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GARDENS AND GARDENING IN EARLY MARYLAND

By EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

TO LIVE one must eat. The first gardens in Maryland were kitchen gardens—merely plots of ground where vegetables and small fruits were grown in sufficient quantities to last a household throughout the year. It was not until these crops were assured and a degree of leisure attained that "pleasure gardens" were developed.

Every man who landed on the shore of St. Mary's River in the early spring of 1634 had been instructed to bring with him "Seede Wheate, Rie, Barley and Oats, Kernells . . . of Peares and Apples for making thereafter Cider and Perry, [and] the Stones and Seeds of all those fruite and roots and herbes which he desireth to have." [1] Soon the little City of St. Mary's was laid out and each settler was allotted enough ground to build a house and plant a garden at the "backside."

[1] *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684,* edited by Clayton Colman Hall, cited in *Gardens of Colony and State,* compiled and edited for the Garden Club of America by Alice B. Lockwood (New York, 1934), p. 115.

A report of these gardens made a year later states that

> They have made tryall of English Pease, and they grow very well, also Muskmellons, Cowcumbers, with all sorts of garden Roots and Herbes, [such] as Carrots, Parsenips, Turnips, Cabbages, Radish, with many more. . . . They have Peares, Apples and several sorts of Plummes, Peaches in abundance and as good as those of Italy; so are the Mellons and Pumpions; Apricockes, Figgs and Pomegranates flourish exceedingly; they have lately planted Orange and Limon Trees which thrive very well; and in fine there is scarce any fruit that grows in England, France, Spain or Italy but hath been tryed there, and prospers wel. . . .[2]

This may have been sales talk, for a diet that included pomegranates, radishes, cucumbers and melons seems hardly sufficient to sustain a hard-working man. Perhaps those early settlers planted their own personal ideas of a Garden of Eden in the soil of Maryland that spring.

We do not know just how the kitchen gardens were laid out for no description or planting plan of any early garden in Maryland is known today. We know they were generally close to the house and were enclosed by a fence of stout palings which protected the cultivated area from marauding animals. The size of the gardens varied with the number of dependents, but they were of necessity much larger than gardens today.[3] The vegetables were generally planted in short rows and close together for successive crops. Beyond the vegetables were the small fruits; raspberries, gooseberries, strawberries, grapes, etc. Surplus peas, beans and corn were dried for winter cookery; also peaches, currants and grapes (raisins) used in making hearty puddings. The women of the household put up a vast amount of pickles, jams and conserves to augment the rather dreary winter diet. Herbs may have been planted in a special plot in the garden or used as edgings if there were beds and paths. In the autumn they were gathered and dried—borage, basil, sage, thyme and many other "pot herbs" used for flavoring were tied in small bunches and hung from a convenient rafter as were the many medicinal herbs—horehound for coughs, St. John's wort for wounds, chamomile steeped as a hot tea for colds and aches, rue

[2] *A Relation of the Successeful Beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-Land* (London, 1634), cited in Lockwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

[3] The garden at Cold Stream, Mrs. Rebecca Dulany's country seat near Baltimore, covered 7 acres. *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 16, 1801, p. 3, col. 4.

and hyssop and others whose uses are forgotten today. The flowers of lavender were distilled for headaches and neuralgia and dried for sweet scenting the linen of the household.

The tie between the colonists and the mother country was very close and continued so until the Revolutionary War. The early settlers were dependent on England for many of their needs and all their luxuries. What was used in England was soon used in the colonies. Small packets of choice seeds that were ordered from abroad were generally entrusted to the master of a ship and crossed the ocean in the captain's cabin—de luxe passengers. In the hold of the vessel, hidden among the seeds of field crops—grains, grasses and flax—were myriad stowaway seeds of English wild flowers. So happily did they flourish ultimately in American soil that we mistakenly class them as natives today. Queen Anne's Lace, Bouncing Bet, mullein and many wayside plants which brighten our roadsides and meadows were emigrants from England. Seeds of English weeds slipped in also—weeds which flourished only too well and plague us today. Wild mustard, sorrel, plantains, dock and many others arrived unannounced from England.

John Josselyn, English visitor to New England in 1663, recorded the vegetables, herbs and flowers he found growing in gardens there in *New England Raraties Discovered in Birds, Beasts, Fishes and Serpents*, published in London in 1672. The flowers were few: "Sweet Bryar, or Eglantine and English roses, grow pleasantly, White Satten [which we call Honesty today] groweth pretty well, so doth Lavender Cotten, Gilly Flowers, Hollyhocks, Campion and Fetherfew prospereth exceedingly." [4] We may assume these homey English flowers grew in Maryland gardens also and we know that daffodils flourished in Maryland soil for the descendants of these small bulbs still gladden our hearts in early spring. Like the proverbial Topsy, these old favorites just grew and required little attention. The colonial housewife had scant time to devote to growing flowers merely for pleasure. Her duties were manifold. She supervised the hackling of flax from which the linen sheets and shirts were made. She oversaw the spinning and weaving for the household; the making of candles and soap and butter and cheese as well as training and directing the work of her servants and slaves.

[4] Josselyn's list is printed in L. H. Bailey, *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture*, (3 vols., New York, 1927), II, 1504.

Josselyn's list of vegetables included with few exceptions those we grow today. Native to America were potatoes, pumpkins, squash, Jerusalem artichokes and corn which were grown by the Indians long before the coming of the white settlers. He does not mention okra which came to America from Africa, possibly brought over by slave ships and noted by Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, published in Paris, 1784-85.[5] Nor does he list peppers or tomatoes which were native to the New World. The Spaniards found them in Central America and took them back to Spain where they became very popular. John Gerard, whose *Herball, or Generall Historie of Plantes*,[6] was first published in London in 1507, mentions both red and yellow varieties of tomatoes but states "they yield very little nourishment to the body." Mr. Gerard did not know as much about vitamins as housewives today.

There was evidently a deep-seated prejudice against tomatoes in England, where for many years they were considered poisonous. Known as "Love Apples," they were grown as oddities or ornamental vines. This prejudice continued with the colonists and it was not until the 1820's that this general feeling of distrust was overcome and tomato seed was listed in commercial catalogues. Jefferson's carefully kept planting record of the garden at Monticello shows he began growing them in 1809, but he had lived in France where they were used extensively.[7] A letter written in 1794 by David Bryan, farmer for General Otho H. Williams, informs him that he had bought a bushel of seed for £1 for planting on the General's estate in Western Maryland. We wonder where he purchased the seed and who ate the tomatoes.[8]

Descriptions of the flora and fauna of the New World excited the interest of many scientists and botanists of England and Europe. Travelers to the colonies were requested to bring back seeds and slips which were planted with great respect in many foreign gardens. It became the fashion of the day for men of culture and wealth to display "curiosities" from America in cabinets for their friends to admire. Few people today realize how much our colonial

[5] Page 648.

[6] *Gerard's Herball, the Essence thereof distilled*, by Marcus Woodward, from the edition of Th. Johnson, 1636 (Boston, 1928), pp. 79-81.

[7] *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book*, annotated by Edwin Morris Betts. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944), p. 422.

[8] Otho Holland Williams Papers, Vol. VIII, No. 851, Maryland Historical Society (thanks to Dr. Elizabeth Merritt).

gardens were indebted to Peter Collinson (1694-1768), wealthy Quaker merchant of London and amateur botanist of note. His interest and curiosity about the flora and fauna of America seemed insatiable. He corresponded with many people on the eastern seaboard, requesting them to send him roots, nuts, seeds of native trees, shrubs and flowers which grew with great success in his garden at Ridgeway House, Middlesex, which was famous in his day. In return for these favors he took infinite pains to fill the requests that came to him and without any recompense sent many rare seeds and bulbs and roots to American gardens. "I could not refuse them their requests because I had the public good at heart," he wrote in his memoir.[9] Collinson was a true benefactor to many gardens in America and it seems a shame that we honored him by giving his name to a horticulturally unimportant member of the mint family. *Collinsonia*, commonly known as horse-balm or horse-weed, seems hardly worthy of the man.

Carefully preserved by the Hollyday family of the Eastern Shore and now part of the Hollyday Papers at the Maryland Historical Society are letters written by Collinson to Mrs. Henrietta Maria (Tilghman) Robins Goldsborough (1707-1771) of Peach Blossom, Talbot County. These letters, which descended to her eldest daughter, Anna Maria Robins who married Henry Hollyday of Ratcliffe Manor on the Tred Avon River, prove Mrs. Goldsborough to have been a serious-minded gardener and an exception to the general rule.

She was the daughter of Richard Tilghman II of the Hermitage, Queen Anne's County and Anna Maria Lloyd of Wye House, Talbot County. From her parents she probably inherited her knowledge and love of gardening, for both these old estates are today notable for fine planting. In 1731 she married George Robins, III, whose 1000-acre estate lay between Peach Blossom and Trappe's Creek and the Tred Avon River. Robins is credited with having planted the first peaches grown on the Eastern Shore. "The blossoms created such a sensation in the neighborhood that the name Peach Blossom came to be applied both to the Robins house and the creek. The house no longer stands."[10] Five years

[9] Earl G. Swem, "Brothers of the Spade," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 58, Part 1 (Worcester, Mass., 1948), p. 21. See footnote 10 in "Brothers of the Spade."

[10] Roberta Bolling Henry, "Robert Goldsborough of Ashby and His Six Sons," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (September, 1941), 327-331. Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1944), p. 223.

after Robins death in 1742, his wealthy widow married Judge William Goldsborough, son of Robert Goldsborough of Ashby, and Peach Blossom continued to be the family home.

The earliest letter is to George Robins, dated London, October 21, 1721. It is a business letter, but in a postcript Collinson hopes that Robins will remember him by sending some " shells, curious Stones, Insects and a huming Bird Dry'd in Its feathers."

In 1751 Collinson sent Mrs. Goldsborough 3 boxes of roots and bulbs with directions for their planting. " Ranunculas, Anemones, Tulips, Piony, Imperials, [probably Crown Imperials, *Fritillaria imperialis*] Artichoak, Hellebore, [probably *H. niger,* the Christmas Rose] and Colchicum, [Autumn crocus]."

The next year he sent her angelica and other seeds and thanked her for the pretty hummingbird. " If Chestnuts and Chinquapins grow near you," he begs the favor of sending him " some Nutts, and makeing a Layer of Nutts & then a layer of Dry Sand or earth and so continue until the Box is full." In January, 1761, he thanked Mrs. Goldsborough for her noble present of two delicious hams and for the yucca seed. He is pleased to hear that the peach stones he sent have borne fruit. By Captain Brook he is sending the seeds she requested and others will follow by Mr. Hanbury's ship.

The last letter is dated February 1, 1764. He enclosed seed of Pyracantha or evergreen thorn and Fraxinella (Burning Bush). He warns her that seeds may lie dormant for a couple of years and advises her to " fence a place with Sticks about a foot long and make a little Pallissado; to keep it free from weeds until the seeds germinate." With this excellent and friendly advice the correspondence ends.

Collinson's long and interesting correspondence with John Custis of Virginia (1678-1749) has been admirably annotated by Dr. Earl G. Swem, with fine bibliography and index.[11] Custis' four acre garden in Williamsburg was one of the few gardens in America devoted to growing plants for enjoyment and scientific interest. He may have been considered eccentric by his neighbors but his letters to Collinson are of great value today to anyone interested in studying plant material used in colonial gardens.

Another American friend of Collinson's was John Bartram (1699-1777), a Quaker farmer with a natural aptitude for botany,

[11] Swem, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-108.

who in 1728 established the first botanic garden in America on his farm on the Schuylkill River near Philadelphia. For over 40 year he corresponded with Collinson and with many of the leading botanists in Europe. He became their chief medium of exchange for seeds and plant material. Bartram's tireless quest for the rare and beautiful took him to the mountains of New York, through New Jersey and in 1737 to the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia.

Before he started on this trip, Collinson sent him letters and seeds for "two particular friends" of his on the Eastern Shore of Maryland—James Hollyday on Chester River and George Robins on Choptank River.[12] Unfortunately Bartram's letter to Collinson telling him of his visit of Readbourne, Col. Hollyday's estate, and to Peach Blossom, has been lost. Without question he delivered the letters. Collinson wrote him on January 27, 1738: "I had the pleasure of thine from Maryland. I am glad my friends were kind to thee and that thee found fresh matter of entertainment . . . the two boxes of seeds, two boxes of plants, one box of specimens, box wasp's nest, came safe and in perfect good order"[13] and again on April 6, 1738, Collinson wrote: "I am glad thee met with such civil treatment on the Eastern Shore." He mentions the safe arrival of the terrapins that Bartram had sent him by his friend Thomas Bond,[14] but the fifteen turtle eggs were "damnified" and though they actually hatched in London, did not live long.

In 1738 Bartram took a trip to the mountains of Virginia in search of new plant material, passing through the Western Shore of Maryland. Collinson hoped he would stop at Robert Gover's place to see "the Cliff from whence the angular stones were taken, which are so curiously formed in squares that far exceed the lapidary's art."[15] Gover had probably sent Collinson small bits of the fossil formation from the well known cliffs of Calvert County. Bartram reported Gover's recent death and did not stop.

Bartram's unique garden grew in interest with the passing

[12] William Darlington, *Memorial of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall* (Philadelphia 1849), pp. 110, 120-22.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-113, 120-122.

[14] Born in Calvert Co., Maryland, in 1721, Bond studied medicine under Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis and in Paris. He returned to America about 1734 and practiced in Philadelphia where he died in 1784. *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 433-34. A letter from Bond to Bartram is dated Paris, Feb. 20, 1738.

[15] Darlington, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-364.

years. It was an inspiration and education to all who visited it and its influence on 18th century gardens cannot be overestimated. Happily this ancient garden has been recently restored and is now preserved as part of the Philadelphia park system.

There were always a few owners of large plantations who were interested in making their estates beautiful as well as productive, but most of the large land owners in Maryland in the early days were interested in agriculture—not in horticulture or in beautifying the grounds of their estates. They experimented in growing new crops and in trying out new methods of farming.

The first commercial nursery for the distribution of imported fruit trees was established in 1730 by Robert Prince at Flushing, Long Island.[16] However, the delivery of mail and transportation between Maryland and New York was slow and uncertain. It was probably easier for people in Maryland to order nursery stock and seeds through their English agents. Maryland tobacco and iron was shipped to London and when sold the shipper drew against his credit there. The returning vessels brought the ordered articles to the dock at Annapolis or to other Chesapeake ports.

Charles Carroll, Barrister, sent his agents in London long lists of clothing for himself and his wife, furniture, draperies, china and silver for Mount Clare, which he asked them to purchase. He ordered not only books on gardening and husbandry but vegetable seeds and fruit trees for planting at his country seat.[17]

His chief agent, William Anderson, merchant, was married to Rebecca Lloyd, a Maryland girl and cousin of Carroll's wife, Margaret Tilghman. In 1764, a year after the marriage of Carroll and Miss Tilghman, they began their custom of spending the summer months at Mount Clare, returning to Annapolis for the winter season of gaiety. Carroll devoted much time to the development of his country estate and in a letter to Anderson calls himself "an experiment-making farmer." His orders included many varieties of field seeds—ten varieties of grass seed—enough to sow an acre or less—for experimental purposes, as well as seeds for his vegetable garden. In 1764-66 he ordered broccoli, "colleflower," celery seed and an ounce of the finest "Cantalioup Melion seed," also "asparagus seed enough for 3 or 4 beds, 30

[16] Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 1517.

[17] W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXI (1936), 112-126, and "Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister," *ibid.*, 298-332, and subsequent volumes through XXXVIII (1943).

feet long and 6 ft. Broad, or Roots if they can be got and safely sent."

In a letter to Anderson, dated July 20, 1767, he mentioned that Mrs. Carroll took much pleasure in gardening and enclosed a list of peach stones she wanted. " Each of which she would be Glad if you could send these stones tied up in Different Parcels and the names of Each wrote on the Parcel." Mrs. Carroll must have been a true gardener to ask for named varieties hearly two hundred years ago. But perhaps a Tilghman from the Eastern Shore would be a gardener without peer.

Carroll wrote to his agents in Bristol in January, 1768, asking their aid in procuring a gardener for Mount Clare.

I am in want of a Gardener that understands a Kitchen Garden well and Grafting, Budding, Inoculating and the Management of an orchard and Fruit Trees Pretty Well. . . . If you can meet with such a one who will ship himself under Indenture to serve me as above for four or five years, I will pay the usual Expenses of his Passage and Allow him Reasonable Annual Wages, which I suppose Considering I Pay his Passage, will not be above five or six pounds Sterling per Annum. There come in Gardeners in every Branch from Scotland at Six pounds a year.

The gardener evidently arrived and proved satisfactory for in July of that year Carroll ordered through William and James Anderson (son of William) 56 fruit trees, named varieties of plums, apricots, nectarines, cherries and pears. He specified that the trees were to be " from graft or bud and three years old, or as old as they could be and moved safely." That summer Carroll ordered through his agents in Maderia, Scott, Pringle & Co., vines of the best and largest black and white eating grapes. " Not the Cuttings, but the Vine with the Root to it, and put up in a Box with a little Mold that may preserve them." He asked them to send " one or Two Bearing Lemon Trees in Boxes with earth and two or three of any other trees of Good Fruit you think we can manage in this climate with the help of a Greenhouse."

Like the orangery at Hampton, the Ridgely estate in Baltimore County, which today is only a memory and that at Wye House in Talbot County, still extant but no longer used, the earliest greenhouses in Maryland were built for winter protection of tubbed orange and lemon trees and other tender plants, rather than for propagating purposes. The orangery at Wye is unique in Mary-

land in having a low second story above the central part of the building. In England sleeping quarters placed above the greenhouse were not uncommon. They gave added protection to the plants below which might otherwise freeze through the roof. We wonder how the gardener or servants fared in cold weather. After the Barrister's death in 1783, Mrs. Carroll continued to live at Mount Clare until her death in 1817. By her will she left her greenhouse and the plants therein, valued at $250 in the inventory of her estate, to James Carroll, the Barrister's nephew, who inherited the property.[18] Whether this was the same greenhouse mentioned by Carroll in 1768 is not known.

No later letter books of Barrister Carroll have been found. Tradition credits Mount Clare with being one of the outstanding country seats of its day, but no description of the garden or grounds has been found other than the few lines which John Adams wrote in his diary on February 23, 1777, when a delegate to the Continental Congress which met in Baltimore that winter. "[The house] is one mile from the water. There is a most beautiful walk from the house down to the water; there is a descent not far from the house; you have a fine garden then you descend a few steps and have another fine garden; you go down a few more and have another." [19] This much-quoted description of the "falls" or terraces at Mount Clare must have been written largely from hearsay for Adams's only view of the house was on a Sunday afternoon walk to Ferry Branch where there was a ferry from Baltimore on the road to Annapolis—well over a mile distant from the Barrister's home.

Of the Barrister's home in Annapolis very little is known. The house stood on the slope of Green Street, overlooking the harbor until about the turn of the 20th century when it was demolished to build the present public school. Presumably it had a garden, for in 1769, William Eddis, Surveyor of Customs at Annapolis, likened the city to an agreeable village with open spaces between the houses. Most of the habitations, he wrote, had well-stocked gardens—some of them planted in decent style.[20] On the edge of the town were the homes of men of culture and wealth who were closely connected with the so called "Court Party." Their fine

[18] Baltimore City Court House, Wills # 3, f. 503.

[19] *Works of John Adams*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, II (Boston, 1850), 435.

[20] William Eddis, *Letters from America* . . . (London, 1792), p. 17 *ff*.

brick Georgian residences, a few of which survive today, were at that time surrounded by ample grounds which in some cases extended to a private wharf on a water front. These men were in close touch with England; they knew what was the fashion there and we can feel sure that the sophisticated owners of these beautiful houses had gardens befitting their homes.

Dr. Samuel Dick, delegate from New Jersey to Continental Congress, which met in Annapolis, 1783-84, described the city in a letter to a friend as having about 300 houses, " some of them Superb and Magnificent with corresponding Gardens and Improvements." [21] The Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, who visited Annapolis in 1797, noted in his journal that many of the spacious houses had fine gardens in better order than any he had seen in America.[22] This was indeed high praise from a gentleman of discernment who had toured America for three years, stopping at all the important cities from Maine to Charleston, S. C. Few traces of eighteenth century gardens remain in Annapolis today, for as the city expanded, many of these pleasant gardens were sacrificed as building lots.

The house of Edmund Jennings, Secretary of the Province, stood northeast of the State House on land now part of the grounds of the Naval Academy. He returned to England in 1754 but we know that for three years he had employed " an extraordinary good Gardener. . . A thorough Master of his Business and well understands the laying out of new work or anything belonging to a Garden." [23] Jennings died at Bath two years later and his house was rented as the official residence of Governor Horatio Sharpe until 1769 when he was succeeded by Governor Robert Eden. Sharpe retired to his country seat, White Hall, a house of unsurpassed beauty which he built in 1765 for a summer retreat. Here he lived the pleasant life of a Maryland gentleman—entertaining his friends, interested in developing his farm, his stable of race horses, and in laying out a garden between the house and the bay. The garden at White Hall today is obviously modern, but the plan and planting are suitable to a house of that period. A tree box (*buxus arborescens*) which towers above the roof of a

[21] Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1937), VII, 472.

[22] Rochefoucault-Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America, 1795-97*, III (London, 1800), 580.

[23] *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 12, 1752, p. 4, col. 1.

small covered well at one side of the garden is undoubtedly a survival of an early day.

