took account of the needs of the complete city."¹⁸ As the report plainly showed, Olmsted Brothers was especially concerned with addressing the city's future needs. Nowhere is this more apparent than with the outlying reservations.

One of the Olmsted plan recommendations was that the city purchase lands beyond its boundaries in anticipation of future growth. These reservations, as they were called, would be accessed by roads, but would not be developed for intensive recreation, at least not initially. Until suburban expansion, the reservations would retain their rural character and serve the city's water-supply needs.¹⁹ According to Orser, the purpose was not to obstruct development, but rather to enhance it: "If land along streams could be purchased in advance of development, not only would

acquisition costs be low, but bringing them under public control would prevent unwise private uses and save the city expensive infrastructure costs.²⁰ The Patapsco Valley received this designation.

Scientific Forestry

At the same time that Baltimore began to address its park needs, the state of Maryland was beginning to grapple with a growing deforestation problem. In 1906, Robert and John W. Garrett, grandsons of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad magnate, donated three tracts of cutover mountain forestland in Garrett County to the state of Maryland. The donation was made on the condition that officials establish a professional forestry program to provide adequate protection for the state's forests, both public and private.²¹ This led to the drafting of the Forestry Conservation Act in 1906. As a result, the State Board of Forestry was created and Governor Edwin Warfield appointed Fred W. Besley, a 1904 graduate of the Yale School of Forestry, to the office of State Forester, making Maryland just the third state in the union to create such a position.²²

Over the course of a career that spanned thirty-six years, Besley introduced scientific forestry to the state. Like his mentor, Gifford Pinchot, Besley believed that careful management of timberlands would lead to higher yields of the "forest crop" and, ultimately, to an increase in profits.²³ This was particularly true in the case of public lands. In a 1909 State Board of Forestry report, Besley recommended that the state purchase unproductive mountain lands for just such a purpose: "The land could be purchased at low cost and under State control and protection it could be made a valuable asset." Besley also pointed out other practical benefits that might accrue to the state if it pursued such a policy: "The value of such lands to the State is not alone represented in the timber that can be produced, although that is an important item, but is of great value in conserving the waters for the benefit of power development, for supplying pure water for domestic purposes, and preventing the silting of streams, thereby aiding navigation. In addition to these important uses, such State reserves would also make excellent game preserves and, located in the healthful climate of the mountains, they would afford recreation and pleasure grounds for the people."²⁴

With these conservation goals in mind Besley went to work. He conducted an exhaustive state-wide survey of forest resources, developed a strategy to deal with destructive forest fires, introduced forest conservation practices to private landowners, devised an innovative plan to link timber sellers with timber buyers, and introduced a program of reforestation that, among other things, encouraged roadside tree planting. Significantly, the Forestry Conservation Act granted the Board authority to "direct the protection and improvement of State parks and forest reserves," condemn land for the advancement of the forestry program, and to purchase and

accept gifts of land. This last point is particularly noteworthy for the Garrett bequest was soon followed by another. In 1907, John M. Glenn – a prominent attorney, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, trustee of the Johns Hopkins University Hospital, and a founding member of the Municipal Art Society – donated forty acres of land from his “Hilton Estate” in the Patapsco Valley near Catonsville to the state. It was here where the interests of the fledgling Board of Forestry and Baltimore’s urban elites converged.²⁵

Forging Alliances

In November 1910, William M. Ellicott, an architect and member of the Municipal Art Society, expressed concern in the editorial pages of the *Baltimore Sun* that the Patapsco Valley’s trees were in danger of falling to the lumberman’s axe. Ellicott stated that the valley “offers an alluring opportunity for a ramble in the woods or a walk by the river, and has become a favorite sylvan resort of large numbers of our people.” Unfortunately, “no steps have been taken to purchase it and within a few months a sawmill has been erected and already terrible devastation has been wrought.” However, Ellicott pointed out that “the owner of the sawmill is thoroughly in sympathy with the desire to save the remainder of the forest and has volunteered to delay the work.”²⁶ The following May, the *Sun* ran a column that reminded its readers of the value of trees: “Baltimore is threatened again with a short water supply, due in part, at least, to the decreasing flow of the streams which feed our reservoirs.” Noting the importance of tree cover, the writer bemoaned, “Everybody knows it [that tree cover is important], and yet the portable sawmill is going from woodland to woodland doing its work of destruction.”²⁷

Three years earlier, in January 1908, Fred Besley had also voiced concern over the loss of trees in the vicinity. To remedy the situation, he told the *Sun*, “It might be possible for the city to enter into an agreement with the landowners by which they would agree to maintain under a forest cover the steep hillsides adjacent to the streams and reservoirs connected with the water system.”²⁸ In keeping with his scientific forestry agenda, Besley added, “the revenue from the woodlands properly managed, should more than pay for their care and it might be possible to include such lands in a system of parks for the city.”

Growing concern over the fate of the Patapsco Valley’s forests presented Besley with an opportunity to merge the interests of powerful Baltimore residents with those of the State Board of Forestry. Such a coalition would likely strengthen his hand when it came to promoting scientific forestry in the Patapsco Valley. It might also bolster his small agency’s influence in the halls of the state capitol.²⁹ Perhaps with these goals in mind, Besley opted to play down the Board’s emphasis on scientific forestry and begin a process in which the Forestry Board would appeal to suburban real

estate interests and urban progressives in Baltimore City and County. He may have also reasoned that now would be an opportune time to expand the function of the Board's smallest holding – the Glenn gift in the Patapsco Valley.

