

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> In the letter of December 15, 1735, Collinson refers to Custis and to others devoted to plant life and gardening as "Brothers of the Spade."

<sup>2</sup> The letters of Collinson were presented in 1819 by G. W. P. Custis, of Arlington House, Virginia, to the American Antiquarian Society; the letters of Custis are copies from his letter-book in the Library of Congress. Mr. Custis was elected a counsellor of the American Antiquarian Society for the District of Columbia in 1819. In acknowledging this honor he wrote, "I . . . will endeavour to promote the views and wishes of the Society so far as the limited resources of the District of Columbia will afford. I have some botanical letters, from the celebrated Peter Collinson of London, to my great grandfather (about a century ago) touching the indiginal plants of Virginia, which I will forward by the first opportunity."

<sup>3</sup> For the leading events in Collinson's life I gratefully acknowledge the use of data in two biographies recently published: *The Life of Peter Collinson*, by Norman G. Brett-James, 1925; and Chapter 13 in Richard Hingston Fox's *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends*. Considerable additional information has come to light since the publication of these volumes. An appraisal of the two books, and of other contributions on Collinson, appears in a bibliographical note at the end of this contribution.

<sup>4</sup> February 13, 1753. "From my country cottage, called Ridgeway House. Under that title it is to be found in our old maps; so I conclude it little less than 200 years standing; but yet is a tolerable dwelling." Collinson to Bartram, *Darlington*, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> See the Bibliographical note with caption "Bartram and Collinson."

<sup>6</sup> Eighth Lord Petre, of Thorndon, Essex, who died in 1742, aged twenty-nine. There is a sketch of him in the *Dublin Review*, vol. 155, p. 307, by J. Britten.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond (1701-1750), grandson of Charles II.

<sup>8</sup> Tenth Duke of Norfolk (1720-1786).

<sup>9</sup> John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford (1710-1771).

<sup>10</sup> *Brett-James*, pp. 51-4, quotes from a pamphlet by Collinson, a copy of which he says is in the British Museum; since he does not give the title, with imprint, it has not been possible to consult a copy for purpose of checking the accuracy of the quotation.

<sup>11</sup> Some of the correspondents were: James Alexander of New York. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, titular governor of Virginia, 1759-1768. Johann Ammann (1707-1742), professor of botany at St. Petersburg. Duke of Argyll, died April 15, 1761, aged 79 years. David Barclay (1681-1769), banker, merchant trading in America. John Bartram (1699-1777) of Kingsessing, Pennsylvania, botanist, horticulturist. William Bartram, son of John Bartram. Dr. J. Bevis. Dr. Thomas Birch (1705-1766), historian and biographer. Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1738), professor of botany and medicine at Leyden. Dr. Thomas Bond (1712-1784) of Maryland. William Bowles (1705-1780) of Alicante and Bilbao in Spain. Joseph Breintnall, merchant of Philadelphia, first Secretary of Library Company. Dr. Samuel Brewer, died 1743, botanist. Henton Brown, London banker. Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), naturalist. William Bull (1683-1755), Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina, 1738-1755. Third Earl of Bute (1713-1792), statesman. William Byrd II (1674-1744) of Westover, Virginia planter. Mark Catesby (1679-1749), naturalist. Dr. Samuel Chew, of Philadelphia, Chief Justice for Lower Counties, father of Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Chew. John Clayton (1685-1773) of Virginia, botanist. Alexander Colden of New York. Cadwalader Colden (1688-1776), physician, botanist, politician, Lieutenant Governor of New York, 1761-1776. David Colden of New York.