Governor Eden purchased the Jennings house from the heirs and resided there until he returned to England in 1777. Of this house Eddis wrote in the autumn of 1769: " The Governor's house is most beautifully situated. . . . The garden is not extensive, but it is desposed to the utmost advantage; the center walk is terminated by a small green mount, close to which the Severn approaches; this elevation commands an extensive view of the bay and adjacent country." [24]

William Paca, one of the leading legal lights of that day, in 1763 built a handsome brick dwelling on Prince George Street, which still stands and is now the front section of the Sheraton-Carvel Hall Hotel. Paca's home was Wye Plantation on the Eastern Shore, and this city residence he built for his bride, Mary Chew. The grounds behind the Paca house extended to a little inlet which opened on the Severn River. There he docked his barge, rowed by Negro slaves, which carried him from shore to shore and up and down the Bay. Elihu S. Riley, historian of Annapolis, describes Paca's garden but fails to give the source of his information. Extensive shrubbery, he says, gave it privacy; trees gave shade to an octagonal two-storey summer house that represented " My Lady's Bower "; a spring house and an artificial brook fed by two springs rippled along to a bath house " that refreshed in the sultry days and gave delight to the occupants." [25] Possibly this garden was a Maryland adaptation of the romantic-naturalistic gardens which were popular in England about this time. These gardens were informal in plan; they stressed massed plantings of shrubbery and included many artifical features such as running brooks, cascades, summer houses and even Chinese pagodas.

We know that in former days the grounds of the Hammond-Harwood house extended to meet the Paca property and that the vegetable garden of the Harwood family was at this end of their land. The fine boxwood at the lower end of the grounds today was planted by Mrs. Richard Loockerman, who in 1811, by gift

[24] *Letters, loc. cit.*
[25] *The Ancient City* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 307.

of her father, Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase, became the owner of the house built by Mathias Hammond in 1774.[26]

Across the street from the Hammond-Harwood house stands the large three-story brick house known today as the Chase house. Samuel Chase commenced building this house in 1769, but two years later sold it, still unfinished, to Col. Edward Lloyd, IV, who completed it. For many years it was the city residence of the Lloyd family of the Eastern Shore. Nothing is known of the garden there. The Lloyd's garden at Wye was without doubt the finest in the State. Perhaps they needed no other.

The house built by John Ridout in 1763 still stands on the high ground of Duke of Gloucester Street, overlooking the harbor. It is said that this property extended to the harbor at that time. Today it extends only as far as the grounds of the public school. Ridout, who accompanied Governor Sharpe to Annapolis in 1753 as his private secretary, became a member of the Governor's Council and married Mary Ogle, daughter of the late Governor. For her he built this fine brick house which is still occupied by their descendants. The lot is wide and deep; the ground slopes away from the house. Steps lead from a portico at the rear of the house to a terrace which extends the length of the house. The ground below this terrace is broken by three shallow "falls" which in former days were probably planted with flowers. Below these now faintly discernible terraces the lawn slopes gently to the lower end of the lot. Centered on the portico is a wide grass path bordered by beds of shrubbery—lilacs, altheas, crape myrtle, etc., not ancient or even very old, but they probably give much the same effect as when Ridout planned his garden. Only the tall trees at the edge of the lawn, with ivy covering their trunks, are old.

Still standing on Shipwright Street at the head of Revell Street is the mellow brick house built by Dr. Upton Scott who came to Annapolis in 1753 as Governor Sharpe's private physician. Tradition states that this house which Scott built about 1765 originally fronted east and that the door at the rear of the house today, which opens on a wide expanse of lawn, was formerly the front entrance. This may be true, for this facade of the house with small hooded porch is more elaborate than the rather severe front on Shipwright

[26] *Ibid.* Box was not introduced in quantity until the late eighteenth century. Many gardens with magificent box, which we call "ancient," actually date from after 1800. See Richardson Wright, *Story of Gardening* (Garden City, L. I., 1934), p. 352-353.

Street. Tradition also states that Scott's property originally extended to Spa Creek, and that the Doctor's flower and vegetable garden lay on what is now the slope of Revell Street. Like Governor Sharpe and his friend John Ridout, Dr. Scott was an ardent gardener and horticulturist and spent many happy hours improving his garden. This was the garden that Francis Scott Key knew well for Mrs. Scott (Elizabeth Ross) was his great-aunt and for seven years he lived at the Scott home while attending St. John's College where he graduated in 1796. A letter written by Mrs. Scott in 1802, laments a wet summer with no sunshine which had spoiled all their fruit. "Our vines loaded with grapes, all mouldering, & apples rotting, peaches almost gone." [27] The diary of David Baillie Warden who dined at the Scotts' in 1811, before sailing from Annapolis to become Secretary of the American Legation at Paris, mentions the doctor's interest in botany and the many rare shrubs and plants in his garden and greenhouse.[28] Needless to say, no traces of greenhouse or rare plants remain today. Since 1880 the property has been owned by the Sisters of Notre Dame. The "garden" of the Convent today consists of a well-kept lawn surrounded by a high brick wall and some old but not aged boxwood. A wide brick path, probably old, bisects the lawn from the porch to a shrub-planted terrace at the lower end of the grounds.

The large brick house in which Charles Carroll, the Signer, was born in 1737 still stands on the sloping ground between Duke of Gloucester and Shipwright Streets. It was to this house that Carroll returned in 1765 after completing his education in Europe and it continued to be his Annapolis home until 1820 when he moved to Baltimore where his three children were living. This old house with a ballroom forty feet long on the second floor was the scene of many entertainments in Carroll's day for he was noted for his fine hospitality. The ball room is now a chapel, for the property was deeded to the Redemptorist order in 1851 by Carroll's granddaughter, Mrs. Emily (Caton) MacTavish. The spacious grounds today are partly enclosed by a high brick wall and only the rear of the house is visible from Shipwright Street. Visible also, and unchanged, are the long terraces or falls, edged with boxwood, which once led to Carroll's private wharf on Spa Creek.

[27] Mrs Scott to Mrs. Maynadier, collection Maryland Historical Society.
[28] "Journal of a Voyage," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XI (1916), 132.

These magnificent borders of billowy box remain today a living reminder and fine example of an eighteenth century terraced garden and prove the good taste in which these old gardens were laid out.

We know there were small backyard gardens in Annapolis also in which their owners took great pleasure and pride. The delightfully gossipy diary kept by William Faris (1728-1804), celebrated silversmith of that city, recorded not only the daily happenings in the town, but carefully noted among the deaths, births and marriages various gifts of seeds and roots and bulbs by neighbors and friends: " 1795. May 25. Sowed Brussels sprouts from Mr. Maynadier—a sort of cabbage seed from the Governor. Miss Mariah Thomas made me a present of between 20 and 30 silk worms; 1800., Sept 4, Sowed the Dutch tulip I got from Dr. Scott." [29]

Tulips were apparently his favorite flower for on May 19, 1797, he wrote: " broke off 56 stalks, which makes the whole number 1956." What a brave show they must have made in his backyard garden that spring! Whether he grew bulbs for sale we do not know. In his account book under date of October 23, 1799, he wrote " 40 Doll's of Mr. John Quynn for tulip roots £15:0:0." [30] Quite possibly he felt his years were creeping up on him and disposed of his stock, for there are few items relating to his garden after 1800.

Annapolis too was growing older and perhaps discouraged, for in the several decades following the close of the Revolutionary War, Baltimore outstripped her old rival and became the chief port in Maryland. Especially fortunate were some of the Baltimore merchants who amassed sizable fortunes in the shipping business. It became the fashion for these merchant princes, as they were called, to own a country seat adjacent to the city where they spent the humid months of summer. There they enjoyed the first June peas from their well-stocked gardens and entertained their friends at strawberry and cherry parties followed by ices and dancing. Gradually the owners of these fine estates became interested in landscaping the grounds of their country seats and many fine

[29] " Extracts from the Diary of William Faris of Annapolis, Maryland, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII, No. 3 (September, 1933), pp. 197-244.

[30] Faris-McParlin Account Book, 1790-1800, collection Maryland Historical Society.

specimen trees, a few of which still survive, notably at Hampton, the Ridgely estate in Baltimore County, were planted about this time. Gardens were laid out to show to advantage the many new varieties of flowering plants, roses and shrubs which began to be introduced here from England and the Orient after the close of the Revolution.

What man or woman could resist buying something from Peter Bellet, seedsman and florist, who advertised in the *Maryland Journal*, January 24, 1786, that

> he has yet on hand an extensive variety of the most rare bulbous Flowers and Seeds which have not been known before in this Country. He has also just imported from Amsterdan, the most beautiful Rununculas, a variety of 120 Sorts, in all Colours; 60 Sorts of double Anemonies; 25 Sorts of monthly Rose Trees; 11 Sorts of Jessamines; 22 Sorts of Carnations; 11 Sorts of rare bulbous Pyamids; 8 Sorts of Passeetouts; 8 Sorts of Tube-Roses, 8 Sorts of Taracelles; all sorts of Tulip seed, 16 sorts of Narcissus; 20 sorts of double jonquils, the most rare and in all colours; Hyacinths of the very best Sorts; 46 Sorts of Flower Seeds; all sorts of Fresh garden seeds; and Colliflower. He has also for sale very elegant artificial Flowers and Feathers, suitable for the Ladies. . . . Please apply immediately at his Lodgings, at the Sign of the Lamb, in Charles St., French-Town, as he intends to return to his store in Philadelphia in a few Days.

Harlem, the country seat of Adrian Valck, a Hollander who settled in Baltimore after the Revolutionary War, must have ranked with the finest estates of that day. Valck met with business reverses and in June. 1800, his 31-acre property was sold by auction to William Lorman. Quite probably his garden and grounds were laid out in the Dutch style with which he was familiar. The auctioneer's advertisement of his property mentions:

> A large garden in the highest state of cultivation, laid out in numerous and convenient walks and squares bordered with espaliers, on which for many years past, the greatest variety of fruit trees, the choicest fruits from the best nurseries in this country and Europe have been attentively and successfully cultivated. . . . Behind the garden is a grove and shrubbery or bosquet planted with a great variety of the finest forest trees, oderiferous & other flowering shrubs etc.

Mentioned also was a kitchen garden fenced with planks and paling, a complete greenhouse, 2 hot beds with 12 movable frames and on an eminence was a pavillion, under which was " a well-constructed ice vault." [31]

[31] *Federal Gazette,* June 14, 1800.

This property, which included a brick dwelling house, a brick gardener's house, a brick stable for 7 horses and 12 cows, a frame stable and carriage house, a dairy laid in marble and a " pidgeon " house, was sold the next year by Lorman to Capt. George Stiles for $15,000. Stiles in 1815 sold the estate to Thomas Edmondson.

Surviving today is an oil painting of Harlem painted in 1834-35 by Nicolino V. Calyo for Mr. Edmondson.[32] It shows a well kept lawn bordered with shrubs and flower beds; enclosing the whole area are stately shade trees. On a rise of ground opposite the entrance door of the house is the graceful pavillion with ice vault beneath it, built by Valck, and at the edge of the lawn is the large, very high greenhouse, presumably the one built by Valck. Dr. Thomas Edmondson, Jr., who inherited the property, was an early member of the Maryland Horticultural Society and is said to have been more interested in fine arts and horticulture than in medicine. After his death in 1856 many of the rare exotic plants in his greenhouse were purchased by Thomas Winans for his recently completed manison, Alexandroffsky.[33] By his will Dr. Edmondson left about ten acres of his 36-acre estate to the City for a public park, known today as Harlem Square in northwest Baltimore.

The years following the end of the Revolutionary War saw the growth of the nursery and seed business in America. Prince's Nursery at Flushing, L. I. at that time was the leading nursery in the States. It continued to expand and under the proprietorship of William Prince [34] (1766-1842), a grandson or the founder who inherited the nursery in 1802, it reached the height of its fame. He continued the importation of foreign fruit trees and in his catalogue for 1825 listed over 100 varieties of apples and pears, 75 varieties of peaches and over 50 varieties of cherries and plums as well as apricots, nectarines and quinces. Americans took their fruit growing very seriously in those days. Prince also introduced to American gardens many of the fine ornamental trees and shrubs which we take for granted today. Later he became deeply interested in floriculture, especially in new kinds and varieties of roses, dahlias and geraniums; by 1834 he was

[32] See *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland, Catalogue of Exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art* (1945), p. 48.

[33] Information about the Edmondson sale of plants was given by Mr. James E. Steuart, descendant of Dr. Edmondson.

[34] Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 1517.

growing 250 varieties of the latter, 600 varieties of dahlias and 700 varieties of roses. An astonishing number compared to the listings of leading nurserymen and specialists today.

Marylanders knew Prince's Nursery well for items from it are found in old account books, diaries and in advertisements of sales of orchards. He undoubtedly gave his customers good measure for it is said that he conducted his nursery more for pleasure than for profit. When he found someone whose interest and enthusiasm in new and unusual plant material equalled his own, he gave liberally of his finest stock. General Thomas Marsh Forman (1758-1845) of Rose Hill, Cecil County, was without doubt a kindred spirit for between 1825 and 1828 he recorded over 60 " presents from Mr. Prince." [35] Many varieties of rare trees and shrubs and countless numbers of fruit and nut trees were sent from the nursery at Flushing to Rose Hill. A number of these fine specimen trees survive today—three English yews received by the General in 1825 are said to be the largest in America and a magnificent *magnolia acuminata* (cucumber tree) is certainly worthy of listing in Maryland's record of biggest trees, prepared by the Forestry Department. General Forman's notebook, " Nursery & Grafting, Budding & Planting," now in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society, is a running record of nearly twenty years of his activities and interests at Rose Hill and of his " presents " from nurserymen and purchased nursery material. One wishes he had been more graphic in his recordings, for he gives no clue to the planting plan at Rose Hill. It is only from Mrs. Forman's diary that we learn that 32 rose bushes bordered the path leading to the garden and to enclose the " privy " she had planted " a Cherokee rose, a monthly rose, a jessamine, a hundred leaf rose, the Rose of Cassia, honeysuckle, sweet-scented shrub and Spannish broom "; on the south front of the house she had planted a multiflora rose and honeysuckle.[36]

Forman, who descended from Robert Forman, founder of Flushing, L. I., was the son of Ezekiel Forman of Kent County.[37] Rose Hill on Sassafras Neck, was the home of Thomas Marsh, his maternal grandfather from whom he inherited the estate after the Revolution. Forman saw action at the battles of Trenton and

[35] Notebook cited in Lockwood, *op. cit.*, 169-172.
[36] Collection Maryland Historical Society.
[37] Henry Chandlee Forman, *Early Manors and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, Md., 1934), p. 237.

Princeton and spent the long winter at Valley Forge. Part of the time he served as aide to General William Alexander, usually known as Lord stirling. Little is known of his first wife who was a Philadelphian. For her he built a three story brick addition, only three bays wide but 44 ft. long, which joins the low frame dwelling built a century before by his grandfather, making a " T " shaped house. Viewed from the east the long brick side of the house with its two massive chimneys and captain's walk is quite impressive. The north and south façades of the house are identical and slightly reminiscent of Myrtle Grove, the fine frame and brick house of the Goldsborough-Henry family in Talbot County, but Rose Hill lacks the excellent proportions of that old home. Shoulder-high box bushes grow against the foundation walls of Rose Hill today. When they were placed there is not known. The house is beautifully located on a ridge which commands a fine view of rolling fields and woodland. South of the house the land has been cleared and slopes to a view of a creek some fields distant—a view which lingers long in one's memory. On the wide lawn north and west of the house are a number of fine specimen trees of great age. Century-old evergreens and gigantic hollies; a willow oak, (*salix Phellos*) with a girth well over 16 ft. A few European lindens stili mark what was once a long walk which led to the formal garden west of the house. This terraced garden, which is laid out in three levels, measures 282 x 180 ft. Once it was entirely edged with box as were the paths and circles of the plan. Today the box is hedge-high and though some bushes are missing, much still remains and so luxurious is its growth in the shade of ancient trees that many of the paths are entirely closed. No flowers bloom in this entirely green garden today.

General Forman, who was the first president of the Maryland Jockey Club, founded in 1830, is chiefly remembered for his interest in fine horses and for his racing stable. In the shadow of a small grove of Italian stone pines are the lonely graves of several of his jockeys. One stone which bears the date 1790 is in memory of Thomas Oakes, a native of Great Britain who died in his forty-third year. Just when and why the General became interested in beautifying his estate is not known.

In 1814, a few months before he took command of his brigade in Baltimore for the defense of the City, he married again. His second wife was Martha Brown (Ogle) Callender, a handsome

widow from Christiana, Delaware, who was his junior by thirty years. Her diary, which she kept from 1814 to 1820, now at the Maryland Historical Society, records day by day her busy, happy life on this pleasant and prosperous plantation. She often rode with the General to inspect their fields of wheat and tobacco and drove with him in their coach and four to Chestertown; occasionally they visited nearby neighbors in their canoe. Many friends came to spend the day at Rose Hill and she entertained frequently when the strawberries, cherries and peaches were at their best. Her inventory of the silver, glass and china at Rose Hill is most interesting and one wishes she had made as careful a record of the planting in the garden. She notes the date they picked the first radishes and peas and when they had a killing frost; she laments over a long drought in the summer of 1819 which killed many trees and shrubs but mentions the flower garden very casually: " March 19th—crocuses begining to make their appearance." One year their lawn was mowed as early as May 11th: " it really looks very beautiful." The record of preserves she put up shows that every known kind of fruit was grown in the Rose Hill orchards. She mentions gathering sweet and bitter almonds from trees the General raised from seed, and in 1817 she writes of a long walk they took to gather some chestnuts. Two years later she noted: " 759 chestnuts grew out of 1½ bushels planted. The squirrels having taken all the rest." We wonder if they were the Spanish chestnuts that were planted in a long avenue for which Rose Hill was famous in later years.[88] Not one remains today for they, too, were victims of the chestnut blight which destroyed native chestnut trees in the first quarter of this century.

In 1818 her diary records planting 1400 cuttings of box-wood. Possibly these were made for the formal box garden which was one of the glories of Rose Hill. Box can do a lot of growing in 125 years. From her account of a gala supper party at Rose Hill in June, 1819, we know there were roses in the garden for she used them with a lavish hand on her table. Her centerpiece was a silver goblet of ice cream decorated with a half-blown Moss rose; roses ornamented silver " boles of Island "; four glass dishes of the first strawberries of the year were flanked by plates of custard and pink porcupine rice. Supplementing this array of food were four

[88] Spanish, or European chestnuts were introduced to America in 1803 by Irénée du Pont of Wilmington, Del. See Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 742.

dishes of sweet-meats (preserves) ornamented with roses, " which gave a very pretty effect."

The following year her diary noted the arrival of a shipment of plants from Mr. Prince which included roses—a single yellow, a large monthly, a yellow and red Austrian and an apple rose. For the General's orchard were named varieties of peaches, pears and cherries and, for ornament, one weeping cherry tree.

Mrs. Forman may not have been as garden-minded as her husband but she, too, loved Rose Hill. On her return from a visit to Annapolis in the summer of 1817, she wrote in her journal: " O Rose Hill, I was truly glad to see you—You have more charm for me than any other place." Rose Hill today is shorn of many of its past glories but not of its charm and through the Forman records this noble estate blooms again and will never die. The property is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Eliason.

Although General Forman preferred to order his plants from New York and Philadelphia nurserymen, there were well established nurseries near Baltimore which catered to eager but less exacting gardeners. One of the earliest advertisers of nursery stock was Philip Walter, who stated in the *Maryland Gazette,* November 18, 1790, that he had for sale " Catalpa Flower Trees, weeping willows, English walnuts of the best kind, bitter almonds, Senna trees and altheas, red and purple." Walter is not listed in the Baltimore Directory until 1803. That year he had a nursery-garden on the Hookstown turnpike, now the Reisterstown Road.

The first advertisement of William Booth, " nursery and seedsman " appeared in the *Federal Gazette*, July 21, 1796. Booth is credited with having laid out some of the fine gardens in and near Baltimore, though documentary proof of this is lacking. His five acre nursery, located on what is now West Baltimore Street, adjoined the country seat of the Hon. James McHenry, from whom he rented the land for a term of 30 years. The inventory of Booth's nursery made after his death in 1818, does not contain unusual plant material.[39] The next year his widow, Mrs. Margaret Booth, is listed in the Directory as " Vendor of garden seeds." She continued the nursery and seed business for ten years.

Robert Sinclair's nursery on the eastern outskirts of Baltimore was well and favorably known for many years. In 1829 he ad-

[39] Baltimore City Court House, Inventories, Liber # 33. Copied for records on Hampton by Mrs. Charlotte V. Verplanck.

vertised " his ambition leads him to endeavor to make his Nursery to Maryland, what Prince's is to New York—its pride and bost." [40] This nursery was inherited by his son-in-law, John William Corse, in 1838. In 1847 Corse purchased 100 acres of Furley Hall, the country seat of the Daniel Bowly family, and known as the Claremont-Furley Nurseries, it continued for many years.

In 1833 Samuel Feast established a nursery at Cockeysville, Baltimore County. He and John Feast were charter members of the Maryland Horticultural Society organized that year by a group of enthusiastic gentlemen and a few nurserymen. At the first exhibition of the Society held on June 14, 1833, held in the Athenaeum Building, Baltimore, Samuel Feast exhibited exotics and heaths. He was awarded the first premium—a silver cream jug—for the best raspberries grown from seed.[41] A few years later he gave to the world two roses of his origination which were very popular—Baltimore Belle and Queen of the Prairies.

The Rosebank Nursery of William Dunlop Brackenridge (1810-1893) on York Road near Govans was justly celebrated in its day. Brackenridge, who received his early training in Scotland, was in 1838 appointed botanist by the U. S. Government to the expedition to explore the Pacific. On his return in 1842 he was entrusted with growing the plants and seeds which he had collected —some 40,000 specimens. Many of these plants can still be seen in the Botanic garden and greenhouse at the foot of Capitol hill. In 1855 he moved to Baltimore where he established a large nursery and extensive greenhouse.[42] Many of the fine estates of that day, notably Clifton, the country seat of Johns Hopkins, were laid out by Brackenridge and his name often occurs in the account books of the Ridgely family for ornamental trees and shrubs, evergreens and greenhouse plants for Hampton.

The early nurserymen of Maryland without doubt helped greatly to raise the standard of gardening in the State by awakening the interest of gardeners and the general public in new and better plant material.