Located on the Baltimore County side of the Patapsco River, the State Board of Forestry originally set up the plot as a demonstration forest in 1907. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that the land was “intended to be of considerable benefit to the timber interests of Maryland.” Originally, there was “no attempt at parking or terracing the tract to show the beautiful possibilities of landscape architecture.”³⁰ According to the Forestry Board's *Report for 1910 and 1911*, “the work at the Patapsco Reserve was strictly an improvement cutting.”³¹ However, because the land was only a dozen miles from Baltimore City, the Forestry Board (like Olmsted a decade earlier) recognized its potential as a public park. Indeed, Besley noted that the Board of Forestry's mission had a “threefold purpose”: to provide timber, to protect timber, and to provide for scenic beauty. In reference to the Patapsco Reserve he commented that it was located “only a few miles from Baltimore in a picturesque region, where it can best serve as a State park for recreation and pleasure. It is the desire of the Board to increase the area of the reserve and to develop it along park lines, provided the needed appropriation to purchase additional lands may be secured.”³²

To secure the additional lands, Besley assembled a cadre of supporters to testify before the Maryland General Assembly in February 1912. These key allies included State Senator Carville D. Benson, State Geologist William Bullock Clark, former State Senator William McCulloh Brown, bankers Robert Garrett and De Courcy W. Thom, and the president of the Baltimore City Park Board, George Weems Williams.³³ With the exception of Brown (a Garrett County resident), all of these men were members of Baltimore's economic establishment. Besley requested a \$25,000 appropriation to purchase property fronting the Patapsco River to expand the reserve. Other bills presented to the legislature included requests to increase the board's annual operating budget, to publish the Forestry Board's forest resource surveys, to establish a nursery at College Park, and to purchase Fort Frederick in Washington County.³⁴ To further advance the cause, Besley on 12 March presented an illustrated lecture on the benefits of scientific forestry to the Maryland House of Delegates.³⁵

The list of men who testified before the legislature reveals the close ties between the Maryland Board of Forestry and Baltimore's urban elites. Robert Garrett was a founding member of the Municipal Art Society, director of the B&O Railroad, a former Olympian, and a future director of Baltimore's Board of Recreation and Parks.³⁶ Williams was a prominent Baltimore lawyer who served as president of the city's Park Board and played an instrumental role in developing the Gwynns Falls Valley as a city park (another prominent part of the Olmsted Plan).³⁷

Clark was a professor of science at Johns Hopkins University, president of the Children's Aid Society of Baltimore and, as state geologist, executive director of the State Board of Forestry.³⁸ Foremost among Besley's allies, however, was State Senator Benson. In addition to introducing the Forestry Board's legislation, he was an influential Baltimore County Democrat who maintained real estate interests in Halethorpe—a suburban community near the Patapsco Reserve.³⁹

Besley and the Forestry Board used the Patapsco Forest Reserve's suburban Baltimore County location and its proximity to Baltimore City to increase the Board's utility in the eyes of the region's urban elite. Benson urged the Maryland legislature to appropriate \$25,000 to the Board "for the purchase of land between Relay and Hollofield, a distance of 10 miles, on both sides of the Patapsco River to add to the present forest reserve." Though Benson had a personal financial stake in the bill, the stated purpose of the appropriation was to "protect the watershed from denudation and to prevent the contamination of the water supply."⁴⁰

Despite the bill's ostensibly pure conservationist selling point, legislators were doubtless aware of the Patapsco Valley's potential appeal to suburban developers. According to the *Sun*, "The city Senators also entered heartedly into the plan, the more so because it is thought that in years to come the forests will be needed for the city parks."⁴¹ Moreover, the *Sun's* editor acknowledged, "When the city of Baltimore stretches out beyond its present suburbs, as it is rapidly doing, the Patapsco Valley will be needed in its park system. . . . It would be a shame for the State to permit the beautiful forests in the Patapsco Valley to be destroyed."⁴² That parks could enhance local property values was a point that astute legislators and developers probably took into account as well.⁴³

In the end, the case forwarded by Besley and his urban allies proved compelling. The Board of Forestry's annual operating budget more than doubled in 1913. It also received special appropriations to publish its surveys, establish a nursery at College Park, and to purchase Fort Frederick. The budget for purchasing Patapsco Valley property was set at \$50,000—twice the appropriation requested.⁴⁴ With the cooperation of the Municipal Art Society secured, Besley could now turn to the business of expanding the Patapsco Forest Reserve—one parcel at a time.

Assembling Patapsco

Four years before John Glenn laid the foundation for what would eventually become Maryland's second-largest state park, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. recognized the potential of this site for the establishment of a park when he wrote:

To the west, along the Patapsco River for a long distance above and below Ellicott City, there is a splendid example of the

picturesqueness of a river gorge on a large scale, the rocky bluffs rising boldly to a height of 400 feet above the rushing stream. The time will certainly come, long before the end of the present century, when the beauty of this landscape will have a greatly enhanced value through the more general occupation of the adjacent upland, and, while no human operations are apt greatly to alter its rough framework even by extensive quarrying, yet the proper laying out of the roads and railways which may be needed within the valley, the limitation of buildings to those sites naturally adapted to them, and the protection of the woods and other vegetation on those areas which cannot be otherwise used more profitably, will make all the difference between the wise utilization of one of the natural resources of the country tributary to Baltimore and its wasteful neglect. Whether public control of large areas of land here for such purposes will be desirable is a question that needs careful thought and investigation. At present the need of many other acquirements is so unspeakably more pressing that we have dismissed this question with no more than a hasty reconnaissance.⁴⁵

Although "more pressing" needs were identified in the Olmsted Brothers report, the Glenn donation set the process of land acquisition in motion.