John Colden of New York. Benjamin Cook, of Newport, Isle of Wight, cousin of Peter Collinson. George Croghan, died 1782, Indian trader and agent in Pennsylvania. Emanuel Mendez de DaCosta (1717-1791), conchologist, librarian, Royal Society. Francis Dales, of Providence, Nassau, Bahamas, drowned, 1733(?). Demidoff (1710-1786), proprietor of Siberian iron mines. J. J. Dillenius (1687-1747), first professor of botany at Oxford University. Thomas Dimsdale (1712-1800), physician. Arthur Dobbs (1689-1765), Governor of North Carolina, 1754-1765. Charles Dubois, died 1740, treasurer East India Company. Paul Dudley (1675-1751), naturalist, Chief Justice of Massachusetts. George Edwards (1693-1773), naturalist. Jared Eliot (1685-1763), clergyman, physician, of Connecticut. John Ellis (1710-1776), naturalist. Cadwalader Evans, physician of Philadelphia. Francis Fauquier, governor of Virginia, 1758-1768. Martin Folkes (1690-1754), antiquary, man of science. John Fothergill (1712-1780), eminent physician of London. Benjamin Gale (1715-1790), physician of Connecticut. Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) of Philadelphia, philosopher, statesman. Roger Gale (1672-1744), antiquary. Alexander Garden (1730-1791), physician and naturalist of Charleston, South Carolina. Johann Georg Gmelin (1709-1755), German botanist, professor of botany and natural history at St. Petersburg, 1731-1747; his nephew Samuel G. Gmelin (1744-1774) may also have been a correspondent. James Gordon, professional gardener in Mile End Road. Reverend William Gostling (1696-1777), antiquary. Robert Gover, of Maryland. George Graham of Pennsylvania. J. F. Gronovius (1690-1760), collaborator with John Clayton on the *Flora Virginica*. Stephen Hales (1677-1761), father of vegetable physiology. Capel Hanbury, cousin of John Hanbury, and in partnership with him. George Hanbury, died 1769, silk merchant. John Hanbury, died June 22, 1758, "well known throughout Europe as the greatest tobacco merchant of his day, perhaps in the world," member of Ohio Company. Osgood Hanbury, died 1784, son of John Hanbury. Doctor Hill of London Town, on western shore of Maryland. Earl of Holderness. James Holliday, on Chester River, Maryland. First Baron Holland (Henry Fox, 1705-1774). Lord Hyde, statesman. Pierre d'Incarville, of the Jesuit mission in Peking, China. Bernard de Jussieu (1699-1777), Jardin du Roi, Paris. Peter Kalm (1715-1779) Swedish botanist, traveler in America. Dr. John Kearsley (1684-1772), physician and architect, of Philadelphia. Dr. Key of Leek in Staffordshire. Eighth Earl of Kinnoul (Thomas Hay) (1710-1787), English ambassador in Portugal. Thomas Knowlton (1692-1782), gardener to Duke of Devonshire. Mr. and Mrs. Lamboll of Charleston, S. C. Lady Emily Lennox, daughter of second Duke of Richmond, great-granddaughter of Charles II. Smart Lethieullier (1701-1760), antiquary. John C. Lettsom (1744-1815), eminent physician of London. Linnaeus (1707-1778), "Immortal Swede." James Logan (1674-1751), Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1731-1739, acting governor, 1736-1738. Charles Lytellton (1714-1768), Bishop of Carlisle, antiquary. Philip Miller (1691-1771), editor of *Gardener's Dictionary*. John Mitchell, died 1768, naturalist of Urbanna, Virginia and London. Dr. Mounsey, physician to the Czarina. Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768). Tenth Duke of Norfolk (1720-1786). Israel Pemberton (1715-1774), Quaker merchant, philanthropist, of Philadelphia. Thomas Penn (1702-1775), one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania. Thomas Pennant (1726-1798), traveler, naturalist, antiquary. Eighth Lord Petre, died in 1742, aged 29. Ninth Lord Petre. J. de Ponthieu, of Grenada. Lord Powis. Isham Randolph (1685-1742). Charles Read, of New Jersey. Dr. Richard Richardson (1663-1741), botanist. Second Duke of Richmond (Charles Lennox) (1701-1750), grandson of Charles II. Third Duke of Richmond (Charles Lennox) (1735-1806). George Robins, on Choptank River, Maryland. Fourth Earl of Rochford (1717-1781), English ambassador to Spain. Alexander Russell (1715-1768), physician of Aleppo. Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1752), physician and naturalist. Dr. D. C. Solander (1736-1782), botanist. Peter Sonmans of Albany, N. Y. Thomas Story (1670?-1742), eminent Quaker preacher of the eighteenth century. William Stukeley (1687-1765), physician and antiquary. Henry Trelawney, of Butshead, near Plymouth, aide to

the Duke of Marlborough. Thomas Tritton, banker. Robert Uvedale (1642-1722), schoolmaster and naturalist. Sir Charles Wager (1666-1743), first Lord of the Admiralty, 1733-1742. Richard Walker (1679-1764), founder of the Physic Garden at Cambridge. John Warner (1673-1760), horticulturist. Christopher Witt (1675-1765), physician, "conjurer" of Philadelphia.

On page 54 *Brett-James* prints the list of sixty subscribers to parcels of seeds ordered from Bartram for the period 1736 to 1766. Collinson attended to all the correspondence with Bartram and patrons in England, accepting it as a duty, and not expecting or receiving any remuneration. A few of the subscribers mentioned more frequently than the others by Collinson are included in the foregoing list of correspondents; the remaining subscribers, might with propriety, be also included in that list. On page 118 *Brett-James* refers to "Alison the well known botanist of Thaxted Grange" as a friend and correspondent, but this Alison is fictitious, an invention of Southey.