Of equal importance were the early 19th century books on agriculture, horticulture and kindred subjects written by Americans for the people of America. Prior to the Revolution the colonists

[40] *The American Farmer,* XI (1829-30), 372.
[41] *Ibid.,* XV (1833-34), 113.
[42] *D. A. B.,* II, 545-546 and *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 199.

had depended solely on English publications for information on planting. Due to differences in climate and soil, these instructions were often misleading and sometimes disastrous. The first book on agriculture written by a Marylander was *Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs* by John Beale Bordley (1724-1804), which was published in Philadelphia in 1799. Bordley, a distinguished lawyer of Annapolis, in 1770 came into possession of 1,600 acres on Wye Island which he farmed on a large scale. Like Charles Carroll, the Barrister, he was an experimental farmer far in advance of his day. He did not believe in growing tobacco year after year to the detriment of the soil but practiced a rotation of crops of wheat, hemp, flax and cotton. We know he had fine orchards and grew many varieties of vegetables, but he makes no mention of a flower garden, though he probably had one, for he lived in almost regal style on his island estate for over twenty years. Nothing remains today of any planting he made or of his great house which was destroyed by fire in 1879.[43]

For many years garden-minded colonists had used as their guide Philip Miller's *Gardener's and Florist's Dictionary*, an authoritative work first published in London in 1724 with many subsequent editions. After the Revolution when foreign plant material began to flood the American market, English books on gardening were found to be inadequate and misleading in their instructions. Although Americans felt the need for a book written by one who understood conditions and problems of gardening in the States, it was not until 1804 that the first book on gardening in America appeared. John Gardiner and David Hepburn were the joint authors of *The American Gardener* which was published in Washington, D. C. This book of over 200 pages, but so small it could be slipped in a pocket, gave month by month instruction for the care of kitchen and flower gardens, shrubs, orchards, hop yards, nurseries, greenhouses and hot beds. This book had a very extensive sale and started the long train of books on gardening which continues today. David Hepburn who supplied the practical knowledge found in the book had been gardener at Gen. John Mason's estate on Analostan Island, Potomac River, and at Cedar Park, the seat of Governor Mercer in Anne Arundel County. We could wish he had described these estates which ranked high at that time. Nothing remains now of the deer park at Cedar Park

[43] Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1934), p. 299.

mentioned by Parkinson,[44] a rare thing to find in Maryland for he saw only one other in his travels through the State. That was at Wye, Col. Lloyd's estate on the Eastern Shore. Still surviving at Cedar Park are the magnificent hedges of clipped holly and bush roses which bound the garden area today. Known locally as the Daily rose, these old bushes are covered with small fragrant pink blossoms in June.

The first book published in America on the culture of grapes was by a resident of Maryland. Major John Adlum of Wilton Farm near Georgetown established an experimental vineyard there for the amelioration of native grapes.[45] He is credited with having brought the now popular Catawba grape to public notice. Thomas Jefferson when in Washington was so favorably impressed with the wine made by Adlum, which he likened to Caumartin burgundy, that in 1810 he ordered 165 cuttings of Adlum's grapes for planting at Monticello.[46] Adlum's book, *A Memoir on the Cultivation of the Vine in America and the Best Mode of Making Wine*, was published in Washington, D. C., in 1823.

Baltimore stepped into the publishing limelight in the early 1820's with the publication of three books on gardens and horticulture which are collector's items today. In 1819, Fielding Lucas, Jr., published *The Practical American Gardener* by "An Old Gardener." The identity of the author of this quite ambitious work of over 400 small sized pages has never been discovered. Presumably he was not a local man, for his comments and advice on the kitchen garden, flower garden, orchard, shrubbery, etc., cover conditions on the entire eastern seaboard. Of special interest are the lists of plant material he appends to each subject. His chapter on laying out and planting "pleasure grounds" proves that owners of large estates were becoming interested in extending the cultivated area of their grounds and were landscaping them for pictorial effect.

Joseph P. Casey, who is listed in the 1821 Baltimore Directory as "botanist," with a seed store on Hanover Street, wrote and published that year, *A Treatise on the Culture of Flower Roots and Greenhouse Plants* which he presented "principally to the

[44] Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America, 1798-1800* (2 vols., London, 1805), I, 226-27.
[45] Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 226-27.
[46] *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book*, p. 423.

Notice of Ladies," a sign that the ladies were becoming plant conscious. At his shop he sold auricula seed at $25 an ounce and listed a number of varieties of tulips, singles and doubles and parroquets.

In 1823 Joseph Robinson, whose circulating library on Market Street, was a rendezvous for book lovers for many years, published and printed *The American Gardener* by William Cobbett. Cobbett was an Englishman who for political reasons resided in America for two brief periods. This book was also issued in New York and New Hampshire and was reproduced in London in 1827 with considerable modifications as *The English Gardener.*

Baltimore was also the first publishing home of *The American Farmer*, the first American magazine issued in the interest of agriculture with articles of horticultural interest as well. The founder and editor of this popular weekly which commenced publication in 1819, was John Stuart Skinner (1788-1851), a native of Calvert County.[47] Skinner was Francis Scott Key's companion that fateful night of September 13th, 1814, when the glare of the rockets showed the flag at Fort McHenry was still flying. He was postmaster of Baltimore from 1816 to 1837 and from all accounts had a most engaging personality and a wide circle of friends. In 1824 he was corresponding secretary of the Maryland Agricultural Society, founded in 1786; he was a charter member and a counsellor of the Maryland Horticultural Society, organized in 1832 by a small group of prominent Baltimoreans who met in the office of the *American Farmer* to draft the constitution.[48] The next year Skinner sold the magazine to I. Irvine Hitchcock, who became the recording secretary of the Horticultural Society. Dr. Gideon B. Smith, a prominent physician and entomologist of Baltimore, became editor of the magazine.

Probably due largely to Hitchcock's connection with the Maryland Horticultural Society and to rapidly increasing interest of Marylanders in new plant material for their gardens and greenhouses, Hitchcock and Smith in 1833 opened a " General Agriculture and Horticulture Establishment " in the office of the *American Farmer*, 16 South Calvert St., where they sold seeds of all sorts. The announcement of this enterprise informed the general public that they were " special agents for most of the principal nursery

[47] *D. A. B.*, XVII, 199-201.
[48] J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 465.

and gardening establishments in the Union, among which are Prince & Sons at Flushing L. I., Mrs. Parmentier's at Brooklyn, N. Y., Hibbert and Buist's at Philadelphia, . . ." [49] This was a rare opportunity for Maryland people to buy the world's best with little effort. From then on the *American Farmer* carried excellent articles on horticulture and floriculture; any one interested in knowing what plant material was available a century and more ago, will enjoy scanning the pages of this magazine which under several owners and editors continued until the Civil War.

Interesting also are the well-written accounts of the early exhibitions of the Maryland Horticultural Society. The schedule of classes, rules and regulations are given and the list of awards. Everybody who has attended the flower shows staged by the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland at the Baltimore Museum of Art can appreciate how stimulating these early shows must have been to the general public who visited them in throngs in the early 1830's. In 1833 a silver cup was awarded Mrs. William McKim for the best collection of gooseberries and silver medals were given to Mrs. T. L. Emory and Mrs. Thomas Edmondson for oranges and lemons and collections of rare exotics. The thirteen prizes awarded were all made by Andrew E. Warner, well-known silversmith of Baltimore and were engraved with the cypher of the Society.[50] Possibly these coveted trophies are treasured today by their descendants for none have been located to date.

Hon. John Pendleton Kennedy, Baltimore's beloved silver-tongued orator delivered the address at the first exhibition which was held June 11th and 12th, 1833, at the Athenaeum.[51] He paid tribute to the French refugees from Santo Domingo who settled in Baltimore at the end of the 18th century. " They brought with them an invaluable gift to our people—the knowledge of plants and garden stuffs. After their arrival . . . almost immediately Baltimore became distinguished for the profusion and excellence of fruits and vegatables which supplied our tables." Baltimoreans were well aware of the worth of these transplanted Frenchmen for the *American*, February 28, 1824, carried an advertisement for a gardener wanted to superintend a country seat near the city—" a person acquainted with the French style of cultivation would be preferred."

[49] Collection Maryland Historical Society.
[50] *Baltimore Gazette & Daily Advertiser,* June 4, 1833, p. 3.
[51] Printed copy of this address in Maryland Historical Society.

These green-thumb refugees from Santo Domingo had inherited the French traditions of fine gardens and horticulture for which France had long been noted. The kings of France were a truly royal race of gardeners and their gardens at Versailles, the Trianons, and elsewhere are world famous today. The Empress Josephine, also a regal floriculturist, knew and carried on the tradition at Malmaison. There she assembled a collection of all the known roses of the world and is credited with holding the world's first exhibitions of roses.[52] French gardeners and botanists raised the art of hybridizing to a science in which they still lead the world. In 1829 well over 2,000 roses were listed in French catalogues. Many of them are unknown today but the American Rose Society is trying to track some of them down and bring them back to favor.

From Brazil the French imported begonias and gloxinias; petunias from Argentine; verbenas, ageratum and calceolarias from South America also; dahlias and zinnias from Mexico; pelargoniums and lobelias from South Africa and cinerarias from the Canary Islands; from Java and the islands of the Pacific came crotons and coleus and plants with variegated foliage. Those from the tropics and sub-tropics had to be raised in a greenhouse before setting out in summer. Gradually they were listed by seedsmen and nurserymen and used as bedding-out plants. Parterres became exceedingly popular. Soon the public parks of Paris fairly bristled in summer with groves of rubber trees, palms, ricinus (castor-oil beans) and beds of cannas and caladiums. Geometrically laid out beds of low growing annuals, which resembled a floral rug spread on a lawn, became the rage and the fashion was soon followed in England in the early days of Victoria's reign. Seen everywhere by American tourists who more and more were making an European tour part of their cultural education, the style soon became the vogue in America.

Although these gardens of floral mosaics are derided today—for new days bring new ideas in gardening as in all else—nobody can read J. C. Carpenter's description of the garden at Hampton in 1874 and fail to realize that in its day and in its way, this garden was superb.[53] "Laid out in geometrical figures . . . in terrace after terrace, strictly kept distinct in masses of color, eight

[52] Wright, *op. cit.*, 402.
[53] "An Old Maryland Mansion" in *Appleton's Journal*, XII (1875), 577.

thousand plants were bedded out. The scarlet and orange and deep carmine of the geraniums; the blue and purple and white of the sweet-scented heliotropes; the maroon and lavender of the verbenas; the tawny gold and red of the roses; and the ample leaves of bronzy crimson and yellow of the coleus; the borderings of vivid green; the orange and lemon trees . . . made a scene exceeding beautiful." Mrs. Charles Ridgley (Margaretta Sophia Howard, granddaughter of Gov. John Eager Howard) was the mistress of Hampton then.

Without doubt some Maryland gardens completed in recent years will seem dated and odd to future generations but it is safe to predict that Maryland will never lack lovely gardens. Gardens, always, everywhere, are the outcome of a particular culture. They reflect the spirit of the day and age. They are an outward sign of a special grace.

RIVERSDALE, THE STIER-CALVERT HOME

By EUGENIA CALVERT HOLLAND

THE mansion of Riversdale, which served as the home of a branch of the Calvert family during most of the 19th century, is today owned and maintained by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission which uses the building for its Prince George's County regional office.[1] However, the casual visitor will have little difficulty envisioning it as it was about 1816 in the time of George Calvert and his progeny if, standing on the expansive lawn or walking on the site of the old terraced gardens, he ignores the modern streets and houses which now crowd the reluctant house. One may imagine the view that must have presented itself a century ago, for, with minor exceptions, this late Georgian home is little changed from the days of its glory, when it was the heart and soul of an estate of over a thousand rolling acres, of extensive woodlands, winding dirt roads, woodsheds, the old blacksmith shop, barns overflowing with grain and produce, and not the least, tobacco sheds, slave quarters, and oxen in the fields under the yoke.

The mansion is located in the town of Riverdale, approximately 6 miles north of the National Capital, between Hyattsville and

[1] This account is based largely on two groups of Stier-Calvert letters: (1) original letters from Baron de Stier to his daughter, Mrs. George Calvert, which were inherited by her great granddaughter, Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin, and are now deposited in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, and (2) translations of Mrs. Calvert's letters to her father which were obtained many years ago by Mrs. Bowdoin through her cousin, the late John Ridgely Carter. These are also in the Maryland Historical Society. The originals were at last accounts still in the hands of the decendants of the Baron in Belgium. The translations of group 1 have been made by Henri, Baron deWitte, also a descendant of Baron de Stier through his elder daughter, Isabel van Havre. Certain of the letters in group 2 were edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr., and printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1943), 123-140, 261-272, and 337-344.

Acknowledgment is gratefully made to Baron deWitte, whose translations have proved the sole basis for the earliest description of the Riversdale mansion and grounds; to my brother, William Calvert Holland, of the Maryland Bar, for his search of original deeds, wills and inventories in Anne Arundel and Prince George's Counties; to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, for his interest and encouragement; to Mr. John H. Scarff, A.I.A.; to Mr. A. Russel Slagle; to Mr. F. W. Tuemmler, and Mr. R. M. Watkins of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, for their courtesy and suggestions, and for the floor plan of the Riversdale mansion; and to the Editor for revising and preparing the manuscript for publication.

College Park, and about a quarter of a mile east of the Baltimore-Washington Boulevard (U. S. Route 1).

The house is not American, nor was it built by the Calverts. The central, or original portion, is a modified replica of the Chateau du Mick, one of the four residences of Henri Joseph, Baron de Stier, of Belgium. It is a brick house, stuccoed and painted. The prototype was somewhat larger, and is still standing ten miles north of Antwerp. It is characterized by a hipped roof, surmounted by a cupola, and these are apparent at Riversdale, although the latter has been extended on either side by wings, which add considerably to the inviting warmth of the structure. Both fronts have had four-columned porticoes added to them. As a result Riversdale presents the atmosphere of a home, whereas du Mick, massive and cold, stands somberly out from its surrounding forest.

To say that Riversdale was a by-product of the French Revolution would not be untrue. The French revolutionists, not satisfied with the annihilation of their own aristocracy, crossed the border into Belgium in 1794 and Baron de Stier, along with many of the nobility of his country, was faced with extinction. In June, 1794, Stier with his family witnessed the French victory at the battle of Fleurus from the windows in the spire of the Cathedral of Antwerp.[2] To avoid the inevitable, he gathered his family and possessions and fled with them across the Dutch border to Amsterdam. Through the good offices of Sylvanus Bourne, the American consul, and Thomas Pinckney, U. S. Minister in London, passports were arranged for the eight members of the family and two servants for passage to the United States. The document, over Pinckney's signature, names the members of the party:

> It having been represented to me by a respectable citizen of the U. S. A., that the following family of Brabant, lately resident at Antwerp, but now residing at Amsterdam to-wit Mr. Stier d'Artzelaer, his wife and daughter, Mr. Charles Stier and his wife, Mr. Jean M. A. van Havre and his wife and daughter, have chartered the American Ship Adriana, Captain Fitzpatric, of Philadelphia, purposing to embark therein for the U. S. A. I do, therefore, hereby request all persons whom these presents may concern to permit the aforementioned Family to pass unmolested to the place of their destination.[3]

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[2] George Henry Calvert, *First Years in Europe* (Boston: Lee & Shepard, [1866], p. 22.

[3] R. Winder Johnson, compiler, *The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson*, Vol. II (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1908), p. 35-36.

Stier's choice of America as a place of refuge was undoubtedly motivated by the fact that the United States was neutral, and that by going there he would be least likely to suffer confiscation of his estates, or incur other reprisals.

The *General Advertiser* of Philadelphia for the 13th of October, 1794, published the names of the Stier party who had just arrived as passengers in the *Adriana*.[4] For reasons which are not apparent, the family soon split up. Baron de Stier, his wife, Lady Marie Louise Peeters, and their youngest child, Rosalie Eugenia, aged 16, remained in that city. Their older daughter, Isabelle, and her husband, Baron Van Havre, with their three year old child, Louise Marie, moved to Alexandria, Va., where they established a residence. The son, Charles Jean Stier, and his wife, sister of Baron Van Havre, proceeded to Richmond.

The following summer, Charles, through correspondence, persuaded his father of the agreeableness of living conditions in the south, and in the fall of 1795, the Baron, his wife and Rosalie, came to Maryland, renting the estate of Strawberry Hill on the Severn River, near Annapolis.[5] In the fall of 1797, the family moved again, this time to the Brice house in Annapolis, one of the handsomest residences in that capital.[6] Here George Calvert, of Mount Airy, met Rosalie.

One of the earliest letters of this period bears Rosalie's signature. It was addressed to her brother Charles, in Virginia. " At present we are growing used to our citizenship in Annapolis and we are to make the rounds in the coach tomorrow for the first time. . . . Our new house is enormously big, four rooms below, three large and two small ones on the second floor besides the staircases, and the finest garden in Annapolis. . . ." The hall was hung with twelve of the smaller paintings from the famous Stier collection brought from Europe.[7]

The following New Year's Eve, Lady Stier wrote to her son Charles:

Your sister dances every day, but a quartan fever has been her partner for some time lately, which makes the others jealous as you can imagine.

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[4] *Ibid.*, 36.

[5] Ida G. Everson, *George Henry Calvert, American Literary Pioneer* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 12-13.

[6] Baron Hervé de Gruben, " Une famille d'emigrés belges aux Etats-unis pendant la Révolution Francaise " in *Belgium*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (June, 1941), p. 11.

[7] Letters of Mrs. Calvert, Carter translation, No. 6.

Yesterday we had a tea party with Mrs. Ogel [Ogle] who asked whether I could receive her, Miss [Shaaf?], Miss Aienbottem [Higginbotham?], the Doctor, Mr. Ogel, the Frenchman and Mr. Calvert. As our drawing room is well arranged this was the easiest thing in the world.[8]

At this time Mr. Calvert was a member of the state legislature. Was he the "quartan fever" Mme. Stier referred to? We have no other contemporary letters referring to the courtship of this young couple.

George Calvert was a son of Elizabeth Calvert, the only surviving child and consequently heiress of Charles Calvert, Esq., Governor of Maryland 1720-27. In 1748, she had married, her cousin, Benedict Calvert, Esq., of Mount Airy, Prince George's County.[9]

Among those whom the Stiers met in Annapolis was Rembrandt Peale who spent the winter of 1799 in that city.

Mr. Stier was so well pleased with my portraits that he engaged me to paint him. . . . He proposed to sit at his own house [Brice House], as he wished to place before me three excellent portraits by Titian, Rubens, and Vandyke [part of the Stiers' personal collection] as objejcts of inspiration for a young artist. . . . Mr. Stier's only [unmarried] daughter—an elegant woman—was soon after married to Mr. Calvert.[10]

The ante-nuptial agreement, drawn up between George Calvert, Henry Joseph Stier d'Artzelaer and his daughter Rosalie Eugenia, and the Baltimore attorney, William Cooke, entered Mlle. Stier's dowry as a certificate of $5,000, a legacy of her aunt, the Baroness of Schilde. The following lands were listed as the property of Calvert: The Hermitage, 1,000 acres in Montgomery County; Hog Yard and Dennemark and small tracts adjoining, 650-700 acres; Swantons Lott and Cool Spring Mannor and several tracts adjoining, 2,200 acres, all in Prince George's County; Seaman's Delight, 250 acres, in the Territory of Columbia; totaling in all something over 4,000 acres of land, principally in woodland. It was covenanted: ". . . that in case the intended marriage shall take effect and there shall be issue thereof, that the said children

[8] The Ogles were probably the wife and son of Benjamin Ogle, Governor of Maryland, 1798-1801.

[9] St. Anne's Parish Register, Annapolis, copy in Maryland Historical Society, p. 450.

[10] Hoyt, *op. cit.*, p. 265, footnote 28.

. . . shall be bred up and educated in the principles and belief of the Roman Catholic Religion." [11]

The marriage license was issued Monday, June 10, 1799, and the wedding took place the following day in Annapolis. Thus were joined two families of equal prominence, the groom being the great grandson of Benedict, fourth Lord Baltimore, who was the great grandson of Sir George Calvert, Principal Secretary of State for James I of England, later first Baron of Baltimore. The bride's father, Baron de Stier, Lord of Artzelaer and Cleydale, was the great grandson of Jacques Jean de Montdit de Brailmont and his wife, Jeanne Catherine Lunden, great-granddaughter of the Flemish artist, Peter Paul Rubens, Lord of Steen, knighted both by Philip IV of Spain, and Charles I of England.[12]

From George Washington's diary we learn that during the second week of their honeymoon, Mr. and Mrs. George Calvert were entertained at dinner at Mt. Vernon. The guests included Baron Stier and his wife, their son, Charles Jean Stier and wife, the latter's brother, Baron Van Havre, Mrs. Ludwell Lee, Mrs. Corbin Washington, and other distinguished guests.[13]

George and Rosalie first established their home at "Mont Alban," [14] Prince George's County. In the fall of 1799, Mrs. Calvert's parents moved to Bladensburg, apparently to be nearer to them.

The first child was born to the young couple on July 15, 1800, and christened by a French priest, Father Vergnes, Caroline Maria.[15] It is amusing to note that two days before the birth, Baron Van Havre had written to Charles Stier: "Give my love to Papa, Mama, your wife, and to Calvert and Rosalie. Tell the latter to take care not to have a daughter, as I am prepared to laugh her husband out of countenance after his boast of his expected son." Since on neither side of the baby's immediate family does the name Caroline appear, she may have been named

[11] Liber J. G. No. 5, General Court Western Shore of Maryland, f. 489-495, dated June 8, 1799.

[12] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I: 208-211.

[13] John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1925), IV, 307.

[14] The writer believes that the present Mount Auburn near Clinton, about 10 miles from Washington, is identical with Mount Alban or Mount Albion. It was a part of His Lordship's Kindness. Effie Gwinn Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1947), p. 359.