In 1912, the *Baltimore News* reported that "great progress" was being made "in carrying out the projected Patapsco River Forest Park," and further, that "[P]ublic spirited owners of land are expected to cede large tracts. Already the hope that the natural beauty of this region might be preserved seems likely to be realized, particularly along the 10 miles north from Relay, through Ellicott City to Hollowfield [*sic*]."⁴⁶ These statements were reaffirmed one year later: "Plans for the establishment of a State park along the banks of the Patapsco river ... are being rapidly matured, the proposal of John M. Glenn to give nearly 100 acres of land for the purpose and of Robert Norris and Rollin Norris to give an additional 60 acres having done much, it is said, to encourage the project... Most of the owners have a sympathetic interest in the plan already and some, it is believed, will show this by giving their land or a part of it to the State."⁴⁷

According to the *News*, the minimum amount of land needed to adequately protect the stream and surrounding forest and "preserve the rugged beauty" of the area was 1,200 acres, "although it is hoped that much more than this will eventually be included in the plan."⁴⁸ By 1926, when Olmsted Brothers submitted its second report, more than 1,000 acres had been donated, purchased, or otherwise acquired. A survey of landownership records for Baltimore and Howard counties indicates that 1,582.17 acres of land had been acquired by 1941 (Table 1). Fifteen

Table 1. Patapsco Valley Land Transfers, 1907-1941 (Source: Deeds on file at the Maryland Department of Natural Resources in Annapolis, Maryland).

Date	Name	Acres
1907	John Glenn (Gift)	40.00
1913	L. and M. Asheton	40.85
1913	H. and M. Mann	103.22
1913	Steven Paul Harwood	101.80
1913	E. R. Dennis	15.40
1913	A. J. Hanson	26.30
1914	R. Norris (Gift)	34.90
1914	Avalon Realty Co.	191.10
1914	R. R. Clark	30.01
1915	Hanson Estate	129.00
1915	W. L. Glenn (Gift)	89.42
1915	Mentzel Paper Co.	5.00
1915	Mengers (Children's Home)	22.00
1917	M. A. Isaac	8.25
1918	Theodore Marburg	73.54
1919	Clinton L. Riggs	15.30
1920	C. A. Gambrell, Right-of-Way (Gift)	0.05
1922	Clinton L. Riggs, Equal Transfer of Land	
1926	W. J. Dickey and Sons	190.00
1934	J. Glenn (Gift)	12.64
1934	J. C. Reisinger, Right-of-Way (Gift)	3.35
1935	A. J. Hanson, Right-of-Way (Gift)	1.01
1935	E. and W. Thompson (Gift)	9.43
1936	A. J. Hanson, M. M. Moxley, E. K. Thompson	0.61
1937	Diamond-Grit Co.	47.00
1938	A. McDonald	47.26
1938	Lease from Baltimore County (30 years)	228.00
1938	Consolidated Gas and Electric	38.10
1940	G. and E. Frank	42.38
1941	G. D. Brown	17.25
1941	J. Glenn (Gift)	19.00
	Total =	1582.17

years later, total acreage stood at 3,214.875 acres. In no case did the state exercise its right of eminent domain.⁴⁹

Perusing the list of names in Table 1, it bears mentioning that several of the landowners who sold or gave land to the State Board of Forestry were organizing members of the Municipal Art Society. As noted earlier, John Glenn was a prominent attorney with deep roots in the region, his family having purchased the "Hilton" estate along the Patapsco River in the first half of the nineteenth century. Glenn's brother, William L., was also a founding member of the Municipal Art Society and gave significant acreage to the Board of Forestry. Theodore

Marburg, a renowned philanthropist and diplomat, was instrumental in creating the organization and in bringing the Olmsted Brothers firm to Baltimore. The table also reveals other members of Baltimore's economic elite. Clinton L. Riggs, whose father was also a founding member of the Municipal Art Society, was a prominent Baltimore real estate developer. Stephen Paul Harwood came from a well-established Baltimore family and was a notable real estate investor.⁵⁰ Although one can only speculate, these men's stature in the community may have influenced the decisions of others who were considering a sale or donation of land to the state.

The Forestry Board, however, also proved persuasive to more ordinary valley residents. Eugene R. Dennis and Andrew J. Hanson, for example, were neighbors who owned modest tracts near Ellicott City. Dennis, a farmer, and Hanson, a first-generation American horticulturalist, each sold a portion of their riverfront property to the Forestry Board.⁵¹

While most of this land was obtained from private residents, utility companies such as Consolidated Gas & Electric and factory operations such as W. J. Dickey & Sons also contributed land or rights-of-way.⁵² Prevention of soil erosion and stream sedimentation appeared to be the critical – though not the only – motivating factors:

Hearty co-operation from water-power companies, which already own long strips, is expected because the preservation of the forest is a benefit to such companies. In a number of places where the slopes are steep the forester will try to have possession of the land with as little delay as possible, so that the washing down of these banks may be stopped by forestation. He will aim also to get control of land from which trees are likely to be cut, so that these fine old giants of the forest, so much needed to protect the banks from washing down and so valuable for their beauty, may be preserved. As far as possible he will try to have all owners of land at once enter into the plan of protection for the trees that now stand. Others, he believes, will agree to co-operate in the work of the Board of Forestry and thus practically help attain the same object.⁵³

There is little doubt that the Forestry Board placed protection of the Patapsco's watershed high on its agenda. "The Patapsco area," the Board reported, "is not only one of great natural attractiveness, being so near Baltimore that its use as a recreation grounds is certain to be more fully appreciated, but it is also important to protect the watershed of the Patapsco River, which plays such an important part in furnishing water power for several industrial enterprises."⁵⁴ These industries, which included several textile mills, a flour mill, a hydroelectric plant and a water filtration plant, directly felt the impact of sediment runoff. As the Board of Forestry's 1914-15 biannual report noted, "the steep slopes along the

river that have been cultivated in years past have largely contributed to the accumulation of silt which has collected behind the dams built for storage purposes” and has forced the operators to expend “large sums of money for dredging.”⁵⁵