[15] Everson, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

for Governor Eden's lovely wife, Caroline Calvert Eden, George Calvert's paternal aunt, who had been a frequent visitor at Mount Airy during George's childhood.

In the fall of this year, the public buildings in the District of Columbia being ready, Congress held its first session in the new Capital.

The following spring, Stier's son, Charles, "lent his name in the purchase" for his father of six lots in Bladensburg and five tracts of land adjoining in Prince George's County, conveyed by William and Helen Steuart to Charles Jean Stier. This low lying meadow land, something over 800 acres, in a rich agricultural section of Maryland, between the upper reaches of the Paint Branch and the Northwest Branch of the Anacostia River, were the nucleus of the plantation of Riversdale.[16]

The topography of the land was similar to the Belgian holdings of Baron de Stier, just north of Antwerp. The family decided that the house to be erected here should follow the classic lines of the Chateau du Mick, built ca. 1775. Accordingly, Charles drew the plans for the house prior to his return to Belgium in November, 1801. That same year ground was broken for the mansion. Bricks, for the house, of a bright salmon color, were made from the local clay.

Rosalie Calvert wrote to her brother in December 1801: ". . . the labour of building seems to agree with him [Papa] . . . the house is progressing well." Residing conveniently near, Henri Stier carefully watched the construction. The deep vaulted cellars were the first indication of the solid building technique so pronounced in the central structure. The massive brick arches were bridged by hand-hewn 12 x 12-inch oak beams, which still bear the adz marks. The central beams are supported by trunks of cedar.

While the house has been greatly enlarged and altered since its original owner's departure, the central part retains its essential features and style. As the plan shows, the entrance hall leads into a square drawing room overlooking the grounds to the south. On either side are rooms of almost identical size, with similar, if less elaborate, decoration. The central salon has three shallow arched panels on each side. The semi-circular arches are supported by paired, decorated Corinthian pilasters. On the outside or south

[16] Prince George's County Deeds, Liber J. R. M. # 8, f. 584-5.

FLOOR PLAN OF RIVERSDALE, 1950

Showing the "breezeway" which now connects the old kitchen with the east wing.

wall the arches are filled in with triple hung windows. The central arch on each of the other three sides to the spring line of the arch is filled by double mahogany doors leading to the adjoining rooms. The remaining six arches are shallow panels. There is a highly decorated plaster frieze and cornice around the entire room above the heads of the arches. The square ceiling has an elaborate plaster centerpiece, from which hangs a large crystal chandelier.[17]

These three rooms were obviously planned to permit formal entertaining, when almost the whole floor could be thrown open, as well as to suit intimate family life. The east room must have been used, before the building of the wings, as a dining room, while the west room was a library or possibly a sitting room. The inventory of George Calvert's estate, dated 1838, lists many pieces of furniture of apparently early Federal design. Certain items from Riversdale now in the possession of descendants are obviously contemporary pieces.

There is a tradition that the first architect of the United States Capitol, William Thornton, had a hand in some of the Riversdale designs, and the main stairway has often been attributed to him. The grooved handrail, is characteristic of Thornton workmanship. The impressive sweep of the general design, as well as the fact that Thornton was the architect of Woodlawn, built about the same time by relatives of the Calverts, afford further support for the tradition.[18]

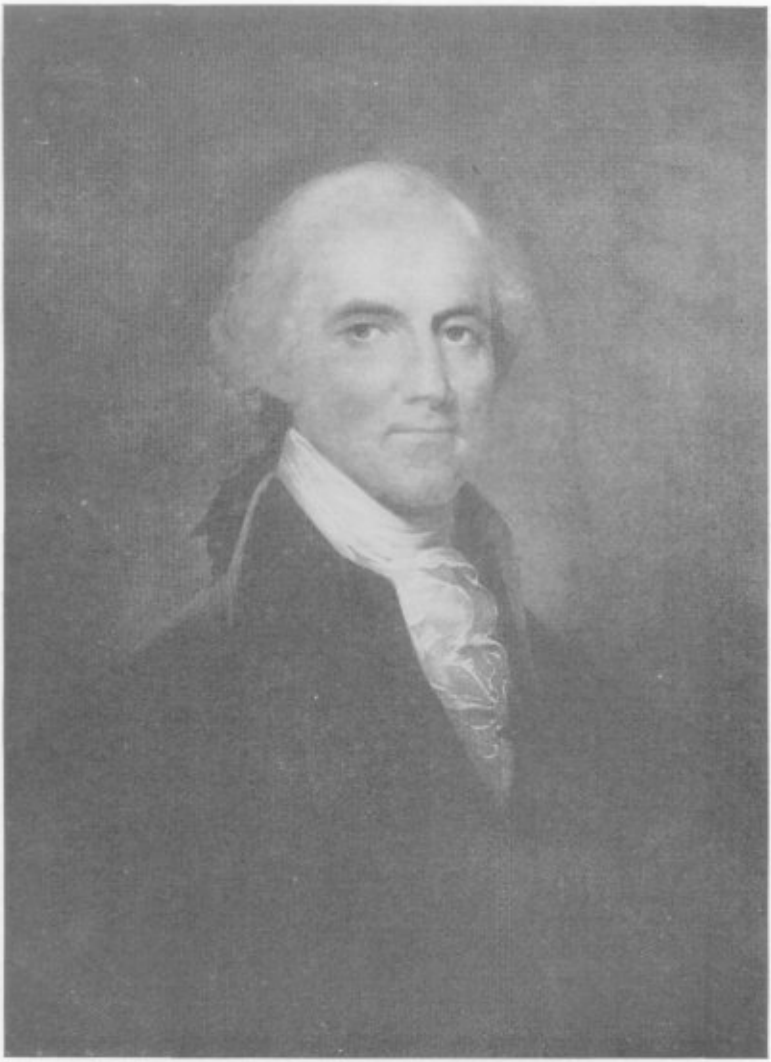
Riversdale is mentioned in the papers of Benjamin H. Latrobe, but in such a manner that his connection with it is not clear.[19] This was in 1811. As the architect for the United States Capitol at that time, he no doubt visited Riversdale and probably was consulted on plans for the porticoes which tradition has associated with his name.

The date of the building of the wings unfortunately cannot be fixed, but the inventory of 1838 offers ground for believing that they had already been finished. At present the greater part of the east wing is a single room, 17 by 36 feet. It is entered from the east drawing room or from the hall, and is on a lower level. The

[17] Mr. John H. Scarff, A. I. A., who kindly inspected Riversdale with the writer, contributed the architectural description given here.

[18] See Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, MacMillan, 1930), p. 75.

[19] Ferdinand C. Latrobe, II, "Benjamin H. Latrobe—Descent and Works," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (Sept., 1938), p. 258.



HENRI JOSEPH, BARON DE STIER, 1743-1821

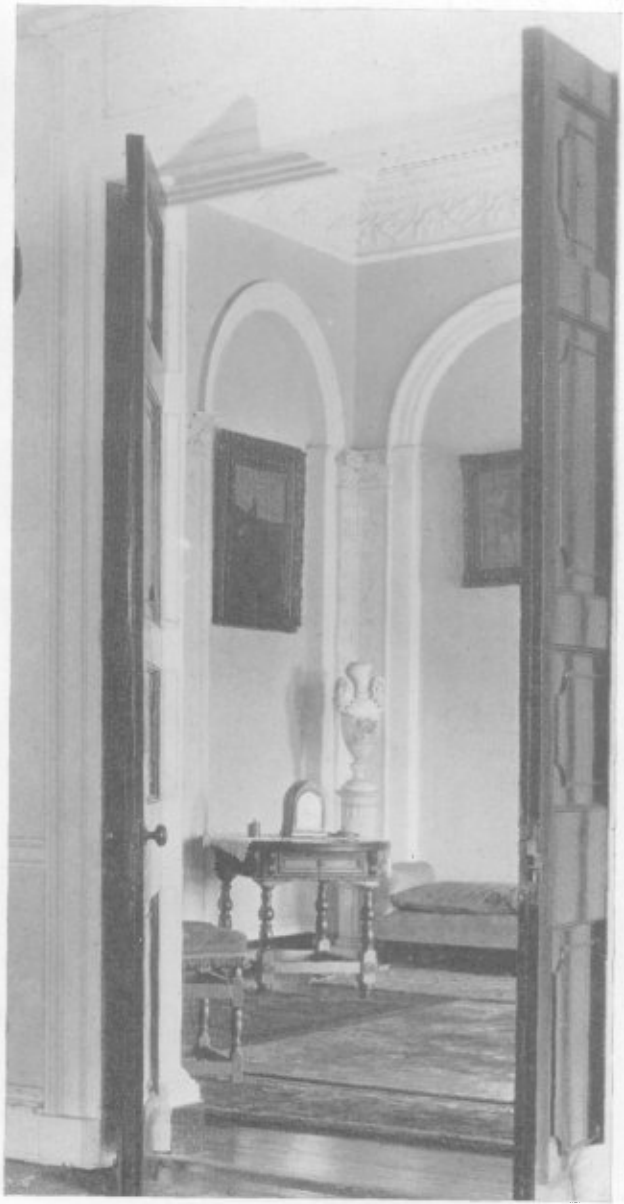
Seigneur de Cleydael, de Buerstede, de Valeryk et d'Aertselaer

Artist De Keizer

Sent especially for this article by courtesy of Baron van Havre, Chateau du List, Belgium.

MRS. CHARLES BENEDICT CALVERT, 1816-1876
(CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA NORRIS)
BY THOMAS SULLY

Collection Maryland Historical Society, from estate of Mrs. William M. Ellicott, granddaughter of the subject



CENTRAL SALON FROM THE WEST PARLOR

Showing the cornice and arches designed by William Russell Birch, presumably based on patterns from the Chateau du Mick, Belgium.

MAIN STAIRWAY AT RIVERSDALE

Traditionally Attributed to William Thornton.

These photographs supplied by Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

rest of this wing is today taken up with the kitchen and hallways. The west wing is entered by steps leading down from the main stairhall, and includes a library to the south, and a large music room at the west end. The great rooms in each wing have ceilings 18½ feet high. These rooms are the result in each case of removal of an entire floor. They are now known as the "state dining room" and the "music room"—terms dating perhaps from the occupancy of Senator Hiram Johnson and later of Senator Thaddeus H. Caraway. Originally these rooms were of two stories as in the rest of the wings.

Some time during 1802 the house was sufficiently completed for occupancy by the Baron, and the Calverts planned to spend New Year's Day of 1803 there with the Stiers, but a heavy snowfall prevented their making the trip from Mont Alban. A letter from Isabelle, Rosalie's sister, to Charles in Belgium, dated at Riversdale March 1, 1803, tells of the birth of the second child, George Henry.

> Rosalie intended to be confined here on the fifteenth of January, but on the second of January an express messenger came to tell us that this Dauphin had made his entry into this world at her home. Mamma and I went there through a deep snow. I came back the next day. Mamma stayed over a fortnight, then I went to relieve her, and after three or four weeks Rosalie came with me to Bladensburg where she has been ever since. She is much better since her confinement, and does not suffer from the fever she had so badly. She does not intend to come with us to Europe. I suppose she will get ready to visit us in a year or so to try the life in Belgium, of which she does not seem to have the good opinion with which you credit her. She affects to think the society and customs here infinitely preferable. It is true that she has caught the spirit of the land much more than we others, which is perhaps an advantage for her. In any event, I think she would be much more attractive if she were less American!

From this it is apparent that the Stiers had decided to return to Europe. In April of 1803 George Calvert wrote to his brother-in-law, Charles:

> You will readily suppose that Rosalie and myself had indulged the fond hope of Papa and Mama's remaining on this side of the Atlantic, after having done much towards fixing a residence [and] by the improvements made upon the farm. . . . There still remains a great deal to do which would serve him for amusement did he remain here.

At last it became clear that the Baron, chiefly on account of the health of Lady Stier, could not be dissuaded from returning to

his native land. There were still extensive plans for the future of Riversdale. A meticulous agriculturist, Baron Stier, in the months remaining before his departure, spent many hours with his daughter, Rosalie, discussing further improvements and striving to impart knowledge of farming techniques to her. He desired to have what he had begun reach completion, and he hoped his daughter and her husband would make the plantation their home. In the years following his return to Europe, his letters to his daughter show how much he continued as the guiding influence on the development of the estate.

The final parting came in June, 1803, Rosalie little realizing that she was never to see any of them again. Her father wrote from Baltimore, on the eve of sailing, that she must not regret her decision against accepting his proposal to give her the house, for he had made it only as an offer to be accepted if suitable to her convenience. "I repeat the same offers and will give you everything necessary to make it habitable."

The Baron won his case, for later in the summer George and Rosalie moved from Mont Alban to Riversdale. She wrote her brother in September that her husband had four plantations to manage, including Riversdale, which required his "continued presence to be kept in good order, so that we live there. I feel nearer to my parents in this house. . . . I like going with Caroline for the same walks we took with father and mother, and I sit down on the tree trunks where we used to chat together."

Even so, the summer had its gay side. The Calverts frequently received visitors, especially George's niece, the lovely Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, formerly Eleanor Parke Custis, who had wed the nephew of George Washington just a few months before the Calverts were married. George Calvert had attended this wedding at Mt. Vernon, February 22, 1799. Rosalie says in a letter dated September 12, 1803: "I am very well now and take much exercise—chiefly on horseback. Mrs. Lewis comes here three or four times a week. We ride together and several 'cavaliers' accompany us."

Rosalie busied herself with plans for a brick bridge over a mill race, in raising hyacinths, and other garden work, all of which met with warm commendation from her father. Urging that she employ a manager for the plantation, as well as a book-keeper, he wrote:

I met Wm. Birch in Baltimore but I did not ask him to make the plans; however, I am pleased that he has been so prompt.[20] I intended to advise you to hire him to make the plans for the terraces on the north and south sides of the house. On the north he should draw a lake about as I suggested, but larger. I think he should locate some clumps of trees in the field to hide the orhard; the south side offers the architect more opportunities to sketch the clumps of trees which should make the landscape and also give you a plan for the improvement, without great expense, of the milk house and the smithy. I think it is necessary to employ an architect who is at the same time an artist to draw the plan for the landscape and I think Mr. Birch the best for the job. The place should develop into a charming landscape and any money expended will help to reach that object. If you are decided to engage him for these plans send me a copy. . . . I shall take care of the mantelpiece for the dining room.

Birch was consulted, not only for landscaping the surroundings but for decoration of the interior. Her father urged Rosalie to visit Europe and to bring the plans drawn by Mr. Birch. There was an unsuccessful search for the original plans drawn by Charles Stier. Apparently Birch wanted to use them in connection with details of cornices, and ornamentation of the doors and window frames in the drawing room and dining room. The Baron forwarded a sketch of the drawing room in the Chateau du Mick " on which that of Bladensburg has been based; if it will help you I will send you the profile of the cornices, the panels, and the moldings."

Again the Baron wrote: " I want you to take care of your home and put it on a respectable level, by the great discipline of your servants and by the good care of your furniture. . . . I advise you to inquire about the four mirrors left by Mrs. Van Havre in Alexandria. . . ."

The landscaping was to include a large lake. " Note that the water, as a mirror in an apartment, is the principal ornament; the north side of your home is very convenient for this embellishment; you have at your disposition a crown of water and the soil should be deepened only one or two feet. The water should be

[20] Presumably William Russell Birch (1755-1834), English born artist, engraver and designer who came to this country in 1794. He is remembered today for his views of Philadelphia, 1798-1800, and a series of views of American country seats which appeared in 1808. Among the latter are engravings of Hampton, Baltimore County, and Mt. Vernon. As he was a European, Baron Stier obviously felt him competent to complete the ornamentation of both the exterior and interior of Riversdale in the manner he himself had planned. The formal arrangement of the grounds has long since been obliterated and left little of the terraces and no trace of the flower gardens so often mentioned in family letters.

level with the soil." He recommended holly, willow, beech, pine, elm and other trees.

The lake, however, was constructed on the south side of the house, no doubt because of the lower level in that direction. In 1804 a heavy storm struck the vicinity and Rosalie wrote that Riversdale was almost carried away.[21] The heavy damage drew sympathy from her father. However, the new lake furnished fish and also ice for the ice house, which had been built in the wood nearby. Covered with straw, it resembled a hut, and with a nearby Negro cabin and other farm buildings composed an attractive group. Mrs. Calvert was at work with a flower garden on a terrace near the house, where she planted roses, jasmine, geraniums and heliotrope.

Baron Stier, satisfied that the Calverts would make Riversdale their permanent home, took the legal steps necessary to settle the place on his daughter. In his journal he entered his determination to give her the Riversdale plantation " exactly as we have inhabited it, and left it. We only except the pictures which we reserve for ourselves." This gift was to be Rosalie's share of what would come to her at her father's death and was estimated at $40,000 in value. He promised also to give her as dowry (" dotation ") the sum of 150,000 florins, equal to the gifts to his other children.[22] In due time a conveyance of the property to Rosalie was prepared and sent over, but owing to legal complications, some years were to elapse before Mrs. Calvert obtained a clear title. Ultimately it became necessary to have an Act of the Legislature to confirm the deed.[23]

The letters of these early years are filled with references to statuary, marble mantels, steps to the portico and other accessories of a home of luxury. Two marble mantels were sent from Amsterdam by Baron Stier. He wrote meticulous details for setting them into the wall and fixing them in place with copper, rather than with iron, to avoid rust spots. He offered to send her blue stone steps and marble entablature for the portico " similar to those at the Mick, which were placed 30 years ago and are still in perfect condition." He also was searching for marble mantelpieces for the other rooms though " the taste of the day is so

[21] Everson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[22] Johnson, *op. cit.*, II, 45.
[23] *Laws of Maryland*, 1815, Chap. 110.

queer; a mixture of egyptian and antique." [24] Rosalie wrote in 1807 that her husband and she were much occupied in improving Riversdale but that "there is still so much to do, I despair of having it finished in less than ten years." She wished that her father could have found a statuette for the pillar of the staircase, for she did not think a lamp would be effective, and asked him to look out for two plaster casts for the north drawing room, one of the Apollo Belvedere, and the other of the Venus de Medici. Her father cautioned that nearly all "antique plaster statues are indecent and are only fit for a design school."

In another letter Stier suggested a European innovation:

> It would be a good idea to put a stairway in your living room to the water closet as it is customary for us to do here; here is a rough sketch; the idea is to build a disposal well outside, six or seven feet square, of open bricks, that is, from distance to distance, an opening to let the water be absorbed so that it is unnecessary to clean the well. The secret of preventing ordor in the living room is to set up a lead pipe five or six feet long, the end of which is connected with a stone or lead tank about two feet square, which is always full of water and has no contact with the air . . . pipe being no more than one inch inside the tank, as is shown in the drawing."

The Baron urged his daughter to develop her taste by having a "painting room."

> It would be unequaled luxury in America for several centuries; no one has the advantage you have to arrange one so easily and economically. For some time I have been making a collection for you, and bought at a low price some well chosen paintings. There is one of two feet which cost me 100 pounds. You should realize that no individual in America has been able to acquire such a valuable collection as those which you have there in boxes. I advise you to take the greatest care of them and protect them against damp and especially steam, plaster and lime.

The picture collection which Baron Stier had brought to America with him in 1794 was indeed a valuable and remarkable one, containing not only the famous "Chapeau de Paille" by Rubens, but also paintings by several Dutch and Italian masters. These pictures remained in crates, stored in the loft of the Rivers-

[24] The reference to Egyptian design seems to describe with some accuracy, at least, one of the mantels installed, for in an article in the *Sunday Star* of Washington, D. C., February 24, 1935, "Calvert Mansion One of the Famous Homes Near Capital," John Clagett Proctor wrote: "Few of the old mantels that belong to the house remain today, though good substitutes are in place. . . . Those removed . . . from the state dining room, according to an early account, were made in Italy of fine Carrara marble, with jambs formed by two marble sphinxes."

dale stable, until 1816, when they were exhibited in the drawing rooms of the mansion. The fashionable world of Washington was invited to see the collection before its return to Holland. For several days, it is said, statesmen and cabinet wives thronged the rooms and compared notes on their favorite paintings. Finally, with meticulous care, the Calverts repacked the paintings and shipped them by the *Oscar* from Baltimore.[25] There remained at Riversdale a permanent collection in which the portraits of Baron and Baroness de Stier were included, as well as the European pictures bought for Mrs. Calvert by her father. At least one statue, too, is recorded—" The Olympian Victor."

Mrs. Calvert wrote for advice about fashionable curtains and other appointments. A constant stream of fine furnishings as well as edibles was sent over by the Baron: wines, kegs of anchovies, linens, etc. Her father promised a gift of a " silver table service consisting of 12 or 14 oval dishes and an equal number in round form that you can . . . intermingle with the small porcelain dishes, as we do here."

Fortunately, there is a glimpse of Riversdale as it appeared in 1812 to a competent observer, David B. Warden, who was intimate with the Washington-Custis circle in the National Capital, and therefore familiar with the Calvert house and estate. He describes the house as 70 feet in length, and 36 in depth, with a large portico on each front.

> The hall is ornamented with lemon-trees, geraniums, polianthusses, heliotropes, and other plants, which, in the summer evenings, invite the humming-birds to taste their sweetness; and afterwards struggling to escape, they fly incessantly backwards and forwards near the ceiling, until from fatigue they perch on a stick or rod, when they are easily taken by the hand. In the saloon there are some fine paintings, particularly *Noah's Ark*, by Velvet [Jan] Breughell [sic]; the *Judgment of Paris*, and the portrait of Rubens, by this great master, of whom Mrs. Calvert is a relation.[26]

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[25] These paintings represented two collections, the Baron's and that of his wife's father, Jean Gilles Peeters. The latter was the larger and more important and was dispersed at auction in Antwerp soon after its return. The Stier collection was sold on July 29, 1822, in Antwerp. It brought the sum of 70,627 florins ($28,250) for the 89 paintings it then included. The " Chapeau de Paille " fetched 32,700 fl., was resold in London and eventually went to the National Gallery. For information on the collection of paintings other than that afforded by the Stier letters, the writer is indebted to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants who is preparing an article on this famous collection.