Though all dams suffered sediment buildup from increased runoff, it was Victor G. Bloede’s dams that suffered the most. A Catonsville banker with philanthropic motivations, Bloede had organized both the Patapsco Electric & Manufacturing and the Baltimore County Water & Electric companies a decade earlier to supplement the region’s water and electric resources.⁵⁶ Because his hydroelectric dam’s intakes were submerged, sediment buildup was a persistent problem. The Board reported that “this mass of sediment extending for a quarter of a mile along the river bed represents but a small part of the erosion from cultivated lands along the steep banks of the Patapsco.”⁵⁷ The magnitude of the sediment-runoff problem comes into focus when one considers that Bloede’s Dam had only been in place since 1906. It was hoped that reforesting the area would reduce the amount of silt clogging the electric plant’s turbines, and cut the amount of energy needed to filter drinking water at Bloede’s other plant at Avalon. As a reporter for the *Baltimore Sun* noted in 1937, dam restoration efforts along the Patapsco ultimately flushed sediment into Baltimore harbor which had to be dredged periodically at considerable expense.⁵⁸

Then there was the issue of public health. According to the Olmsted report: “As the surrounding region comes to be more densely occupied through the growth of the city, the condition of [the river flats] will become a nuisance from the sanitary point of view, and if left in private hands they are likely to be put to various objectionable uses.”⁵⁹ Here again, reforestation was recommended to help solve the problem.

Finally, recreational considerations figured into the equation. In *The Patapsco: Baltimore’s River of History*, Paul Travers writes: “Agreements were made with some of the large riverfront companies, such as the Thistle Company, J. W. Dickey and Sons, the Baltimore County Water Company, and the Consolidated Gas and Electric Light Company, whereby the state of Maryland could use part of their land for recreational purposes. These areas were known as Auxiliary State Forests.”⁶⁰ As we shall see later, camping sites and other recreational amenities figured prominently in the plan for an expanded forest reserve.

Forest Reserve or City Park?

Although Maryland did not officially establish a state park on the banks of the Patapsco River until 1933, government documents and newspaper accounts suggest that the Patapsco Forest Reserve was marketed to the public as a “park” from the very beginning. In an agency publication entitled, *The State Reserves of Maryland: A Playground for the*

Public, assistant state forester J. Gordon Dorrance promoted this idea in no uncertain terms:

Near to Baltimore, so near, in fact, as almost to be called a city park, is the Patapsco State Reserve. Maryland owns here 916 acres, chiefly of wooded land, with the addition of over 1,000 acres which are open to the public, with full park privileges in return for the protection which the Board gives to its respective owners in the matter of patrol against trespass and fire. The entire Reserve is essentially a protection and a recreation forest. Prior to 1912 this region was only a piece of attractive country: two high, sloping banks with a cover of timber, a winding river between; it was close to Baltimore; it seemed to have some natural possibilities as a park; and its forests covered and protected the watershed of the Patapsco ... Under the management of the Board its attractions are being protected and ... the Patapsco Reserve made ready for free use by the people of this State.⁶¹

In addition to discussing access to the reserve via the railroad and roads, Dorrance referred specifically to the advantages offered by outdoor camping and the need for city dwellers to rejuvenate themselves in a non-urban setting.⁶² Another agency publication produced the same year underscored the "urgent need for building of trails and wagon roads through certain portions of the Reserve" to accommodate the "constantly increasing number of visitors." Of particular interest to the Board was the improvement of the River Road between Elkridge and Ilchester: "This would require four miles of improved roadway and would connect with a fairly good road extending from Ilchester to Ellicott City, and thereby connect the Baltimore-Washington Boulevard with the Frederick Road, making a most attractive driveway through five miles of the State Reserve and connecting with the system of parks of Baltimore City."⁶³

Numerous newspaper accounts support the contention that the State Board of Forestry was interested in developing the resources of the forest reserves for recreational purposes, especially camping. The Patapsco Forest Reserve's recreational amenities provided middle-class suburbanites with an opportunity to blend rugged outdoor living with intellectual contemplation – or, at the very least, a chance for greater aesthetic appreciation. Campsites, in particular, were a blend of the primitive and the modern. According to the *Sun*, by 1916 there were 200 campsites available "for the use of the visitors who cared to use the park's advantages."⁶⁴ The sites were open to anyone in the state, provided they respected the "reasonable regulations."⁶⁵ Even the state forester and his family were known to take advantage of these recreational facilities: "State Forester F.W. Besley and his assistant foresters ... are making it possible for Marylanders who cannot go as far as Maine or Canada to

get as close to Mother Nature as in the wild and unexplored regions of the North. On the slopes rising up from the river in thick virgin forest land, traversed by springs and streams, ideal camp sites have been staked out... . Mr. and Mrs. Besley and two of their children are spending a month in a camp overlooking the upper most rocky basin of one of these lovely cascades.⁶⁶ "It is scenically beautiful," remarked a contributor to *The Methodist*. "Under the management of the Board its attractions are being protected and so far as possible enhanced."⁶⁷ According to another local paper, "the State reservation is kept clean and free from forms of annoyance. The wardens, too, are alert to protect the property of campers. The reservations are not subject to prowlers, as everybody must show a permit, which in itself makes him part of the system of preserving order."⁶⁸

Like Baltimore's city parks, the new "park" on the Patapsco offered a means by which the middle class could enjoy the benefits of spending time close to nature; or as a local paper put it, "rough it pleasantly."⁶⁹ A group that spent the fall camping at Patapsco remarked, "we are now located there [Patapsco Forest Reserve], and any weekend will find from 20 to 25 of our faithful band of Gypsies enjoying nature to its fullest extent." The participants exulted that they were "enjoying watching the change of foliage from week to week, taking dips in the old Patapsco river in spite of the frost, getting up at 4 A. M. to watch the daybreak, walking eight miles to church in the morning and chopping wood, preparing meals, washing dishes and taking trips through the reserve during the day."⁷⁰ The *Methodist* recounted that "individuals by scores, have already proved the Patapsco much of their liking. Community camps of families brought together by residential, religious, or social ties afford good opportunity for profitable association in a way that makes finer and better friends."⁷¹ According to the *Sun*, all the visitors "liked its fishing, swimming and canoeing, their campsites, and the supply of drinking water from the springs."⁷² Campers were even permitted to plant vegetable gardens. "In fact," asserted an article carried in the *Methodist*, "there is every disposition to encourage the deeper, broader application of "rusticating and vacation camping practice."⁷³

Although many of Besley's elite allies refrained from camping in the Patapsco – Robert Garrett, for example, typically vacationed in the Adirondacks – their influence manifested itself in other ways.⁷⁴ Perhaps the most explicit example of elite philanthropy playing a role in the forest reserve was the Hutzler campsites (Figure 2). During the summer months, the Hutzler Department Store Company reserved dozens of sites for their male employees, primarily sales clerks and their families. While the men commuted daily to work in Baltimore, their families were left behind to enjoy the park. To foster camaraderie and loyalty, Hutzler's reserved sites in close proximity to one another, operated a nearby commissary and had ice cream delivered once a week.

Though the Forestry Board continued to emphasize its scientific forestry agenda, the Patapsco Reserve's purpose now reflected the influence of Baltimore's progressives. Rather than simply protect the forest's timber value, the Board was now committed "to preserve the scenic beauty of this region." It assured that the "lands will be maintained perpetually as a natural forest." This was quite a departure from 1908 when Besley had stated that the Glenn gift would simply serve Maryland's "timber interests."⁷⁵ Now, the Patapsco Reserve would serve the general public's interests – especially those who possessed the means to visit the park.

What then prevented the state from officially establishing a state park until 1933? According to Besley's nonagenarian daughter, Helen Overington, her father was very much in favor of making recreational use one of the "big things" the forest reserves offered. However, like Pinchot, Besley was wary of creating a separate system of parks for this might lead to the creation of a separate agency and, ultimately, to competition for funding and land. Nevertheless, Besley knew that he needed to garner support from the public for his forest conservation program. What better way to accomplish this than to promote the reserves as parks?⁷⁶

In the years following the official establishment of a state park, state government documents continued to tout the natural beauty of the river and its environs and publicize the former forest reserve as an "outlying city park." In 1940, a Maryland State Planning Commission document stated:

Gorge scenery is characteristic, with forested hills predominating on both sides. Small tributaries supply miniature waterfalls and cascades. Eleven hundred acres of auxiliary forest, privately-owned but open to the public, lie adjacent to the park. Acquisition of additional lands to improve present park boundaries is contemplated. Location of this State Park practically at Baltimore's doorstep makes it in effect an outlying city park, thus accounting for the fact that even in winter it receives from 2,000 to 4,000 visitors per month. . . . Picnicking is most popular, with hiking, riding, camping, and nature study attracting many devotees.⁷⁷

Meanwhile, park visitation numbers indicate that Patapsco State Park benefited from its location at "Baltimore's doorstep." As early as 1925, approximately 250 camping permits were being issued annually, providing camping privileges to approximately 2,500 people a year.⁷⁸ Over the next twenty-five years, outdoor tourism in Maryland would reach new heights largely as a result of Patapsco State Park's growing popularity: "Every year since 1938 when records began to be complete, the attendance at parks has been much greater than in the forests despite the fact that the park areas have been only a fraction as large. This has

been due principally to the bulk of the attendance at Patapsco, accessible on Baltimore's doorstep, to a huge metropolitan population. The greater natural attractions of more remote areas have not counterbalanced the factor of Patapsco's nearness."⁷⁹

Conclusions

In 1903 the landscape architecture firm, Olmsted Brothers, identified land situated along the banks of the Patapsco River as a prime site for a reservation – a site that would serve the recreational needs of a growing urban population, and also perform a variety of valuable conservation functions. A coalition of state and city agencies, private corporations, and a civic-minded citizens group – each with a different stake in the outcome – took the first step toward fulfilling that vision with the establishment of the Patapsco Forest Reserve. In 1933, Maryland designated a portion of the forest reserve to serve as a state park. In 1946, the Patapsco River Valley Commission first conceived the idea of creating a much bigger park – the expansive Patapsco River Valley State Park. Today, what began as a 40-acre donation to the state extends 32 miles along the Patapsco River, encompassing well over 14,000 acres.⁸⁰ It is a remarkable and ecologically significant green space located, as much of it is, within the rapidly urbanizing Baltimore-Washington corridor. Although Olmsted Brothers' plan for Baltimore was never fully implemented, the reservation on the Patapsco River did, in the end, exceed expectations.

While acknowledging that City Beautiful impulses were responsible, at least in part, for the development of the Patapsco Forest Reserve, it would be a mistake to carry the point too far. Although the State Board of Forestry promoted the holding as a park, it never assumed the appearance of a typical Progressive-Era city park. When more formal park facilities were introduced in the 1930s, they clearly exhibited a more primitive quality. Given its location and the fact that it was run by the State Board of Forestry, the Patapsco Forest Reserve developed a distinctly different character than its city counterparts. Reflecting further on the forest reserve's development, it might strike us today as somewhat curious that one of the chief motivations behind its expansion centered on its potential to contribute to the development of Baltimore's suburbs. Considering the effect that parks can have on nearby real estate values, perhaps the cooperation that Besley enjoyed among politicians and developers is not surprising. Ironically, suburban development proceeded slowly. For instance, Catonsville, already Baltimore County's largest suburb by 1900, resisted major expansion until the post-World War II years. More significantly, Arbutus, Lansdowne, and Halethorpe – the smaller community developments that Senator Benson and others hoped would benefit from the forest reserve's expansion – remained modest real estate ventures throughout this period. Undaunted by the slow pace of

suburban development, the Board of Forestry in the 1920s solidified the Patapsco Valley's connection with the city park system by purchasing most of the private property east to the city line.