[26] David B. Warden, *A Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia . . .* (Paris: Smith, 1816), p. 156-157.

Mr. Warden, later United States consul in Paris, was particularly interested in Mr. Calvert's farms:

> Mr. Calvert is a good agriculturist, as is evident from his plan of rotation of crops, artificial grasses, hawthorne hedges, and a fine breed of horses and cattle. His farm consists of fifteen hundred acres, for the cultivation of which thirty-six oxen and twenty-four horses and mules are employed. In winter, the former are fed on hay, and in summer on cut grass and clover; the horses and mules on maize, or corn in the ear, or rye mixed with cut straw. Neither horses nor oxen are suffered to pasture in the fields before the commencement of July. The milch cows are always housed at night. During many years, tobacco was the staple production of this district, of which a considerable quantity is still cultivated. An acre usually yields a hogshead, or a thousand pounds, which sells from six to ten dollars. Last season Mr. Calvert had a hundred and twelve hogsheads. The farmers of this district have several crops on hand, owing to the present low price, and the chance of a higher. The tobacco plant thrives well in this soil, which is a mixture of sand and loam. Wheat is now more profitable than tobacco. Some tracts yield thirty bushels per acre; others not more than ten.[27]

What influence the example of his father-in-law may have had on Calvert is not clear. The Baron fancied himself an able farmer, and exhibited ingenuity and a desire to experiment. As he wrote his daughter soon after he returned home, he had felt sure his tobacco and hay would be the best in America, but he thought the meadows ought to be irrigated. He added that he had begun to write an article on the crops best suited to the Riversdale soil, but stopped at the second page, because he felt he had little influence with Calvert. "Nevertheless, I have the reputation of being one of the best agriculturists, but no one is able to convince your husband to try to improve the meadows, and on the care of cleaning the woods."

By the time of the War of 1812 farming was difficult. Nevertheless, another farm was added to the estate by Mrs. Calvert's purchase of 600 acres in 1814.[28]

> You ask me if my husband continues to make improvements in farming and I in my gardens, etc. It is with much regret we have abandoned all work of that description for the last two years, which will not surprise you when you consider that we have in store the tobacco harvest of several years, and that since this abonminable war with England everything is double and triple the price, so that we must exercise the most scrupulous economy.

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[27] *Ibid.*, 157-158.
[28] Everson, *op. cit.*, p. 42; letter cited in note 15, p. 253.

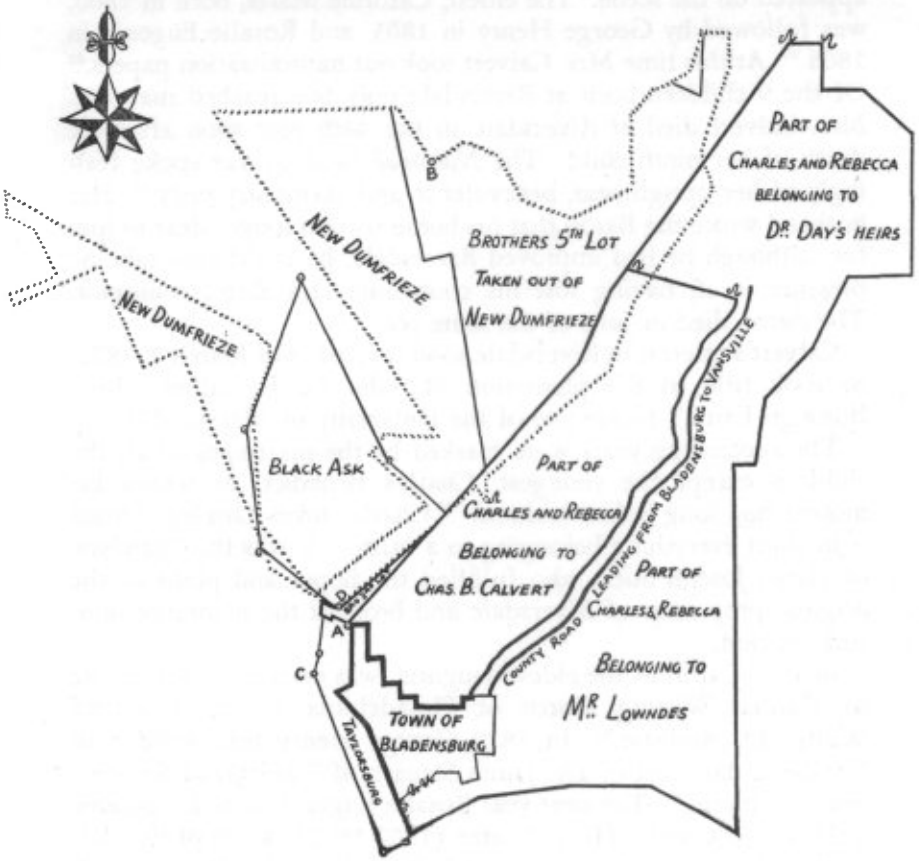
As the Baron had foreseen, the situation of his daughter's home was a most favorable one for meeting important and interesting persons in Washington. The connections of the Calverts with the Custises and various prominent families of Maryland brought them many enjoyable contacts. Mrs. Calvert's sister-in-law, Eleanor Calvert Custis, had married secondly David Stuart and lived in Virginia.[29] Her youngest daughter, Rosalie Eugenia Stuart, was the namesake of Mrs. Calvert. A letter of 1811 hints at the anti-republican convictions of the Calverts. Mrs. Thomas Law, née Eliza Parke Custis, had secured a divorce and resumed her own name. " She behaves very imprudently and is very intimate with Mrs. Madison, and the party we call, in derision, ' the court ' . . . Mrs. Lewis [Eleanor Parke Custis, wife of Lawrence Lewis of Woodlawn] has just left me after having spent the week here. They are making an excellent road from Bladensburg to Washington. A splendid bridge has been built over the Potomac, opposite the Capitol and it is nothing now to go from here to Alexandria."

Meanwhile, following the example of his younger brother George, Edward Henry Calvert of Mount Airy and a friend and neighbor, John C. Herbert, were elected to the Legislature in 1809. " My husband took a very active part in this election. It becomes more and more important for landed owners . . . the other day you might have heard me giving orders for an entire Ox to be roasted for the support of our cause."

You ask me . . . if Mr. C[alvert] is still as gay as when you knew him. I think not. He has generally more to attend to than he can possibly manage, and that is not conducive to gayety. He is always as affectionate and indulgent to me as he was. . . . He has many duties, above all when we have workmen; he is director of the Bank of Washington . . . director of a manufacturing company in Georgetown, and principal agent of a road to be made between this place and Washington. Then he has to direct the work of our different plantations, one of which is eighteen miles from here. . . .

Apparently Mr. Calvert was present at Bladensburg when the battle took place, but in what capacity we are not told. " I am vexed you did not mention the name of the person who said he saw my husband the day of the battle of Bladensburg, I suppose it was Captain Smith whom he met in the English agent's house."

[29] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, 29-30.



PLAT OF RIVERSDALE HOLDINGS

Tracing from the original by Charles Benedict Calvert, dated 1849, in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society

The Calverts more than once planned to visit Europe. The Baroness Stier had died in 1804 and her son, Charles, had become a widower and married again. At Riversdale, new little Calverts appeared on the scene. The eldest, Caroline Maria, born in 1800, was followed by George Henry in 1803, and Rosalie Eugenia in 1806.[30] At this time Mrs. Calvert took out naturalization papers.[31] Of the 9 children born at Riversdale only five reached maturity. Mrs. Calvert died at Riversdale in her 44th year soon after the death of her ninth child. The *National Intelligencer* spoke feelingly of her uprightness, benevolence and exemplary piety.[32] Her husband wrote the Baron that his home was no longer dear to him for, although he had improved Riversdale, he could now take no pleasure in it, having lost his confidante and ablest counselor. The Baron died in June of the same year.

Calvert's interest in Riversdale soon revived. On March 7, 1822, he took title to the plantation of John Davis, called "Ross Borough Farm," future site of the University of Maryland.[33]

The succeeding years were marked by the marriages of all the children except the youngest, Charles Benedict, of whom his mother had long before written: "Charles loves farming, horses —in short everything belonging to a farm." It was this grandson of Henri Joseph Stier, who fulfilled the hopes and plans of the original proprietor of Riversdale and brought the plantation into full fruition.

In 1823 Caroline, the eldest daughter, was married at Riversdale to Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia, by the Reverend Walter D. Addison.[34] In 1829 George Henry was wedded to Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. James Steuart, of "Maryland Square," near Baltimore.[35] The next year Rosalie Eugenia, now 24, became the bride of Charles Henry Carter (1802-1892), a son of the Carters of Shirley on the James, and half-nephew of General Robert E. Lee. Bishop William White officiated at the wedding, which took place in Philadelphia at the home of her sister, Caroline.[36]

[30] *Ibid.*, I, 32.
[31] Circuit Court, Prince George's County, April 6, 1806.
[32] Issue of March 15, 1821.
[33] Pirnce George's County Deeds, Liber AB # 2, f. 211. The consideration was $40,000. See also William F. Kellermann, "Rossburg Inn, Landmark of a National Route," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII, No. 3 (Sept., 1938), pp. 273-280.
[34] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, 32.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

The Carters settled at Goodwood in Prince George's County, an estate of 728 acres deeded to her in trust by her father, as the inheritance she was ". . . entitled [to] by the Last Will of her grandfather, the late Henri Joseph Stier and by virtue of the Marriage settlement between her father the said George Calvert and her mother Rosalie Eugenia Stier. . . ." [37]

The youngest daughter, Julia, born January 31, 1814, was married at Riversdale, May 7, 1833, to Dr. Richard Henry Stuart, of Virginia.[38] With this marriage Riversdale became a bachelor establishment, the only child remaining at home with his father being Charles Benedict.

George Calvert died at Riversdale on January 28, 1838, and was buried beside his wife and four deceased children in the Riversdale graveyard.[39] The estate was left to be divided between his two sons. George Henry Calvert, the eldest had chosen to pursue a literary career in the north and spent the greater part of his life in Newport, Rhode Island, where he followed the pattern of the family in taking an interest in politics, to the extent of becoming mayor of that city for one term. The younger brother, Charles Benedict, preferred to reside at the home plantation. He entered local politics, and in 1838, probably under the tutelage of his uncle, Edward Henry Calvert, of Mount Airy, became a delegate for Prince George's County in the Legislature. The following year he married Charlotte Augusta, daughter of the late William Norris, Jr., and his wife, Sarah Hough Martin of Baltimore. The wedding took place June 6, 1839, in the Reverend John M. Duncan's Associate Reformed Church on Fayette Street.[40]

Charles Benedict Calvert's chief interest was agriculture. In recognition of his progressive and successful experiments in this field he was elected president of the Prince George's County Agricultural Society, Maryland State Agricultural Society, and eventually vice-president of the United States Agricultural Society, founded in 1852. As stated in the sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*:

[37] Deed of trust dated Nov. 12, 1836. Prince George's County, Liber A. B. 11, f. 32.

[38] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, 32.

[39] *Ibid.*, 31. The graveyard is in rear of the Riverdale Presbyterian Church, between the railroad and U. S. Route 1.

[40] Register, Associate Reformed Church, Maryland Historical Society. Thomas M. Myers, *The Norris Family of Maryland* (New York: W. M. Clemens, 1916), p. 42.

At every meeting we find Calvert waging a persistent, determined fight for a Department of Agriculture. When a cabinet minister represents agriculture, he said, the farmer will be appreciated by the government, and proper steps will be taken to advance his noble calling by all means possible; but until such platform is formed and such representative takes his seat in the cabinet the hope the farmer cherishes that the government will regard agriculture as its chief bulwark and cherish its advance accordingly, is fallacious. . . The Society's influence was concentrated on Calvert's favorite project and in 1853 it adopted his resolution memorializing Congress to establish a department of agriculture.

It was during this period that the Riversdale plantation reached its peak. It was now approximately 2,000 acres. *The American Farmer* noted many of Mr. Calvert's farming developments. It is interesting to see that many projects had been previously expounded in the letters of his grandfather, Baron de Stier. In the August, 1848, issue we read:

When Mr. Calvert came into possession of his estate, the soil, from long continued cultivation of *Tobacco,* without the alteration of clover, had been reduced to a great state of poverty. But by a change system, rejecting the culture of tobacco, and adopting grass culture, he has been able to improve some 50 or 60 acres each succeeding year . . . it being his desire to get most of his 1200 acres of open land in grass. . . . On the southern front of the mansion, contiguous to the lawn, there is a field . . . well set in clover and orchard grass. . . . This field, a few years since was a deep and impenetrable swamp. . . . This melioration was brought about by a series of open ditches and covered drains, which collects and vents the water at all times, and by which an unsightly and unwholesome quagmire has been converted into a fertile meadow.

The same article gives the first published description of the house after the addition of the east and west wings:

We paid a visit to *Riversdale*, the beautiful estate of the Hon. Charles B. Calvert. . . . The *Mansion* is one of those massy edifices which at first view impresses the beholder with the belief it is the seat of elegant hospitality, of refinement, and of affluence.—The main building is 68 by 50 feet, with an elegant *Portico* on its northern, and a *Piaza* . . . on its southern front, each constructed with due regard to classic and architectual propriety. Connected with the dwelling, by corridors, there are two *wings* of some thirty feet front, which add much to the beauty as well as the convenience of the edifice. On either front is an ample lawn with shade trees, . . . shrubbery and flowers, [the] effect . . . gives assurance, that a chastened taste and artistic skill had presided while there were being fashioned into form. The barn is in keeping with the mansion, having . . . its *portico*—it has a front of 80 feet, running back 40 feet, and combines in its arrangements every convenience, every accomodation peculiar to such

structures. These improvements were made by the present proprietors' ancestors, in the beginning of the present century, but are still in a state of the most perfect preservation—nor could they be otherwise, constructed as they were, of the best materials, by the most skilful workmen, and in the most substantial manner. Judging of the future by the past, we should presume, that they are destined to remain as monuments of the style and spirit of their age, for centuries yet to come.

The writer paid high tribute to Mr. Calvert and his wife, ". . . his estimable consort who stands unsurpassed in those becoming virtues and rare accomplishments, which dignify the character of a lady . . . Long may she continue to preside, as now, the chief attraction, the concentrating point of affection—at her own beautiful Riversdale."

The Calverts were frequently hosts to many of the nation's prominent citizens, among whom was Henry Clay. His active interest in agriculture was the common ground on which a long and rich friendship developed. He was a frequent visitor at Riversdale, and the northeast bedroom became known as the " Clay Room." Here he is said to have drawn up the drafts for the 1850 Compromise.

During this period the Washington artist, Jesse Atwood, was at Riversdale painting the portraits of Mr. Calvert and each of his four young sons. The eldest, George Henry, was painted with his St. Bernard dog; Charles Baltimore in riding habit and holding a riding crop; William Norris, age five, is wearing a little black hat with a feather pompom and red velvet coat. The picture of the youngest, Eugene Stier, shows him standing beside the seated figure of Henry Clay, holding in his outstretched hand the scroll of the Compromise.[41] More than likely this was the last portrait of Clay, since he died shortly thereafter. In one of his last letters to his son, Thomas, he wrote: " You and your Mary yourselves could not have been more assiduous in your attentions, than are my friends, the Calverts." [42]

In a later issue of the *American Farmer* reference is made to another addition to the plantation, the famous octagonal barn. " The whole plan and arrangement present the most complete of

[41] Three of these portraits are owned by the estate of John Wentworth Calvert. The fourth, that of William Norris Calvert, is owned by his daughter, Mrs. William West Holland, mother of the author of this article, and the fifth, of Charles B., is owned by his daughter, Mrs. W. D. Nelson Thomas.

[42] Calvin Colton, *The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay* (N. Y., Barnes, 1856), p. 225.

the kind ever erected in the U. States. Mr. Calvert has received many applications for a copy of the plan of his buildings." [43]

C. B. Calvert is commonly regarded as the prime mover in establishing the Maryland Agricultural College. The original site of the institution was the 428-acre Ross Borough farm, acquired in 1822 by Calvert's father, for the sum of $40,000.00. This tract, and the present Rossburg Inn, were sold by George Henry and Charles Benedict Calvert, to the College in March, 1858, for $20,000, the latter " remaining its creditor " for his part in the amount of $10,000. In addition he loaned the Corporation $2,000 cash. Calvert was elected the first president of the trustees of the College, which was later to form the nucleus of the present University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.[44]

Formerly a Whig, Mr. Calvert was elected in 1861 by the Union Party to the 37th Congress as a representative from Maryland.

His eldest child and only daughter, Ella, became the bride of Duncan Green Campbell (1835-1888) at Riversdale, September 3, 1861. He was the son of John A. Campbell, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, later Secretary of War for the Confederacy.[45]

Charles Benedict Calvert died May 12, 1864, at the age of 56. Mrs. Calvert and her brother-in-law, George Henry, were named co-executors of the estate, but Mrs. Calvert declined to serve.[46] Shortly after the marriage of her eldest son, George Henry II, in 1872, to Frances Seybolt,[47] Mrs. Charles Benedict Calvert joined her third son, William Norris, in Baltimore, where he had established himself in the grain and flour commission business, as William N. Calvert & Company, 89 South Street. After the death of his mother he was married by Cardinal Gibbons to Laura Hunt.[48]

George Henry Calvert II, eldest son, and his wife, Frances, established residence in the Riversdale house, and remained in possession until 1887.[49] In June of that year the mansion was sold

[43] Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1854), p. 54.

[44] Prince George's County, Deeds, Liber C. S. M. No. 2, f. 294; *Report of the Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural College,* 1864, pp. 13-14.

[45] Johnson, *op. cit.,* p. 37; *Dictionary of American Biography.*

[46] Prince George's County Wills, Liber WAJ No. 1, f. 278.

[47] Johnson, *op. cit.,* I, 45.

[48] At the Cardinal's residence, June 11, 1887, Cathedral marriage records. Issue one child, Rosalie Eugenia Calvert who married Dr. William West Holland of Virginia.

[49] JWB No. 8, f. 426, 520.

by George Henry and his younger brother Charles Baltimore Calvert, trustee, to a real estate syndicate of New York. The other heirs by degrees disposed of their 350-acre shares.

Charles Baltimore Calvert, the second son, married Eleanor Mackubin [50] and lived at MacAlpine, the home that he built on his portion of Riversdale, a little east of the present town of College Park. With the sale of MacAlpine to the government during World War II the last of the Riversdale holdings passed out of the hands of the family.

On a mound of rock at the south front of the mansion is an ancient piece of ordnance, said to have been one of four or five cannon that constituted the armament of the *Ark*, one of the two vessels that brought the colonists to Maryland in 1634. It has been stated that these cannon were mounted in Fort St. Inigoes, built in 1637 to guard the water approach to St. Mary's City. During the summer of 1824, Captain Thomas Carberry, while visiting his brother, the Reverend Joseph Carberry of the Jesuit Mission at St. Inigoes, dredged out of the river several guns which were visible at low tide at the site of the old fort. One of these is now on the grounds of the State House, Annapolis, another is at Georgetown University and another at the reconstructed State House at St. Mary's. This appears to be one of the same pieces, for it has almost exactly the same dimensions as the gun at Annapolis. The type is that of a demi-culverin, or " great gun " of the 17th century, as described in Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*. The length is 9 feet and the bore 4½ inches. How this piece came to Riversdale has not been discovered.[51]

[50] George N. MacKenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States of America* (Baltimore: Seaforth Press, 1911), p. 163.

[51] For assistance in determining the type of this gun thanks are returned to Dr. M. L. Peterson of the Smithsonian Institution and Mrs. John Logan Jewett, a member of the Maryland Historical Society. See also J. Walter Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland: Eddy Press, 1913), p. 221; *Niles Weekly Register*, Baltimore, XXVII, 5 (Sept. 4, 1824); Fanny C. Gough, " Fort St. Inigoes," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XL, 59 (March, 1945).

PORTRAIT OF A COLONIAL GOVERNOR: ROBERT EDEN

II—HIS EXIT

By Rosamond Randall Beirne

ROBERT EDEN, ex-Governor of Maryland, sailed out of Annapolis harbor on the 20-gun ship *Fowey*, commanded by Captain Montague, and joined ex-Governor of Virginia Dunmore's fleet, down the Chesapeake Bay. Dr. Upton Scott, Richard Tilghman and three other gentlemen besides Eden received permission to take passage to England on the merchant ship *Levant*, the victualler or store-ship for the fleet, and transfered somewhere off the Virginia Capes.[1] They reached England in August 1776. Eden went at once to his brother William in the Colonial Office to make his official report on his lost province. He did not learn until then that the Colonies had declared themselves free and independent states. He did not know until then that, because of this news, the Lord Chancellor had thrown the Harford-Browning law suit over Lord Baltimore's will out of Court, declaring "It was a waste of time and that he had no power to give the rightful owner possession."[2] His personal baggage and his wines followed him but later news confirmed the report that the stores left on the Annapolis dock and the contents of his house had been confiscated by the State of Maryland.

Eden had been in England but a week or two when he received a letter from Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, announcing a reward from his grateful government. Germain spoke of "the King's entire approbation of your conduct" and announced that "His Majesty is pleased as a public mark of his favour, to create you a Baronet."[3] The new Baronet

[1] *Archives of Maryland*, XII, 24, 87.

[2] *Charles Browning's Chief Explanation* quoted in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (3 vols., Baltimore, 1879), II, 138.

[3] Germain to Eden, September 7, 1776, "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II (1907), 138.

of Maryland answered from Downing Street that very day and modestly thanked His Majesty. This happy ending to his colonial affairs temporarily salved the feelings of a young man out of a job. He wrote the good news to his friend Eddis, still in Annapolis, closing out the business of the Loan Office, and in short order it was relayed to all the Loyalist families still in residence in Maryland.