In time, the growth that Olmsted Brothers had foreshadowed actually took place. Despite the firm's attempt to build parks throughout the city, the larger outlying parks clearly favored white middle-class residents seeking to simultaneously escape the central city while embracing the benefits that stream valley parks and reservations afforded. The advent of automobiles, which initially benefited the middle and upper classes, only served to strengthen the middle-class orientation to outlying suburban parks. This trend was naturally extended to the Patapsco Valley.

Besley's willingness to accommodate the Baltimore region's progressive impulses was critical to this development. His ability to advance the cause of scientific forestry would have been limited had he not appealed to those with other agendas – in particular urban progressives and political power brokers in Baltimore City and Baltimore County. Cultivating political allies while expanding the Patapsco Forest Reserve allowed Besley to address the city's need for clean water resources, reverse the sedimentation problem that was plaguing local industries and utilities, and provide area residents – especially middle-class whites – with an additional recreational outlet. In return, Baltimore's urban elites – some of them at least – hoped that these efforts would facilitate suburban development.

This marriage of interests, however, was not simply one of convenience. Their goals shared key fundamental aspects. They both believed in the ultimate financial as well as environmental profitability of their endeavors; they both sought government assistance to achieve their goals; and they both believed that their efforts would benefit society, although Besley was clearly more interested in promoting safe camping and responsible forest management than any broader social reform. Not only did state and Baltimore interests interact, but this interaction proved to be a critical turning point in the development of a state institution. Significantly, Besley believed and demonstrated that developing urban forest recreation was an effective strategy for building urban support for the agency and forest resources in general and “scientific forestry” in particular. Because it took on the role of managing an important suburban park, the Forestry Board's role in the life of the city, the state, and the people of Maryland also provided it with a foundation to become a lasting state institution.

The historic link between forest recreation and support for “scientific forestry” has been lost over the past thirty years and, indeed, represented in conflict. Learning from the wisdom of Besley's early intentions and actions, perhaps it is time for natural resource agencies and stakeholders alike to reconsider and explore new opportunities for linking recreation and “scientific forestry” together again in a growing urban reality. In the “Future Recommendations” section of the edited volume, *The Ecological City: Preserving and Restoring Urban Biodiversity*, Rutherford Platt states:

“Interaction between urbanists and natural scientists as reflected in this book, should become the norm rather than the exception as we collectively seek to respond to the challenges of living in a world whose population is more than half urban.”⁸¹ As this research shows, a precedent for such cooperative action was established nearly a century ago along the banks of the Patapsco River.

Acknowledgments

The authors wish to thank Craig Colten, Offutt Johnson, Ross Kimmel, Kirk Rodgers, Robert Schoeberlein, Andrew Standeford, Charlie Mazurek, and two anonymous reviewers for their invaluable assistance and comments. We also acknowledge the generous support of the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Award No. 02-CA-11242343-017.

Notes

1. W.A.E. *Baltimore News*, 21 July 1897.
2. Warren Wilmer Brown, *The Municipal Art Society of Baltimore City: Its Aims and Accomplishments* (Baltimore: Municipal Art Society, ca. 1930): 12.
3. According to the Olmsted Report the Gunpowder Falls Valley also received this designation. However, a park would not be established here until the 1960s.
4. Olmsted and his sons continue to benefit from a revival that has seen their creations restored and unfinished plans dusted off. The recently completed Gwynns Falls Trail in Baltimore is one such example. Recent attention in the popular magazine, *National Geographic*, is another indication of the Olmsted's enduring legacy. See John G. Mitchell, "Frederick Law Olmsted's Passion for Parks," *National Geographic* 207:3 (2005): 32-51.
5. Witold Rybczynski, "Why We Need Olmsted Again," *Wilson Quarterly* 23:3(1999): 15-22. In 1980, the National Science Foundation established the LTER program to support long-term ecological research in the U.S. Of the twenty-four LTER sites scattered across the country, two – the Baltimore Ecosystem Study (BES) and the Central Arizona-Phoenix (CAP) project – are concerned primarily with how urban and suburban areas function as ecosystems.
6. There is an impressive body of literature devoted to this topic. See, for example: Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1982); Jon A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," *Journal of Urban History* 2:4(1976):415-434; Jon A. Peterson, "The Evolution of Public Open Space in American Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 12:1(1985):75-85; Rutherford H. Platt, R.A. Rowntree, and P.C. Muick, eds. *The Ecological City: Preserving and Restoring Urban Biodiversity* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); Julie A. Tuason, "Rus in Urbe: The Spatial Evolution of Urban Parks in the United States, 1850 – 1920," *Historical Geography* 25(1997): 124-147; William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); and Terence Young, *Building San Francisco's Parks, 1850-1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).
7. Terence Young, "Modern Urban parks," *The Geographical Review* 85:4 (1995): 538; Rybczynski, "Why We Need Olmsted Again, 17. See also, Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).
8. Barry Kessler and David Zang, *The Playlife of a City: Baltimore's Recreation and Parks, 1900-1955* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Life Museums and the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, 1989): 1.
9. Terence Young, "Social Reform through Parks: The American Civic Association's Program for a Better America," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22:4 (1996): 461; James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895-1911* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968): 129-130. To get a sense of the Society's membership, Crooks reports that a survey of the Society's 122 organizers revealed twenty-eight lawyers, twenty-three financiers (eleven bankers), forty businessmen, twelve artists and architects, and seven

professors from Johns Hopkins University.