Little is known of Robert Eden's life for the next seven years. His mother, the elderly Lady Eden, like all mothers, worried about her second son. "You rather disappoint me by saying nothing about Bob," she wrote William Eden. "I cannot help thinking with anxiety how my poor Bob is to live now he has got to England." [4] He would not have wanted to join an army fighting his former friends in America and if Great Britain won the contest he would most surely have returned as their Governor. There was nothing to do but apply for a pension and bide his time. Reunited with his family, he sought rest from his arduous labors of the last year, paid a lengthy visit to his sister, wife of the Bishop of Bangor (later Archbishop of Canterbury), and sojourned in Durham, the seat of his brother, Sir John, before settling in London.[5] He was in constant communication with the Rev. Jonathan Boucher and all other refugees from whom he could gather news of Maryland. The Dulany clan, Addisons, Ogles and others, gathered at the Montgomerys in London where they had little to do except worry over the confiscation of their estates by the new government. Laws had been passed in Maryland decreeing that former citizens who had left the country, or those still remaining who refused to aid the new United States, must suffer the penalty of either fines, imprisonment or banishment.[6] Merely receiving letters from England, opened and censored en route, was sometimes enough to place the receiver in an embarassing position with the local government. Rebecca Dulany Hanson writing to her brother Walter Dulany from Oxon Hill, Maryland, says:

Your old friend Carr who has been a Prisoner in this country for some months is at Liberty again. His confinement was owing to some letters he

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[4] Rev. Robert Allan Eden, *Some Historical Notes on the Eden Family* (London, 1907), p. 34.

[5] Robert Eden to Walter Dulany, August 15, 1777, Bangor Palace, quoted in Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Robert Eden,* Johns Hopkins Universtiy Studies (Baltimore, 1898), p. 140.

[6] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 303.

received from Mr. Boucher which gave great offence. I should think it would not be improper to let Mr. B. know this, he would certainly be more on his guard.[7]

It is doubtful if Mr. B. would have taken the hint for he still felt it his place to tell the upstart Americans, including his erstwhile friend, General Washington, exactly how wrong they were. There were two distinct groups of exiles; the wealthy Americans whose education and interests had been in England and the British office-holders, who though long resident in the colonies had never changed their allegiance. Most of those who still called themselves Marylanders felt unhappy and in an alien land. Samuel Curwen resented the " conceited islanders " who were continually referring to " *our* colonies and *our* plantations " and calling the Americans contemptuous terms. He wrote in his diary that he was " Sick at heart and tired of a sojurn among a people who after all, are but foreigners." [8] Dr. Upton Scott, too, was dissatisfied with life in London and retreated to Belfast, his native city. These country colonials, so long removed from their British habitat, homesick for their families left behind, grew less sure of their conviction that the British Empire must be upheld, and secretly rejoiced at the news of American victories.

Eden was not given to vituperation and he must have longed often for the easy and pleasant life of Annapolis. When William Eden was sent to America as a commissioner to negotiate for peace, Sir Robert sent by him a long letter to his old friend, George Washington. To this the overworked General replied in part on June 12, 1778:

> I thank you much for your care of the Letters addressed to myself. The one from your Brother gave me particular satisfaction, as it not only excited a pleasing remembrance of our past intimacy and friendship, during his residence in this Country, but also served to show that they had not been impaired by an opposition of political sentiments.[9]

William Eddis had written the former Governor whenever he could get a letter through the lines. One from New York, July 23, 1777, gave a lurid picture of the new government: The best people feared to take office; few even bothered to vote; inflation; insults

[7] Dulany Papers, January 20, 1782, Maryland Historical Society.
[8] Samuel Curwen, *Journal 1775-1784* (New York, 1842), p. 90.
[9] John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *Writings of Washington* (39 vols., Washington, 1931-44), XII, 52.

to those considered Tories; fortification of Annapolis, right to the Governor's garden wall; and assurances of the victory of British arms.[10] But the war dragged on and the stubborn Yankees refused to admit defeat.

The Loyalists, enduring the hardship of long exile on reduced incomes, saw the vanishing prospect of recompense by the British government for their losses. What debts they had in America were to be paid from the sum realized by the sale of their confiscated property there, but in the meantime they had to live. The Edens sent their youngest son to school at Mr. Boucher's in 1779 and the worthy pedagogue noted that Sir Robert had borrowed £1200 from Harford and that he (Boucher) had gone on his note.[11] Henry Harford came of age that year and began plans for seeking restitution of his estates and province as soon as the war was over.

At last, in 1782 the war ended and all the exiled Marylanders who had survived, drifted back to their homes, for the most part in humble spirit. Robert Eden had been granted by his government the largest pension (£800) of any on the Loyalist list.[12] Until the treaty was settled none of them knew what compensation could be gained in addition and the British government, in negotiating, was constantly embarrassed by the continual appeals of the Tories. The United States commissioners felt it impossible to restore property already confiscated and were unwilling to compensate their former enemies when they could not completely compensate their own patriots. Congress finally agreed to recommend to the states that they provide restitution in certain cases and that persons be allowed lawful means to regain property.[13] Harford and his former guardian lost no time in drawing up their appeal to the Maryland Assembly for redress and prepared to present it in person.

Both Baltimore newspapers report their arrival on the ship *Harford*, Captain Nathaniel Richardson, from London via Madeira. One account reads, " In the Harford came passengers, the right honorable Henry Harford, esquire (proprietor of Mary-

[10] William Eddis to Robert Eden, July 23, 1777, British Public Record Office, quoted in Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 312-315.

[11] Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist* (New York, 1925), p. 188.

[12] Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1902), p. 255.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 287. See also Lorenzo Sabine, *American Loyalists* (Boston, 1847), p. 1-114.

land prior to the late revolution), sir Robert Eden, Robert Smith, and John Clapham, esquires." [14] Eden, Harford and Smith, their secretary, repaired to the home of Dr. Upton Scott on Shipwright Street. Scott, now in his sixties and none too well, had obtained, through his universal popularity, a special pass through the line in New York for himself " his cloathes and his medicines " and had returned in 1780 to join his wife at her plantation, Belvoir, a few miles up the Severn River from Annapolis.[15] There he lived in " elegant retirement " and could offer the hospitality of his town house with its lovely garden to his visiting friends.

The Assembly met in October but the claimants were told by their advisers that it would be better to wait for the definitive peace treaty to be signed before approaching it. There was nothing to do but to have patience and to try to reclaim as far as was possible the old and pleasant way of life. Annapolis was trying hard to forget the war and was dusting the Assembly room in the prospect of balls and other entertainments for Congress when it convened. The race tracks had opened for an expected good season. As one interested horse-breeder said to another, " Is not so fine a stud of Breed mairs in this State for the blood.—The goal [jail] will be full by March Cort as it was of Torys the like has never bin knowne here by Report." [16] The old Tories were living as unobtrusively as possible, most in reduced circumstances. Benedict Calvert and his family still occupied Mount Airy and its broad acres, unmolested. Of Eden's other friends, Col. William Fitzhugh and his wife had spent the period of the war away from Rousby Hall at a farm more remote from scenes of activity. His son, George, had taken the oath and continued to live at Epping in Baltimore County. William Digges of Warburton had died before June, 1783, as had Barrister Carroll. Richard Lee was advertising his town house for sale and the *Gazette* carried many other such notices for the sale of property to settle debts. It was hard to be gay with so many of the old Court circle missing. Inflation and the lack of all trade had impoverished the erstwhile rich. The State had planned to sell six slaves, the property of Robert Eden, but Eden had previously sold them to satisfy a personal debt. Word

[14] *Maryland Gazette or Baltimore General Advertiser,* August 15, 1783. See also *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore) of the same date for almost identical story.

[15] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 348-349.

[16] Cornelius Conway to John Galloway, March 1738, Bellvoir Farm. *Galloway Papers*, Vol. 17, Library of Congress.

came that Sir Guy Carleton had received orders to evacuate New York City as soon as possible and that the definitive treaty was on its way to America.

The former Proprietary and his former Governor believed that it was their right to issue land patents on unclaimed parts of the old province and to receive fees for them. Eden, therefore, brought some signed patents with him and signed others while in Annapolis. It was not long before the full censure of the Assembly fell on his head.[17] William Paca, the Governor, and his Council sent the data from the Register of the Land Office to Luther Martin, the Attorney General, to decide whether Robert Eden should be tried for forgery, treason or fraud. Eden listened to reason, said he was sorry, and signed no more patents.

When Congress, rotating from one city to another, assembled in Annapolis on November 26, the town was agog. Lodgings had to be found for all the members, though many were missing from the roll call. Thomas Jefferson, member from Virginia, wrote wearily to his family that they could not muster a quorum and so could do no business. "We have never yet had more than 7 states and very seldom that as Maryland is scarcely ever present. Consequently we do nothing."[18] Perhaps Eddis was right when he told Eden that the important men would not accept responsibility of office. Those that would were worked hard. Judge "Jere" Chase had to adjourn court in order to attend Congress and other men like James McHenry were members both of Congress and the Assembly. It took from November until January to collect the needed quorum of 9 states to ratify the treaty. Jefferson and Monroe together rented a Dulany house and were attended by Partout, a remarkable French cook.[19] It was just before Christmas that Jefferson, McHenry and Gerry, acting as a committee, arranged a ceremony toward which all America had been looking. General Washington was arriving to resign his commission to Congress. He was met on the outskirts of the town on December 19 and spent the following three days renewing old acquaintances and being entertained in a grand manner by the Assembly and by Congress. Between the official entertainments

[17] *Archives of Maryland*, XLVIII, 506, 517 (Feb., 1784).
[18] Paul Leicester Ford, editor, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (10 vols., New York, 1892-99), III, 347.
[19] Marie Kimball, *Jefferson, War and Peace* (New York, 1947), p. 354.

tradition has it that the General dined quietly at the Scott house on Shipwright Street with Sir Robert Eden and Henry Harford.

On Tuesday, the 23rd, the Senate Chamber of the little State House was crowded to capacity. Mrs. Washington, with other ladies, was admitted to the gallery where they had a good view of the dignified presiding officer, General Thomas Mifflin, enthroned in a great chair on a very small platform. General Washington's hands and voice shook as he read in measured tones his short but moving address. There was scarcely a dry eye in the whole packed assembly as he strode out to grasp the hands of many of his old soldiers. Annapolis, however, never wept for long and while dinners and balls could not perhaps be on the elaborate scale of those of this week-end, nevertheless, there were other occasions and other days. Congressmen writing home both praised and condemned the gayety. "Our Adjournment to Annapolis has certainly had a good Effect: the Object of the Inhabitants here is altogether pleasure; Business is no part of their System." [20] Those who felt that they were there for business, like Jefferson, grumbled, and some without private means had difficulty living with the constant temptation of "plays, Balls, Concerts, routs, hops, Fandagoes and fox hunting," on the stipend of $4 per day as a Congressman.[21]

Historians have assumed and so stated that Robert Eden was in bad repute with most Marylanders and was at this time practically in hiding. Nothing could be farther from the fact. Sociable and kindly by nature, it was easy for him to see his American friends again and feel confident that they would want to see him. We have the record of two eyewitnesses that the ex-Governor was not hiding his light and was quite as much in evidence as other Annapolitans. James Tilton wrote to Gunning Bedford, Christmas Day, 1783:

> Every man seemed to be in heaven or so absorbed in the pleasures of imagination, as to neglect the more sordid appetites, for not a soul got drunk, though there was wine in plenty and the usual number of 13 toasts drank, besides one given afterwards by the General which you ought to be acquainted with: it is as follows. 'Competent powers to congress for general purposes.'

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[20] Elbridge Gerry to Stephen Higginson, March 4, 1784, Edmund C. Burnett, editor, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols., Washington, 1921-36), VII, 461.

[21] David Howell to Jonathan Arnold, February 21, 1784, *ibid.*, VII, 451.

And he added, " Sir Robert Eden and Mr. William Harford [*sic*] attended very respectfully. They were also at the public dinner and dance." [22]

James McHenry has left us a graphic account of the Governor's ball:

" Sir Robert Eden would have persuaded one by being of the party that he had lost all remembrance of his having been the owner of the house in which he danced, and late governor of Maryland—but the thing could not be, where every person he met, and every picture and piece of furniture he saw, served to remind him of the past, or brought up the recollection of pleasures he could no longer repeat. This state has taken away his property, and a libertine life his constitution. He finds himself a dependent on persons he despised, and insignificant on the spot where, but lately he was everything. He sees his old parasites and companions, enjoying places under the present government, and devoted to new interests. He is without a train of followers obedient to his pleasing will. He perceives that even the hearts he is said to have subdued by his entertainments or warmed by his gallantries have altered by time or submitted to other seducers. If we look for the cause of his return to this place in his pride—that would not suffer him to sue for favor from men he so lately considered rebels. If in his interest, he will be blamed for meanness. If in his poverty, he is certainly to be pitied. So situated and circumstanced I could neither believe him happy or at his ease, unless I had supposed, that, with his estate and constitution he had lost his sensibility. . . .

Sir Robert danced with Mrs. Plater [23] Mr. Smith, his secretary, with her daughter. Mr. Clapham, formerly receiver of rents, was at the card tables. Mr. Harford did not dance, but was sometimes seen chatting with the ladies and sometimes with himself.

Such a blended assembly—men of so opposite principles and manners—those who had lost estates and those who had them,—those who were once the greatest and who were now among the least—those who were once nothing, and who are now everything—ladies who shone under the late constitution, and some few of both sexes, whose value and merits no revolutions could diminish—all conspired to excite reflections and to afford amusement. The scene did not cease to be interesting till near twelve o'clock—when I retired to my apartment.[24]

The ladies, too, wrote to each other of the attractive visitor in town: " Our friend was there in scarlet and gold. You know I always thought him superior to most. We supped with him two

[22] James Tilton to Gunning Bedford, Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, XXVII, footnote p. 285-286.

[23] Elizabeth Rousby, second wife of Col. George Plater of Sotterly, St. Mary's Co. Plater, then a Maryland delegate to Congress, was later Governor of the State.

[24] Letter to Margaret Caldwell, Dec., 1783, Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 66.

nights ago at a snug party." [25] Mrs. John Ridout kept her mother, Mrs. Samuel Ogle, still in England, in touch with affairs in Annapolis.

"We have a very pretty and agreable little man here, Mr. Harford. I hope the Assembly will do something handsome for him—they ought when they have taken such a noble estate from him. He is much liked. Sir Robert Eden seems in bad health. He does not flirt now. They are very agreable neighbors to us. They live in Dr. Scott's house. The Doctor himself is in an ill state of health."

It was common knowledge that Sir Robert was an ill man [27] but he was far from *persona non grata* to the Annapolitans nor was he keeping out of the public eye as has been stated. In England the old Court coterie were anxious to know how Eden and Harford were progressing with their claims against the State. William Vans Murray among others wrote from London to Henry Maynadier to ask "What is the affair of Sir Robert Eden? how ended?" [28] Congress finally ratified the peace treaty and adjourned June 3, 1784. The Maryland Assembly had too much business to finish before its adjournment and so the Harford claims were postponed until the next session in the fall. The summer dragged on. Seven French battleships lay at anchor in the harbor and the townspeople, like the chorus of a musical opera, danced out to give their brave allies a good time. Lafayette stopped by between trips to Mount Vernon and Baltimore to confer with his countrymen. General Washington, too, put up for a night on his way north. In the torrid heat of an Annapolis summer, worn out by illness and perhaps by disappointement, Robert Eden died.

The *Gazette* carried no news of his death. In the issue of that week (Sept. 2, 1784) was advertised the Fall racing season; the opening of King William's School; the wares of increasing mercantile trade and the dramatic Mr. Hallam's course of lectures.

[25] Henrietta Hill Ogle (Mrs. Benjamin Ogle) to Miss Lowndes, undated (probably 1783 or 1784), Kate Mason Rowland, "Maryland Women and French Officers," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVI (1890), 658.

[26] Lady Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland*, London, 1912), p. 276, letter dated January 16, 1784.

[27] The Rev. Robert A. Eden to Bernard C. Steiner, June 7, 1895, quoting a letter from William Eden to Morton Eden "that R. E. had fallen into bad health in his latter days and his life had become rather a sad one for some time before his death." Maryland Historical Society.

[28] Wm. Vans Murray to Henry Maynadier, London, May 20, 1784, Maryland Historical Society.

The real news was that three boys had been brutally murdered on a bay schooner, but Henry Harford paid for a notice to the public that he " purposed to apply to the next General Assembly for such restoration of, or compensation for, my confiscated property as they in justice shall think proper." And Robert Eden was laid to rest without the knowledge of the man on the streets.

However, *The Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser* of Friday, September 10, a paper by that time of much larger circulation than the *Gazette*, carried the death notice in full:

A few Days ago departed this Life, at Annapolis, with great Resignation and Serenity, after a long Indisposition, Sir Robert Eden, Bart. who presided as Governor of this State previous to the late Revolution. This Gentleman was a Branch of a respectable dignified Family and was much respected for his many amiable qualities.

This clears any doubt as to the non-secrecy of his death and as to the esteem in which he was held by even such ardent patriots as the newspaper readers of Baltimore. Further local proof of his death was the notice in the *Gazette* for Sept. 9, 1784, stating that " Application will be made to the next general assembly, on behalf of the heirs of the late Sir Robert Eden for restitution of property or compensation for the same," signed by R. Smith, his secretary. We can only suppose that news of his death was received too late for publication the week before and was stale news by the next issue on the 9th. It took four months to reach the refined columns of *The Gentleman's Magazine* published in London and to have the exact date of death recorded:

September 2, 1784

In Maryland. Sir Robert Eden, Bart. late governor of that province, brother of Sir John Eden, Bart. and the Abp. of Canterbury's lady. He had returned to that state a few months ago for the recovery of his property pursuant to the provisional articles of peace and his death was occasioned by a dropsy in consequence of a fever. This property came to him from the late Lord Baltimore whose sister he married, by whom he has left two sons, the eldest of whom now at Oxford succeeds to the title.[29]

The place of burial of Sir Robert has interested local historians for these 166 years. An old citizen of Annapolis, writing her memoirs some time before her death in 1840, made several comments on Eden whose friend her husband had been. She

[29] *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, 1785, Vol. 54, p. 876. " Deaths of Considerable Persons."

assures us that "He [Eden] changed before death, took the sacrament, and at his death he requested to be buried in S. R. Churchyard." [30] "S. R. Churchyard" was taken by the editor to mean South River or All Hallows Church, whereas it could also stand for Severn River (St. Margaret's) Church. That it was the latter was made clear in 1841 when David Ridgely published his *Annals of Annapolis* and stated definitely that "he was buried under the pulpit of the Episcopal church on the north side of Severn, within 2 or 3 miles of this place. This church was some years since burned down." [31] Another old citizen of Annapolis added to this evidence and gave a reason for Eden's grave being outside the city bounds. Alexander Randall's copy of the *Annals* has been annotated by him, apparently at his first reading of it in 1841.[31] Around the margins of the page he wrote

> Gov. Eden was buried there because the Vestry of St. Anne's Church had ordered that [no] more burials should take place in the Churchyard and they had opened the 'Grave yard,' a present to the Church from Miss Bordley, for the purpose to be thereafter used as the City Cemetery. Gov. Eden's friends wanted his case to be an exception but the Vestry refused to allow it, hence he was interred in the Parish on the north side of Severn. When I was a boy Gov. Eden's relation came to Annapolis to seek his grave. My father told them where it was, but he after a careful search could find no trace of it. If the friends of Gov. Eden had allowed him to be buried in our Cemetery no doubt his grave would have been known to this day.

This margin-writer's father [32] lived in Annapolis during Eden's administration, was a vestryman of St. Anne's Church, and must have known all the facts of his death and burial. These facts he passed on to his son,[33] also a citizen and vestryman of the same town. In 1784 the Episcopal Church in America was struggling to reorganize. In Maryland Lord Baltimore's appointees had brought the church into disrepute in many parishes. Methodism had converted many of its members. Between 1781 and 1784 St. Anne's Vestry met only at Easter, while the wealthier members had in anger withdrawn their subscriptions to pay for the ministrations of an ill rector and for the completion of the church itself, already

[30] Mrs. Rebecca Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 270.

[31] This annotated copy of Ridgely's *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841) is owned by Alexander Randall, M. D., of Philadelphia.

[32] John Randall (1754-1826), merchant of Annapolis.

[33] Alexander Randall (1803-1881), attorney-at-law and banker of Annapolis.

many years in building.[34] It seems clear that a city cemetery was needed because of the enlarged church building and because the churchyard was filled to capacity. However, the city cemetery at that moment was merely an open field, sloping down to the waters of Dorsey's Creek, and Eden's friends hesitated to subject his body to possible neglect. They hesitated, also, about refusing to comply with his desire to be buried in a churchyard.

If not St. Anne's then St. Margaret's Westminster, was the most convenient church and one with which the Governor may have had some associations. It was the parish church of Horatio Sharpe when he was at Whitehall, as it was of his successor to that estate, John Ridout. It stood exactly across the Severn river from Dr. Upton Scott's planatation, Belvoir. We know that Dr. Scott was living at Belvoir [35] and since he was not only Eden's most intimate friend but also his personal physician, it is possible that he removed the ill man from his town house and brought him to the country where he could be nursed by Mrs. Scott and her sister. As medical advisor, Dr. Scott must have foreseen what was apparent to all observers that spring, the seriousness of the disease with which Eden was afflicted and he must, also, have known his dying wishes. Therefore, with no intent of secrecy, he probably would have placed the coffin on a barge and have had it rowed to the opposite river bank for burial in the nearest church.

St. Margaret's Westminster predates any Anglican parishes in the neighborhood. There was a church at this point as early as 1692. Following the destruction of this church, a second was built about 1731 which was standing in Eden's time and was the parish church for those living in Broad Neck Hundred.[36] The second church burned about 1823 and the new church to take its place was erected at a site several miles away, considered more convenient to the congregation. This St. Margaret's survives and gives name to that community in Anne Arundel County. A few old inhabitants knew of the tradition that a church and burial ground

[34] Rev. Ethan Allen, *Historical Notices of St. Anne's Parish* (Baltimore, 1857), p. 92.

[35] From advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette* and from a letter of his nephew, Hugh Birnie, owned by Miss Amelia H. Annan, Taneytown, Maryland: "June 10, 1783. During the Doctor's Abstence [*sic*] Mrs. Scott recided at a Country Seat a few miles from Annapolis where they still continue to live and I have never heard that she was desturbed in his abstance."

[36] Percy G. Skirvin, *First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 123.

had been on a certain piece of property, long since given over to agriculture. Ploughshares would turn up bricks and someone remembered that a tombstone had been dug up and used since as a door step. Elihu Riley, author of *The Ancient City* tried in his turn to find Eden's grave but could only report the tradition that people knew that " an English Lord " had once been buried near Winchester Station.[37]

In 1923 Daniel R. Randall,[38] an amateur antiquarian, undertook to find Governor Eden's last resting place. Armed with his father's recollections, he sought out for questioning all the ancients, both white and colored, of that section of the county. Eventually an old Negro ploughman told of underground bricks on part of the Winchester farm. Mr. Randall had a long crowbar made with a spike on the end and, assisted by a willing son, began to prod a field which lay close to the steep river bank at Severn Heights. Before long they hit masonry from two to three feet below the surface. Other ardent antiquarians, particularly architects, were consulted who sketched in a phantom colonial church with proper and possible orientation.[39] Nothing daunted by enormous trees and a jungle of honeysuckle which had grown up within the boundary of the walls, the brick outline was laid bare by a local laborer who was accustomed to " Mister Dan's " historical vagaries. The owners of the corn field and copse, Mr. and Mrs. Walter T. Moon, became interested in the project and did everything they could to assist.

Bearing in mind that interments were usually made at the chancel end of a church, which would be facing east, a thorough probing was made of that section. When in August a well-built brick vault containing a complete skeleton was uncovered, the archaeologists were jubilant.[40] But with this discovery the " force," Aaron Day and his helper, vanished, and persistent personal persuasion to return was effective only after another six months had passed. The skull and pelvic bones were carefully removed and taken to Dr. Adolph H. Schultz, anthropologist in the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, for classification. Dr. Schultz was quite positive that the skeleton was that of an elderly woman but wished to see the breast bone (clavicle) to complete his case.

[37] Elihu Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 157.
[38] Daniel R. Randall (1864-1936), attorney-at-law of Annapolis and Baltimore.
[39] Howard Sill, J. Appleton Wilson, Charles W. Johnson, and J. Hall Pleasants.
[40] D. R. Randall to J. Appleton Wilson, undated. Copy in possession of R. R. B.

Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, one of the antiquarians, accordingly went back to Winchester for the missing part. Dr. Schultz was then even more positive that the bones were those of a woman and the small size of the skeleton had already caused doubt in the minds of the enthusiastic historians that it could be Eden's body. The scientific denial was, of course, a grievous disappointment.

Winter had now set in and the weekly trips had to be abandoned. To make doubly sure that the vault did not contain the remains of Governor Eden, another nationally known anthropologist was consulted. Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, Curator of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, could not come over from Washington until spring but when he studied the skeleton he agreed completely with Dr. Schultz. It was clear that more excavating must be done.

The Society of Colonial Wars in Maryland, of which Mr. Randall was a member, had agreed to support his undertaking financially and historically, and appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Randall, as chairman, Mr. J. Appleton Wilson and Mr. J. McC. Trippe, to report on progress. During the winter months every effort was made to unearth more data. Lacking any church record of burial or other documentary evidence in Maryland, a London researcher was engaged to find portraits or other material on the physical aspects of Robert Eden. One portrait of the Governor, painted by Charles Willson Peale, was known to exist in England but is was felt that the Eden family, which was large and scattered, might own other illuminating evidence. Mr. Randall had been in active correspondance for some time with Sir Timothy Calvert Eden, the titular head of the family. Sir Timothy, to whom both the Baronetcies of West Auckland and of Maryland had descended, still owned Windlestone, County Durham, famous for its gardens.[41] But, unfortunately, no letters or likenesses of Robert Eden were known to be in this family fastness. The London researcher read all the Eden letters at the Colonial Office, all the records of the Cold Stream Guards, and found nothing that would throw light on the Governor's physique.

By the summer of 1925 Aaron Day had recovered from his fright and returned to the site of St. Margaret's ruins. The architects interested in the project decided that the whole chancel end must be cleanly excavated and then, if no other bodies were found, the nave of the church. The pulpit, they decided, if not

[41] Sir Timothy Calvert Eden, bart., *The Tribulations of a Baronet* (London, 1933).

near the chancel would be at the center of the south wall. With cord the whole area was laid off in squares and patiently probed foot by foot before clearing. No sign of graves, other than the vault first found, was discovered. With pick and shovel the entire foundation wall was uncovered to its base. "The foundations are at least twenty four inches through and built of a mixture of hard burned and salmon brick laid in white oyster shell mortar. The building as I measured it was 50′ by 27′6″ wide and is exactly east and west in its central line," wrote Mr. Randall.[42] In spite of a bees' nest and poison-ivy the foundation wall was cleared to a depth of three feet. Probing along the south wall was the next step and there, a little to east of center, the rod sank in a hole. This was the signal for further digging and there, in November, in a clay subsoil was a completely undamaged skeleton and the remains of a mahogany coffin. No metal or other means of indentification, except a few handforged nails, could be found.[43]

Because this skeleton was very large and because no other bones were turned up in a complete excavation of the interior of the church, the historical searchers were very hopeful that their objective had ben reached. The long bones were submitted again to Dr. Schultz and a second scientist, Earl W. Swinehart, D. D. S., was selected to inspect the skull and jaw. Dr. Swinehart had made a lifetime study of the color and shape of teeth in relation to age and genetic type. Being given an almost complete set of teeth in excellent preservation he became fascinated in the problem of rebuilding the entire face with what other bones there were. All night he worked with modeling clay and wire and was able the next day to state with some assurance the probable physical features of a man whose identity was to him unknown.[44] The two doctors agreed on every point as to age, sex and type and Mr. Randall cheerfully reported the findings to all the interested parties, Sir Timothy Eden, the Society of Colonial Wars and local historians:

With winter coming on, I am pushing the matter of identification, etc., of the remains which I am convinced are those of Governor Robert Eden. From such portions as I have carefully removed for examination I learn the following facts; that the subject was an Englishman, or at least an

[42] Randall to Wilson, August 31, 1923, copy in possession of R. R. B.
[43] Randall to Mrs. Walter T. Moon, owner of the property, Nov. 13, 1924, copy in possession of R. R. B.
[44] Interviews with Dr. Schultz and Dr. Swinehart, 1950.

Anglo-Saxon, of six feet in height, whose age at death was between forty and fifty. One scientist even goes so far as to declare that he was a blond in coloring, with peculiarities as to facial expression and teeth, which would be a very exact means of identification had he lived in these modern times when photographs and dentists are our every day concomitants.

Add to these facts the further one, that no other remains appear to exist in the church and our search is reduced to two in number; the first, pronounced a woman, lying in a brick tomb, at the north of the center of the Church; and the other buried in a simple wooden casket, and lying to the south, or pulpit side, of the chancel. This latter, of course, bears out the only documentary evidence that I possess which indicates the pulpit side, or beneath the pulpit, as the last resting place of Robert Eden. The fact that he was not buried in a tomb merely convinces one that the whole ceremony was rather hastily arranged, and possibly with the intention of a later removal to England. I have concluded that the only wise procedure is to have a metal box constructed to contain the remains, and have the same hermetically sealed, and replaced exactly where we found vestiges of the wooden casket.[45]

The scientists' vedict could now be checked against what facts were known. Only tall men were recruited for the Cold Stream Guards. Mrs. Rebecca Campbell Key in her memoirs stated that "He [Eden] was a favorite of the people and a very fine person, tall and commanding. General Washington previous to the period of his escape always staid with him when in this city. They resembled in stature. I had seen them walk arm in arm."[46] Washington is known to have been six feet and two inches tall so Eden could have been very little shorter. Robert Eden was 43 years old at the time of his death and this was the approximate age shown by the teeth and the skeleton.

Before giving public recognition to the findings of its committee, the Society of Colonial Wars requested the Maryland Historical Society to form a committee to give serious study to the data. Mr. J. Appleton Wilson, who had taken part in the search from the start, Mr. Bernard C. Steiner, author of the only published work on Robert Eden, and Mr. Louis H. Dielman, librarian of the Peabody Library, all distinguished scholars, were the committee appointed. After discussion and study they passed a resolution, submitted it to the Maryland Historical Society as a whole for approval and thus gave the full weight of that organization in confirming the findings of Mr. Randall and his committee. The

[45] Randall to Mrs. Walter T. Moon, Nov. 24, 1924, possession of R. R. B.
[46] Key, *loc. cit.*

evidence proved, in so far they could see, that the bones were those of Robert Eden.[47] The case was considered closed and the public was notified through the press that the remains of Governor Eden had been discovered.

Now that the body had been found the question was how to mark his grave and honor his memory. The owners of the property were willing to fence off the church enclosure and allow a monument marker there but several legal difficulties arose. The title to the land was in doubt, now that it was proved to have been once part of St. Margaret's parish, and also perpetual care of a grave and marker on a farm was thought impractical. The rector and vestry of St. Margaret's church were anxious to have the Governor reinterred in the graveyard of the new church. The Governor of Maryland and his Attorney General [48] were asked for official opinions; permits from the County Health Officer were obtained for possible removal of the bones, and the presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, at that time also Bishop of Maryland [49] was asked for an interpretation of the Church Vestry Acts. Sir Timothy Eden, as head of the Eden family, was also notified of the discovery of the body of his great, great, grandfather and asked for suggestions as to burial.

Another six months elapsed before various discords could be harmonized. The Moons agreed to permit the bones to be moved if St. Margaret's Vestry would not claim their field. Sir Timothy felt that Maryland was the place for the Governor to remain. With the coming of another summer and with the consent of all parties involved it was hurriedly decided to re-inter the body in St. Anne's churchyard, Annapolis, where there was now room, protection and an ever interested vistiting public. The State of Maryland contributed $100 and the Society of Colonial Wars in Maryland the balance. A handsome Italian marble stone of contemporary design, with the Eden arms and appropriate lettering, was designed by Howard Sill and J. Appleton Wilson and made by the Hilgartner Marble Co. A copper box with the remains had been left at the old church ruins and this was now placed in a bricked grave contained within the circle of land still surrounding the Episcopal church in Annapolis. Formal ceremonies took place

[47] Records of the Maryland Historical Society. Resolution, November 6, 1925.
[48] Hon. Albert Cabell Ritchie, Governor of Maryland, 1920-1935, and Thomas H. Robinson, Attorney General, 1924-1930.
[49] Rt. Rev. John Gardner Murray, D. D., Bishop of Maryland, 1911-1929.

on Saturday, June 5, 1926. Governor Ritchie, Bishop Murray, the Hon. John Balfour, Secretary of the British Embassy, an intimate friend and relation of Sir Timothy Eden, Josias Pennington, Governor of the Society of Colonial Wars in Maryland, all took part. Representatives of many patriotic societies were present. The only unfortunate note was that the rector of St. Margaret's church was offended by the shifting of burial from his church to another and refused to give the invocation.[50]

So at last, after 142 years, Robert Eden came to rest in the very spot he had on his deathbed desired. This last colonial governor has become a symbol of the close ties between the English-speaking peoples. He stands as a strong link in the chain that makes for happy relationship between Maryland and Great Britain and with poetic license carries out the wishes expressed in a poem of 1769:

> Long as, or grass shall grow, or river run,
> Or blow the winds, or shine the glowing sun,
> May Eden and his sons here reign and stay;
> Themselves as happy as the realms they sway.
> . . . . . .
> So long, transmitted to remotest Fame
> Shall live, unsullied Eden's honoured Name.[51]

[50] Randall to Wilson, June 5, 1926, copy in possession of R. R. B.

[51] *Maryland Gazette*, August 3, 1769, "On the Arrival of His Excellency Robert Eden, Esq., to his Government of Maryland," author unknown.

WHY BRICKS WERE IMPORTED

By CHARLES E. PETERSON

IN THE *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December, 1949 (Vol. XLIV, No. 4), there was published an 18th century record of brick imported to Baltimore. Further investigation has revealed documentary explanation as to why brick was used for ballast.

There was no shortage of good brick clay at Baltimore and brick was made and used for local construction from an early date.[1] The young city was actually *exporting* brick by the end of the Revolutionary War.[2] In the year 1807 the prohibition of new frame buildings in the central part of the city,[3] increased the production of masonry materials. By the year 1822, 32 million bricks were made within the city limits.[4]

The reason for bringing in brick from abroad lies not in any scarcity in America, but rather in the troublesome matter of disposing of ballast. Cargoes coming across the Atlantic from Europe were lighter than those going back. Heavy material had to be carried to stablize the ship on the voyage west. But once the cargo was unloaded in port, the ballast immediately became a nuisance.

The ballast problem in harbors was universal. The "Duke of York's Laws" of 1676, pertaining to the Hudson, Delaware and tributary rivers, prohibited the casting out of ballast into any channel "or other place inconvenient" under a penalty of £10.[5] Similar prohibitions were in force in New England and Jamaican

[1] There were four brick houses as early as 1756. Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Wooddy, 1829), p. 32.

[2] 16,100 bricks were exported between October 1, 1789 and July 1, 1790, Griffith, *op. cit.*, 132.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

[4] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Everts, 1881), p. 418.

[5] J. B. Linn, comp., *Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc.* (Harrisburg, 1879), p. 12.

ports.[6] Early action was also taken to protect the fine natural berthings on the waterfronts of Chesapeake Bay.

As early as 1691 the general Assembly at Jamestown had enacted a law of regulation:

> FORASMUCH as the throwing and casting of stones, gravell, and other ballast out of the ships and vessells, arriveing into the rivers, creeks, and ports of this their majesties country and dominion of Virginia, is found very distructive and dangerous to the passage of vessells, sloops, and boats, and a stopping to the chanels of the said creeks; for prevention of which mischief . . . it is hereby enacted, that . . . no master or masters, owner or owners, of any ship, sloop, boat, or other vessell or any other person or persons whatsoever, do cast or unload their gravel or ballast, at or in any of the rivers, creeks, ports, havens, or harbours of this country, but on the land only, above high water marke. . . .[7]

The penalty for violation was again fixed at £10 sterling. A similar law was passed in 1705 at which time it was also prohibited to throw bodies of dead slaves into the harbors.[8] In 1748 the law was strengthened, and it was required that ships clearing for departure had to produce a certificate giving evidence that ballast, if any, had been deposited ashore. A penalty of £50 was alternative.[9]

A revealing proviso was added to this regulation: "*Provided always*, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prohibit or restrain the master of any ship or other vessel, bringing limestone, chalk, bricks or stone for building, to lade or put the same on board any other vessel, in order to be carried or transported to any place he shall think fit." [10] This indicates that useful ballast such as building materials might be lightered to building sites along a town waterfront or to the numerous fine plantations that faced the streams of the Tidewater country.

The Maryland laws followed those of Virginia. In 1704 it was enacted that "No person or persons whatsoever whether Inhabitant or fforeigner trading with Shipps or Vessells of Greater

[6] *An Abridgement of the Laws in Force and Use in Her Majesty's Plantations* (London, 1704), Jamaica, p. 96; New England, p. 9.

[7] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia*, III (Philadelphia, 1823), pp. 46, 47.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 353, 354. A sad commentary on the African slave traffic.

[9] *Hening, op. cit.*, VI (Richmond, 1819), 100. By 1785 every Virginia county and corporation was required to appoint a "ballast-master" to supervise these matters at a compensation of 5 shillings per day. *Ibid.*, XII (Richmond, 1823), 180, 181.

[10] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 426.

or lesser burthen having a Deck shall unload or Cast out of their said Shipps or Vessells any kind of Ballast into the Harbours or Creeks where they ride but shall lay the said ballast on the shore above high water Mark. . . ." The fine was to be 2,000 pounds of tobacco. A law of 1734-1735 complains that, in spite of previous regulations, "safe and very good Harbours are already spoiled, or rendered dangerous." Specifically, the dumping of ballast in all rivers and creeks—and in Chesapeake Bay itself about Cedar Point—was prohibited, penalty, £50 sterling.[11]

Such limitations gave rise to practical difficulties in the handling of ships. They meant that after unloading at his berth, the ship's master had three alternatives: (1) of casting off his lines, being towed to deep water to throw out the ballast, returning to tie up for reloading; (2) of carting worthless ballast from the ships' side to some place where it could be dumped—an expensive operation, or (3) of selecting ballast of value, such as building materials, which could be easily disposed of on the waterfront, possibly even at a profit. All manufactured products, such as brick or cut stone, were cheaper on the other side of the Atlantic.

An example of the latter idea turned up in an advertisement in the *Baltimore Daily Repository* for March 24, 1792. Nicholas Slubey & Company therein advertised that from the ship *London*, about to return to England, they were offering for sale some 80,000 brick to be "sold cheap, if taken from the ship's side."[12]

Very little documentary information has turned up on construction actually built from foreign brick. Doctor Charles Carroll is said to have built Mount Clare mansion of imported brick in 1754.[13] A few years later its north porch of stone was built from stone cut in England, following architectural plans sent from Baltimore.[14] Numerous other examples are mentioned in local tradition along the Atlantic Coast.[15] Use of such imported building material was undoubtedly confined to seaport towns and

[11] *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 300. Other regulations were made in 1752. Griffith, *op. cit.*, 33.

[12] The same firm had for sale English coal, grindstones and flagstones, all of sufficient weight to have served as ballast.

[13] Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[14] "Letters of Charles Carroll the Barrister," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVII (1942), 62.

[15] For example "Chaulkley Hall" on Frankford Creek, Philadelphia, and "Belvoir" on the Potomac. It is a matter of record that in 1770 thirteen loads of ballast stone went into the foundations of Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia.

plantations along tidal streams where a minimum of carting was required.

In the same way " stone coal " was widely used in seaport towns in the eighteenth century, especially before the development of the James River mines in Virginia. It was imported, like brick, in small but steady quantities.[16]

Brick was also shipped in coasting vessels. Philadelphia customs records during the Embargo of 1808 show permits to carry brick as ballast to New Orleans in the brigs *Neptune* and *Mary*.[17]

[16] Comparable records from the West Indies appear in the *Barbados Gazette*. From Liverpool, " coals " (July 4, 1787); from London " bricks and tiles " and Liverpool, " bricks " (March 1, 1788); from Glasgow, " coals "; from Liverpool, " coals and bricks " (August 9, 1788); from London and Southampton " greystock bricks, coals " (February 18, 1789). Accoridng to Fello Atkinson and Will Onions, " On the Ocean's Bosom Unespied," *Architectural Review* (London), CVII, No 642 (June, 1950), 413, ". . . in Barbados and other West Indian Islands a considerable number of early houses are in brick brought as ballast by the sugar boats."

[17] *National Archives, Treasury Department Records. Letters to the Collector, Philadelphia, Pa.*, Vol. I, 273, 286. At New Orleans brick had been made of native materials since the early eighteenth century.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Seaport in Virginia. George Washington's Alexandria. By GAY MONTAGUE MOORE. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1949. x, 274 pp. $10.

It is well to keep your paths open these days, or the chances are that when you visit familiar haunts you will find them changed beyond recognition, either by the bulldozer or (more subtly and agreeably) by the hand of the restorer. This latter, happily, has been the fate of Alexandria. Twenty years ago this reviewer knew it as a shabby go-as-you-please Virginia town of great charm, with an enormous population of old ladies —their faces etched, as a rule, by breeding, humor and individuality. At that time the new life was just beginning down near the primal ooze of the waterfront, where tumbledown little brick houses were being jerked back to a Pomander Walk respectability. From there the renaissance spread up into the town with a technique growing ever surer as more and more people of discrimination found in Alexandria an acceptable substitute for expensive, overcrowded Georgetown, and proceeded to dig in. Where architectural beauty had survived, it was comforted by fresh paint and repairs long withheld; where it was submerged under accretions of the gingerbread age, it was liberated to rejoice eyes that had forgotten its existence.

Leaders in this pious task of restoration were Colonel and Mrs. Charles Beatty Moore. Having purchased in 1929 the lovely George William Fairfax house in Prince Street, they found such joy in bringing it back to its original state that their enthusiasm spread beyond its walls to every survival of Alexandria's historic and architectural past. Drawn forth by their interest, an incredible body of documents and records came to light, and the memories of old people stirred and gave forth their traditions. The story of all this has been told with charm and scholarship by Mrs. Moore in her book *Seaport in Virginia.*

Like most Virginians, Mrs. Moore is a born genealogist, and at first blush it might seem her pages are too heavily freighted with family records to suit the average reader. However, she brings to life so many really important personages who figured among our country's founders, that one is reminded of Henry Cabot Lodge's tribute to eighteenth-century Virginia: "We must go back to Athens to find another instance of a Society so small in numbers, and yet capable of such an outburst of ability and force." Towering above all others, of course, is the august figure of Washington, whose varied interests during his occupancy of near-by Mount Vernon pervaded the whole town. Mrs. Moore gives her book the subtitle

" George Washington's Alexandria," and makes intelligent use of the first President's personality as the central element around which the volume is built.

Lack of space prevents this review from doing full justice to the manner or the matter of Mrs. Moore's admirable achievement, or from dwelling on the strange nostalgia that leads so many people to creep back into the shell of the past. If this is to be regarded as a protest against the age in which we live, Mrs. Moore, her illustrator and her publisher have combined to produce a powerful justification for it.

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

The Index of American Design. By ERWIN O. CHRISTENSEN. Introduction by HOLGER CAHILL. New York: Macmillan, 1950. xviii, 229 pp. $15.