10. Christopher G. Boone, "Obstacles to Infrastructure Provision: The Struggle to Build Comprehensive Sewer Works in Baltimore," *Historical Geography* 31(2003): 151-68. According to Boone: "Remarkably, in 1900, this city of a half million people did not have a comprehensive sewage system, making Baltimore one of the last cities of its size to hold that dubious distinction." (p. 151) Boone also notes that Mendes Cohen, chief of the sewerage commission, was also a member of the board of directors of the Municipal Art Society: "Similar to the tactic used for the Olmsted plan, Cohen likely used the society as a means to push through a plan that failed in regular political channels" (p. 161).
11. Brown, *Municipal Art Society*, 20.
12. To recapture the disappearing tax base that was settling in suburban Baltimore County, Baltimore City twice annexed land from the County – in 1888 and 1918. For more on Baltimore's political annexations, see Joseph L. Arnold, "Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745-1918," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73:2(1978): 109-128.
13. Brown, *Municipal Art Society*.
14. *Ibid.*, 20.
15. *Ibid.*, 22.
16. Crooks, *Politics and Progress*, 137.
17. Kevin Zucker, "Falls and Stream Valleys: Frederick Law Olmsted and the Parks of Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 90:1(1995): 82.
18. W. Edward Orser, "A Tale of Two Park Plans: The Olmsted Vision for Baltimore and Seattle, 1903," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 98:4(2003): 478.
19. Olmsted Brothers, *Report upon the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore* (Baltimore: Municipal Art Society of Baltimore City, 1904).
20. Orser, "Tale of Two Parks," 476-77.
21. Robert and John W. Garrett, April 10, 1907, Garrett Bequest to the State of Maryland. Liber 54, folio 425, Land Records of Garrett County. The Garretts were prepared to withdraw their gift if the state did not comply with their request to institute a program of forest conservation: "Provided, however, that if within the period of the next twenty five years from the date hereof, the said State of Maryland should neglect or fail to carry out the provisions of said Forestry Act, or abandon the property hereby donated, then the title to the said several tracts and parcels of land shall revert to the said donors ... [who] shall have the right to take over the possession of said tracts of land, and hold them the same as if said gift had not been made."
22. Jack Temple Kirby, *Poquosin: A Study of Rural Landscape and Society* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
23. For a detailed discussion of scientific forestry and utilitarian conservation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2001).
24. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1908 and 1909*, 8-9.
25. Geoffrey L. Buckley and J. Morgan Grove, "Sowing the Seeds of Forest Conservation: Fred Besley and the Maryland Story, 1906-1923," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 96:4(2001): 302-327; Ed H. Parkison, "Glenn's 'Hilton,'" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65:3(1970): 283-295; Edna Warren, "Forests and Parks in the Old Line State," *American Forests* 62 (October 1956): 13-25, 56-77; Maryland Legislature, Forest Laws of Maryland, Acts of 1906, chapter 294. "An Act to establish a State Board of Forestry and to promote forest interests and arboriculture in the State," as amended in chapter 161, Acts 1910, and chapter 823, Acts of 1914.
26. *Baltimore Sun*, 15 November 1910.
27. *Baltimore Sun*, 22 May 1911. There was evidently a drought that spring.
28. *Baltimore Sun*, 2 January 1908. Though this particular quote was in reference to the Gunpowder Valley, its line of reasoning was also applicable to the Patapsco Valley.
29. It is possible that Besley was primarily motivated to seek more operating funds. Prior to 1912 the Board of Forestry's efforts to fulfill its mission were hampered by a lack of funding. With a miniscule \$3,500 annual appropriation, the Board lacked the financial means to purchase land. In fact, its appropriation was barely large enough to hire one professional forester and a small supporting staff. Following that year's legislative session, however, the Forestry Board's operating budget more than doubled. By the end of the decade, the Board's appropriation was seven times larger than it had been in 1912. The Board of Forestry's operating budget was \$4,000 in 1912, \$10,000 in 1913, and \$28,580 in 1921. Totals were taken from the *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1912 and 1913* and the *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1920 and 1921*. The totals are not adjusted for inflation.

30. *Baltimore Sun*, 31 May 1907.
31. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1910 and 1911*, 22.
32. *Ibid.*, 26.
33. *Baltimore Sun*, 19 February 1912. Besley also invited Patapsco Valley residents Dr. J. Donaldson Murray (of Elkridge) and William S. Powell (of Ellicott City) to testify on the Forestry Board's behalf. So keen was Besley at securing the support of Baltimore's well-connected urban elite that he even presented an illustrated lecture on the benefits of scientific forestry to members of the Bel Air Country Club on 23 February 1912. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1912 and 1913*, 14.
34. It is likely that Brown was most interested in purchasing Fort Frederick—a pet project of his. Brown wrote an extensive article on the history of Fort Frederick that appeared in *Maryland Historical Magazine* in June 1923.
35. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1912 and 1913*, 14.
36. *Baltimore Sun*, 26 April 1961.
37. *Baltimore Sun*, 18 June 1911, 26 May 1913.
38. *Distinguished Men of Baltimore and Maryland* (Baltimore: Baltimore American Publisher, 1914): 25.
39. Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson, Maryland: Friends of the Towson Library, Inc., 1979), 315, 349; *Baltimore Sun*, 29 February 1929. According to Brooks and Rockel, Benson in the late 1920s briefly assumed the reins of the state's Democratic machine. Another brief biography on Benson can be found in the *Report of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Maryland State Bar Association* (Annapolis: Maryland State Bar Association, 1929): 51-53.
40. *Baltimore Sun*, 19 February 1912.
41. *Baltimore Sun*, 31 March 1912.
42. *Baltimore Sun*, 3 March 1912.
43. In an editorial by Rev. D. H. Steffens entitled "What May Be Done Toward Reforesting Baltimore" (*Baltimore Morning Sun*, 6 October 1912), the author notes that real estate values are enhanced when properties are situated near parks and street trees. For examples from other cities, see Craig Colten, *An Unnatural Metropolis: Wrestling New Orleans from Nature* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); Matthew Gandy, *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002); and Young, *Building San Francisco's Parks*.
44. See Chapters 348, 749,, and 794 in the *Laws of the State of Maryland: Made and Passed* (Baltimore: King Brothers, State Printers, 1912).
45. Olmsted Brothers, *Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore*, 107.
46. *Baltimore News*, 6 June 1912.
47. *Baltimore News*, 24 April 1913.
48. *Baltimore News*, 6 June 1912.
49. Deeds on file at the Maryland Department of Natural Resources in Annapolis, Maryland.
50. A brief biography on Clinton L. Riggs can be found in John Beverly Riggs, *The Riggs Family*, (Baltimore: 1939): 348-351, and *Tercenary History of Maryland, Volume IV*, (Chicago: S. J. Clark Publishing Co., 1925): 157-158. A brief biography on Stephen Paul Harwood can be found in *Tercenary History of Maryland, Volume II*, (Chicago: S. J. Clark Publishing Co., 1925): 178.
51. U. S. Census Records, 1910, Howard County, Maryland, District 2. It should be noted that the reader should not confuse Andrew J. Hanson with the Hanson family that owned the Belmont Estate. The "Hanson Estate" that appears in Table 1 references the Belmont Estate owners.
52. Other industrial operations that appear in Table 1 present some questions that require additional research. C. A. Gambrell owned and operated a flourmill in Ellicott City in 1920 and had owned and operated a flourmill in Orange Grove before it burned in 1905. It is unclear which property the Gambrell Company had conferred rights in 1920. Also, according to a survey conducted by James Peirce, the Mentzel paper mill burned in 1895. It is perhaps arguable that the State Board of Forestry was purchasing excess land from abandoned factory operations.
53. *Baltimore News*, 6 June 1912.
54. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1914 and 1915*, 25.
55. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1914 and 1915*, 26.
56. It should be noted that the Patapsco Electric & Manufacturing Company was later absorbed

- by Consolidated Gas & Electric.
57. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1914 and 1915*, 26.
 58. Arthur B. Musgrave, "Better Times for the Trees: State and Nation Move to Repair the Wasteful Losses of the Past," *Baltimore Sun*, 29 August 1937.
 59. Olmsted Brothers, *Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore*, 58.
 60. Paul J. Travers, *The Patapsco: Baltimore's River of History* (Centreville, MD: Published in Association with the Maryland Historical Society by Tidewater Publications, 1990), 201.
 61. J. Gordon Dorrance, *The State Reserves of Maryland: "A Playground for the Public"* (Baltimore: Maryland State Board of Forestry, 1919), 7.
 62. Dorrance, *State Reserves of Maryland*. According to Warren James Belasco, autocamping revived what tourists imagined to be the more leisurely pace, personal independence, simplicity, and family solidarity of preindustrial times. Although campers in the Forest Reserve probably shared many of these same feelings, the Patapsco's proximity to Baltimore likely limited its appeal for autocamping. See Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910 - 1945* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1979).
 63. *Report of the Maryland State Board of Forestry for 1918 and 1919*, 29.
 64. *Baltimore Sun*, 16 July 1916.
 65. *Report for 1914 and 1915*, 25.
 66. *Baltimore Sun*, 1921 (undated).
 67. *Baltimore Methodist*, 15 July 1920.
 68. Quote was taken from unidentified newspaper clipping in Fred W. Besley's scrapbook at the Maryland Hall of Records in Annapolis.
 69. F. W. Besley scrapbook.
 70. *Baltimore Sun*, 29 October 1916.
 71. *Baltimore Methodist*, 15 July 1920.
 72. *Baltimore Sun*, 16 July 1916.
 73. *Baltimore Methodist*, 15 July 1920.
 74. Personal letters written by Robert Garrett to his brother John W. reveal a preference for the Adirondack Mountains and Europe. Garrett's personal letters can be found in Special Collections at Johns Hopkins University.
 75. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1912 and 1913*, 36.
 76. Helen Besley Overington, personal communication, 2 December 2002. According to Fred W. Besley's grandson, Kirk Rodgers (personal communication, 29 November 2001), Besley "fought very hard to keep the forest service intact" and "would have resisted any attempt to fragment his authority." He would have been "reluctant to part with parks as a separate entity."
 77. Maryland State Planning Commission, *Maryland Recreational Areas: A Report on Present Assets and Future Needs for Nonurban Public Recreational Areas*. Maryland State Planning Commission in Cooperation with State Department of Forestry, UM Extension Service, U.S. DOI, NPS, September 1940, 17.
 78. *Report of the State Board of Forestry for 1924 and 1925*, 12.
 79. Maryland State Planning Commission, *Master Plan*, Maryland State Planning Commission, Attendance in State Parks and Forests, June 1952, 23.
 80. Offutt Johnson, "Maryland's State Forests and Parks: Remembering Ninety Years of Accomplishment," *Patapsco Valley Views* (Spring-Winter 1996), 1-2.
 81. Rutherford H. Platt, Rowan A. Rowntree, and Pamela C. Muick, eds., *The Ecological City: Preserving and Restoring Urban Biodiversity* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994): 284-285.