The Index of American Design was an admirable and valuable undertaking of the WPA Federal Art Project. It was organized in 1935 as a direct result of the depression years, the need of artists for employment, the need of the Government Work Program for projects that would maintain the skills of the unemployed, and the public need for pictorial information on American folk art. It is a vast collection of drawings and paintings of examples of the work of early artists and craftsmen of the United States.

European nations had for a long time collected their native design material and published many illustrated books on the subject. Even the Nazis had very thoroughly photographed the mural decorations in churches, thus making available to students a mass of material not otherwise usable. But in this country research among the crafts had been made possible entirely by the efforts of individuals and occasionally by historical museums.

During the compilation of the Index work progressed well in New England and in the Middle Atlantic States where much early American material was avilable and artists of competence to undertake the recording. It progressed less well in the South and in some parts of the West because of the lack of material and trained artist personnel.

This survey of American design shows us that the first two hundred years of this country's material culture expressed something more than frontier civilization and proves that old tradition and folk memory lie behind the making and decorating of the simplest article of daily use. Today in a machine civilization we sometimes forget that technology was born of a handicraft tradition and we are apt to lose ourselves in complete isolation from the individual craftsman's skill.

Interest in American crafts today is much too vigorous to be antiquarian. Year by year we close the gap between the machine and the hand tool as we learn that the machine is yet another instrument for man's creative skill in making articles of daily use.

The National Gallery of Art is the custodian of the Index, which

although incomplete, is according to Mr. Cahill the most nearly comprehensive collection of its kind in the world. Mr. Erwin Christensen of the staff of the Gallery is the author of the text. Included are 378 illustrations in black and white and in color, a complete subject list, an index, and a bibliography.

JOHN H. SCARFF

A Cruising Guide to the Chesapeake. . . . By FESSENDEN S. BLANCHARD. New York: Dodd, 1950. 233 pp. $5.

There are, of course, about a dozen books on the Chesapeake area, for example Swepson Earle's *Chesapeake Bay Country* (1923), J. T. Rothrock's *Vacation Cruise in Chesapeake and Delaware Bays* (1884), and *Cruises Mainly in the Bay of the Chesapeake*, by Richard and George Barrie. Blanchard's book is the newest addition to the list.

The author apparently spent only about a year and a half gathering his data—far too short a time to get to know the 27,000 miles of navigable shoreline (for a boat drawing 6 ft. of water) sufficiently well to compare the Bay with Long Island Sound, the Great Lakes, or the Pacific Coast. If one could cruise 6 hours a day at five miles an hour, it would take 900 days, or almost 3 years, to cover our shoreline, leaving just enough time out to get the baby christened and visit the tailor! A good friend of mine has spent 2½ years getting material for just such a book, and hasn't finished the preparation job yet.

The author frankly says that he is leaving history, architecture and old homes, with a few exceptions, to others. But how can anyone discuss the Chesapeake Bay country without mentioning the early incidents of its history? Mr. Blanchard omits the fact that on Kent Island and on the Severn occurred the earliest frays between English settlers on this continent.

It is well known that during the War of 1812 the British burned Washington, sailed down the Potomac, and turned up the Bay. Annapolitans, of course, thought they were headed for Annapolis. Instead they wintered in the Elk, and in the spring attacked Baltimore and were repulsed at Ft. McHenry, where Key wrote "The Star Spangled Banner." This schedule gave the Annapolitans time to float timber and cannon across the Severn and build a hidden fort on Greenberry Point. As the scattered British fleet fled down the Bay from Baltimore (the only large city on our coast never captured by an enemy), the men of Crabtown, as Annapolis is fondly called, sank a Britisher which tacked in too close. For years oystermen have been tonging up muskets and parts of this wreck; and the fort's old powder chamber, dug back of the gun emplacement, was not entirely destroyed by erosion till shortly before the government built the radio towers and revetted the shore.

What Mr. Blanchard has written, after visiting only a part of the whole, is helpful as far as it goes. But it makes us gasp a bit and say thank heaven

for Uncle Sam's Coast Pilot and Colonel Roland Birnn and Fred Tilp and their articles from the *Chesapeake Skipper!*

The Chesapeake has almost everything that the coast and sound from Cape May to Cape Elizabeth can offer except rocks and fog and a few degrees in weather—but not too many hot days if you make comparisons. And isn't it nice to have a place like the Chesapeake, with elbow room and no rocks or fog? The chapter "City Isle to Sandy Hook" is great and long overdue. The advice and instructions on entering the Jersey channels from the ocean between Sandy Hook and Cape May are splendid. The charts and illustrations are excellent.

RICHARD H. RANDALL.

Jefferson and Madison, the Great Collaboration. By ADRIENNE KOCH. New York: Knopf, 1950. xv, 294, xiv pp. $4.

A professed "study . . . in the history of ideas," *Jefferson and Madison* is primarily a study of the correspondence that passed between the two philosopher statesmen. Jeffersonians will recall with gratitude the valuable monograph Miss Koch supplied in her *Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson;* her new book is of a very different character, for here Miss Koch is less philosopher than historian and her new role appears less fortunate.

The author's purpose—apart from assuring the reader that she disdains "doctrinaire" liberalism—is to present "a systematic study of the friendship of Jefferson and Madison in working out a comprehensive ideology of democracy." This "systematic study" is presented against the backdrop of the "friendly collaboration" of the two Virginians. Such a study might, with profit, have included an examination of the ideas of James Madison, and a discussion of their origin, formulation, and impact upon Jefferson's thought and action.

The first substantial study of the theories and political philosophies of Jefferson and Madison may be found in Douglass Adair's yet unpublished Yale doctoral dissertation, *The Intellectual Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy.* While a few of the ideas found there are incorporated in *Jefferson and Madison,* it is to be regretted that no real examination of their substance and import for the two Virginians is attempted. Miss Koch provides instead a heavily historical study of Jefferson-Madison letters, which, with some interesting illustrations, serves to demonstrate Jefferson's pragmatic turn of mind as contrasted with Madison's deeper logic.

The most valuable of the illustrations is the account of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; as presented here, however, it resembles a less detailed (and less forceful) version of the excellent article Miss Koch and Harry Ammon published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* of April 1948. This chapter serves well to show Jefferson's high valuation of liberty and freedom, and his belief that there was no easy or safe alternative to "eternal vigilance." Miss Koch's analysis had peculiar significance for Virginia when she first condemned:

> All who invoke principles whose language they found in these powerful protests of 1798 and 1799 [the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions], but who use those principles to thwart civil liberties and to restrict human and political freedom, are arraying themselves in the supposed ranks of Jefferson and Madison while burying the substance and spirit of the famous Resolutions penned by these two great Virginia Republicans. — p. 211.

It is indeed an illuminating chapter, showing clearly how history is abused, how Jefferson continues to be the whipping boy of politicians. This chapter must be regarded as the core of the book, and a major contribution to scholarship. The remainder is not new, but has the benefit of Miss Koch's familiarity with the field, and the advantage of her ability to summarize and synthesize. There were a few unintentionally misleading passages which irritated this reviewer unduly: As is observed, Jefferson was no pacifist (pace Louis Martin Sears), yet he always believed his Embargo policy to be a practicable alternative to war, obsessed as he was by the rationality of showing the English their real *interest*. (See Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Digges, August 10, 1808, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). And Jefferson had other reasons for insisting upon Charlottesville as the location for his University: it was the most satisfactory way to secure the intelligent conversation of professors at his mountain-top home. (See Philip A. Bruce's *History of the University of Virginia*).

Few historians in the realm of ideas are able to achieve a happy balance in their presentation of historical background, and too often dull writing is an unfortunate feature of such presentation. Frequently they presume too much upon the reader's ignorance or omniscience. Miss Koch's new volume is in very good company.

H. TREVOR COLBOURN

The Johns Hopkins University.

Riding Straight. By D. STERETT GITTINGS. Selected Writings Compiled and Edited by Victoria Gittings. Baltimore: C. C. Giese Co., 1950. xi, 165 pp. $3.50.

My first acquaintance with Sterett Gittings was many years ago, but I recall very well the impression which he made upon me, of a brave, warm-hearted man, facing life gladly despite his heavy handicap of deafness. That early impression has been confirmed and illuminated by the perusal of the little book, compiled by his sister, which has now come out, as if to show the world how valuable to his fellows a man can be, if only the heart of him be equipped with bravery, honesty and cheerfulness. Without great accomplishments to boast of, judged by popular standards, this man managed, through the help of his sports and his genuine love of his friends, to be glad of his days, and to make others glad whom he met on the way.

The chief appeal of *Riding Straight,* presumably, will be for those who

put their faith in horses, but even for those others who agree with the psalmist that "a horse is a vain thing for safety" and shall not "deliver any by his great strength," they will have their indifference to horse-flesh somewhat modified when they read how much of delight Sterett Gittings derived therefrom. His life might have been a dreary one rather than a glad one but for this absorbing interest. For those like-minded with him, they will find abundant evidence in the pages of the book to justify their choice of a hobby, yet it is by no means given over altogether to horses, hunting and racing. It is replete with scenes of social and sporting events, the details of which will recall vividly enough many personalities, once so prominent and now all but faded out of memory. It is to be noted before we finish this curious little volume, that there is no incompatability between the temperate enjoyment of sports and the possession of a devout mentality. The little poem entitled "A Prayer" on page 147, specially worth reading, will bear me out in this.

It is not often that we are offered so good an opportunity to see behind the curtain of isolation which surrounds each of us, and so have glimpses of another human being's inner life, in this case a clean-minded sportsman and gentleman in every sense.

W. H. DeC. WRIGHT

Simon Cameron's Adventure in Iron, 1837-1846. By JAMES B. MCNAIR. Los Angeles, California: the author, 1949. xi. 160 pp. $3.85.

This useful study of the early Pennsylvania iron industry is based on a collection of manuscript materials of the McNair family and Simon Cameron. Although the period covered is only a decade, these years were troubled ones in the American economy and especially in the iron industry. The author gives an interesting, although somewhat loosely written, account of one of the blast furnace establishments typical of the central counties of Pennsylvania in the first half of the 19th century. Some phases of the material will be familiar to readers acquainted with Swank, Clark or Bining. This is particularly true of the account of such matters as the construction and operation of the blast furnace, raw materials, and transportation. Fortunately the nature of the personal and firm records available to the author enable him to throw interesting light on the much less familiar business aspects of the industry. The problems of marketing are described in some detail in the longest single chapter of the volume, entitled "Furnace Products and the Iron Market." This chapter is followed by a briefer one on "Furnace Finances," which recounts the financial difficulties of the firm and the efforts to resolve them in a period of hard times.

Much the greater amount of space in this study, however, is given to detailing the internal history of the partnership under which the business was conducted. While the treatment is descriptive rather than analytical, the student not only of the iron industry but of business history will

welcome the insight provided into the operation of what was the most common yet in some respects the least well known of the forms of business organization in use during the period before 1850.

The study is very thoroughly documented; the notes fill forty-three pages as compared with one hundred and ten of text.

LOUIS C. HUNTER

The American University.

Round-Shot to Rockets. A History of the Washington Navy Yard and the U. S. Naval Gun Factory. By TAYLOR PECK. Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute, 1949. 267 pp. $3.

This volume attempts to celebrate in 250 pages the 150th anniversary of the Washington Navy Yard, now called the U. S. Naval Gun Factory, a name more descriptive of its present function, the manufacture of naval ordnance. As Mr. Peck has no trouble demonstrating, the Yard, throughout its long history, has been one of the more important Naval installations for shipbuilding, ship repair, and ordnance.

This fact demands either a much more extensive treatment than is given here, or a discriminating choice of topics. Instead, Mr. Peck has set out to tell everything he has garnered in the way of "anecdote, legend, and cold fact." Stirred together in chapter and paragraph are descriptions of the layout of the Yard and of guns and ships built there; the reception of distinguished visitors and prisoners; number of workers employed and the wages they earned; Civil War battles; and the attitudes of Presidents, Secretaries of the Navy, Congress, and the public during periods of war and peace. Omitted almost entirely is a subject which might appeal to some as most interesting—that is, the inner administration of the yard.

Although students of Naval history can pick out of Mr. Peck's presentation valuable leads and bits of information, the absence of bibliography, footnotes, and index will make their search both more difficult and less rewarding. The book is, however, handsomely illustrated with photographs and sketches. These, together with the wealth of information it does contain, however undigested, will no doubt lead those with a personal interest in the Yard to value it as a worthwhile souvenir.

BLANCHE D. COLL

St. James of My Lady's Manor, 1750-1950. By ROBERT NELSON TURNER and ELMORE HUTCHINS. Baltimore: 1950. xi, 113 pp. $2.50.

From that sportsman's Garden of Eden, the Manor, comes this history of the Church that is celebrating its 200th anniversary. As a Chapel of Ease for Old St. John's of Joppa Town, it can lay claim to having taken an active part in the life of Maryland prior to the rise of Baltimore Town as the State's metropolis.

The narrative bristles with difficulties encountered by those who founded and kept the church going from the rough beginnings up to the time when, the worst obstacles overcome, a safe harbor seemed to have been at last attained. This, at least, is the impression received by outsiders.

As befits its location in a famous sporting section of the State, horses have always played an important part in the life of St. James's Parish. In earlier times essential as a means of transportation, they now have a different place, though one of little less importance, in the set-up. Revenues from ladies' tournaments and the annual horse shows go far toward stabilizing the finances and the Thanksgiving Day meets, with the blessing of the hounds, attract large crowds eager to view this picturesque ceremony. The well turned-out riders, some pink-coated, on their spirited mounts, the massed hounds—all against a scenic background of the choicest, form a picture not easily forgotten.

To sum up—not only to members of St. James Church but to all interested in the early annals of Maryland will this compact and entertaining volume prove valuable. The writers have set an example that other old parishes might do well to follow—if they can produce chroniclers approaching these in ability!

VICTORIA GITTINGS

And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861. By KENNETH M. STAMPP. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. xii, 331 pp. $4.50.

Professor Stampp, formerly of the department of history of the University of Maryland and now of the University of California, Berkeley, wrote this book on the assumption that much can be learned about the Civil War from a detailed examination of the northern reaction to secession during the five months between Lincoln's election and the firing upon Fort Sumter. His work clearly establishes the validity of his assumption. Students of the American sectional conflict may well profit from this admirable account of the views toward secession of northern radicals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, editors and politicians, office-holders and electors.

Perhaps the most penetrating section of this book is the chapter entitled "Exercises in Constitutional Logic," an essay that deserves to be read by all who are interested in constitutional history. The author considers here the semantics of the northern arguments, for example, the subtle and labored distinction made between *coercion of states* and *enforcement of the laws*. And agreement as to what constituted *aggression* and *defense* was as sadly lacking then as it is now. He concludes that "loaded words were dangerous weapons" and that "soldiers would make the tragic discovery that a pointed abstraction might be as deadly as a pointed pike."

Professor Stampp writes judiciously of the two Presidents who were faced with the problem of secession. He dissents from the popular school-

boy appraisal of Buchanan as a completely inadequate weakling. And as for the view that Lincoln maneuvered the Sumter powder keg deliberately to start a war and thereby save his party from disintegration, the author concludes that, while that may have been the effect of Lincoln's actions, "the Machiavellian implication that he started the war to achieve that purpose remains unproved."

The book is based upon research in primary materials, and the bibliography of manuscript collections and newspapers used is quite impressive. The materials used represent all shades of northern opinion, in all sections, and in both parties. One feels that the author's researches justify a longer book, but there is a great deal to be said for a three-hundred-page book, even when it is as well written as this one.

DAVID A. SHANNON

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

United States Submarine Operations in World War II. By THEODORE ROSCOE. Annapolis, Md.: The United States Naval Institute, 1949. xx, 577 pp. $10.

In the attack on Pearl Harbor the United States Navy Submarine Base escaped a single bomb hit, a circumstance which the Japanese were to regret. By December 11th two American undersea vessels departed Hawaii for Far Eastern waters—the tiny beginning of a later vastly increased war of attrition which accounted for 5,320,094 tons of Japanese naval and merchant shipping. No phase of that campaign is neglected in this voluminous book. The author simply explains overall strategy and clearly outlines the development of tactics. He narrates in detail stories of individual patrols and discusses their physical and mental effects on the crews. He includes accounts of the secret landings of raiders and coast watchers, of the evacuation of civilian and military personnel from enemy territory, and of pre-invasion reconnaissance missions. Too, he discusses frankly the little-known torpedo scandal. That the United States entered the war with inferior torpedoes of which a high percentage also were defective was unfortunate enough; that almost two years passed before naval ordnance authorities became convinced of certain defects and corrected them was little short of criminal in a nation with the technical ability of the United States. The book contains over two hundred photographs, diagrams, charts, maps and original drawings, most of which are excellent. An extensive appendix lists such information as American and Japanese losses, citations, statistics and combat records of individual submarines. The index is well organized.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Historic Midwest Houses. By JOHN DRURY. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947. x, 246 pp.

Galland's Iowa Emigrant: Containing a Map, and General Descriptions of Iowa Territory. [Reprint issued by State Historical Society of Iowa]. v, 28 pp.

Your Family Tree. A Hobby Handbook. By GARLAND EVANS HOPKINS. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1949. 58 pp.

Cracker Parties. By HORACE MONTGOMERY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. vii, 278 pp.

Mural Painters in America. Part I. A Biographical Index. By ESTHER AILLEEN PARK. Pittsburgh: Kansas State Teachers College, 1949. 182 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Adams—Beavers—Gibbons—Wanted: Ancestors of John Adams, Sr. (1680-1744), in Charles County, Md., about 1710, having emigrated from Hagley, England, to Annapolis. Also ancestors of Elizabeth Naylor, who married John, Sr. She was from Prince George's Co.

Ancestors of Sarah Stacy Gibbons, who married 1743 Johns Adams, Jr.

Names of children and wives of George W. Adams (1747-about 1803), rev. veteran, also of Chas. Co., Md. Want ancestors of 2nd wife. Was she Elizabeth Mass?

Ancestors of Hannah Beavers and Mary A. Holbert (1800-1869), 1st and 2nd wives of Geo. Roswell Adams (1802-1888). George was born in Chas. Co., later lived in Tucker Co., Va. (West). Could this Geo. R. be a descendant of John Quincy? / & wife.

ELDON B. TUCKER, JR., M. D.
617 Grand St., Morgantown, West Va.

Forrest Family—Will pay for authentic information on parents and forebears of Rev. Jonathan Forrest, born February 20, 1754 at Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel County, died October 12, 1843 in Frederick County. He was a Methodist clergyman.

Miss Elsie W. Butterworth,
Wallingford, Pa.

Moore—Information is desired as to parentage and ancestry of Elinor Moore who married Wilford Carrico in Charles Co., Md., January 9, 1796. She was born in 1776, in Charles Co.

Carrico—Any information relative to where, when and to whom Basil Carrico was married will be appreciated. He was born circa 1747 in Bryantown Hundred, Charles County, son of Peter and Margaret (Gates) Carrico.

Col. HOMER E. CARRICO,
6703 Country Club Circle, Dallas 14, Texas.

Perkins—Information is desired regarding the parentage of William Clayton Perkins, supposedly born in Centreville or elsewhere in Queen Anne's Co., Md., in 1800 or 1801, and living in Elkridge Landing in 1844. He was drowned about 1857.

WILLIAM C. PERKINS,
114 St. Dunstans Road, Baltimore 12, Md.

Reid—In what Maryland county was the home of Leonard Ried and family between the years 1814 and 1824? He had sons by the names of Mathew M., Nathan, David, and William L. and several daughters.

Thomas Cawood or Caywood was born April 16, 1793, in Maryland. I wish names of his parents. Thomas and his sister, Elizabeth, were left orphans at an early age, and were raised by a family named Poore. Thomas married Hannah Huffer in Frederick county, Maryland, September 29, 1822.

Joseph Huffer and Catherine Miller obtained a marriage license in Hagerstown, September 29, 1801. They were married by the Reverend Mr. Greedy. They lived in or near Burkittsville, Md., in 1829. I would like names of their children, and location or place of residence of Joseph Huffer at the time of his death.

(Miss) ALTA R. CHRISMAN,
2125 South Street, Lincoln, Nebr.

Parker Prize for Genealogy—The closing date for entries in the 1950 Dudrea and Sumner Parker Prize Contest for the best Maryland genealogies is December 31, 1950. All manuscripts should be typed and organized in a clear manner, to facilitate use by the general public. Papers entered should deal largely with a Maryland family or families. Prizes for 1950 will be: First Prize, $45; Second Prize, $30; Third Prize, $15.

SOME GENEALOGIES RECENTLY RECEIVED:

The Descendants of Peter Carrico of Charles Co., Md., compiled by Homer E. Carrico (1950).

DeWitt-Peltz, A Supplement to Peltz-DeWitt (1948), compiled by W. L. L. Peltz (1950).

The Descendants of Matthew Ebert, compiled by Russell H. Anderson (1950).

The Learned Family, compiled by W. L. Learned (1882).

The Descendants of the Four Grandfathers of Walter Samuel, Jr., and Mary Louise (Wootten) Carpenter, compiled by George Valentine Massey II (1950).

Shivers Genealogy, compiled by M. O. Shivers (1950).

Speer Family Records, compiled by Charles E. Speer (1950).

CONTRIBUTORS

Members of the Society are already familiar with the studies of Edith Rossiter Bevan (Mrs. William F. Bevan) in the fields of social, domestic, and architectural history of Maryland. In this issue she presents the fruits of her long investigations of garden practice and taste in Maryland. ☆ Also a contributor previously to the pages of the *Magazine*, Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland is Secretary of the Ark and the Dove Society of Maryland, and a member of the staff of the Society. ☆ A member of the Council of the Society since 1941, Rosamond Randall Beirne (Mrs. Francis F. Beirne) is Maryland Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, and is deeply interested in the history of our state. ☆ Charles E. Peterson is the author of various monographs in American history. He was formerly Regional Architect of the National Park Service, Middle Atlantic Area, with supervision over the restoration of Hampton, when it became a national historic site, and is now Regional Architect for the Independence Hall National Monument, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are in italics.