<sup>12</sup> Humphry Marshall (1722-1801), cousin of John Bartram, born in Chester County, Pennsylvania; author of *Arbustum Americanum; the American Grove, or an Alphabetical Catalogue of Forest Trees and Shrubs, Natives of the American United States*. . . . 1785.

<sup>13</sup> William Darlington (1782-1863), born in Chester County, Pennsylvania; author of *Flora Cestrice, Reliquiae Badwinianae, American Weeds and Useful Plants*, and other botanical works. See general Bibliographical note.

<sup>14</sup> Dr. Asa Gray published a review of Darlington's volume in the *American Journal of Science*, 2d series, vol. 9, 1850, pp. 85-105. About two-thirds is devoted to extracts from characteristic letters, with strong appreciative comment on Bartram and Marshall, "the two earliest and self-taught American botanists," and with high praise for Darlington's diligence as editor.

<sup>15</sup> Colonel Robert Carr, proprietor of the Bartram Garden, had married a granddaughter of John Bartram.

<sup>16</sup> In 1906 was published the following: Alice Mapelsden Keys, *Cadwalader Colden; a Representative Eighteenth Century Official*, New York, 1906. Copyright by Macmillan & Co., but name of publisher does not appear in imprint; a thesis for Columbia University. This mentions the correspondence of Collinson and Colden on botanical subjects, but the book is devoted, in great part, to the political life of Colden. Collinson at times was helpful politically to Colden. See *The Letters and Papers of Cadwalader Colden*, vol. 6, pp. 288, 289, *New York Historical Society Collections*, 1922.

<sup>17</sup> "Peter Collinson, whose pious memory ought to be a standing toast at the meetings of the Horticultural Society, used to say that he never knew an instance in which the pursuit of such pleasure as the culture of a garden affords, did not either find men temperate and virtuous, or make them so. And this may be affirmed as an undeniable and not unimportant fact relating to the lower classes of society, that wherever the garden of a cottage, or other humble dwelling is carefully and neatly kept, neatness and thrift, and domestic comfort will be found within doors." Robert Southey, *The Doctor etc.*, by the late Robert Southey. Edited by his son-in-law John Wood Warter. New ed. Complete in one volume. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1865. Chapter 109, pp. 263-8.

<sup>18</sup> *Colden Papers*, vol. 6, pp. 288, 289.

<sup>19</sup> The library of Charles Streynsham Collinson, grandson of Peter, was sold in 1834 at Ipswich. The *Catalogue* issued at the time said that they were "rare books in natural history collected by Peter Collinson; many of them being presentation copies, enriched with marginal notes, and illustrated with original drawings." *Brett-James*, pp. 217-9, gives a list of fifty, which he says are among the choicest. There is a copy of the *Catalogue* in the British Museum 823 f. 102 (12). A search for a copy in the United States has not

been successful. John Fothergill says, "he had perused every performance that was wrote respecting the natural history and produce of all our own [English] settlements, and indeed of all the European colonies in the new world"; *Some Account of the late Peter Collinson*, London, 1770, p. 11.

<sup>20</sup> A full account of original and reproduced portraits of Collinson is given by *Brett-James*, pp. 284-6. There is an excellent portrait in Fox's *Dr. Fothergill and his Friends*, p. 157.

<sup>21</sup> "They [*i.e.*, botanical and gardening letters] are writ, a bit, now and then, as business will permit"; *Darlington*, p. 62. "Though I am vastly hurried in business, and no leisure"; *ibid.*, p. 66. "My bits and scraps of letters, which I write, as opportunity offers"; *ibid.*, p. 78. "If I write the same things over again, thee must excuse it; for multitude of affairs divert my memory, and my letters are not worth copying, being mostly writ behind the counter"; *ibid.*, p. 134. "It is very hard getting money of great people [to pay you] though I give them my labour and pains into the bargain. They are glad of the cargo, but apt to forget all the rest"; *ibid.*, pp. 140, 141. "I am so hurried in business that I write a bit and a scrap, now and then"; *ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>22</sup> "It perhaps may safely be said, that everything of this sort [taste for natural history and botanical study] that has appeared in those parts of the world [America] was chiefly owing to his encouragement." John Fothergill, *Some Account of the late Peter Collinson*, London, 1770, p. 11.

<sup>23</sup> See the Bibliographical note for recent important studies of Bartram.

<sup>24</sup> Bartram to Collinson, May, 1738: "You are not sensible of the fourth part of the pains I take to oblige you." *Darlington*, p. 120.

<sup>25</sup> *Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century*, Richmond, Va., The Dietz Press, 1940; 274 pages, p. 194.

<sup>26</sup> *A Voyage to Virginia by Colonel [Henry] Norwood [in 1649, 1650]*, Force's *Tracts*, vol. 3, no. 10, p. 49.

<sup>27</sup> Mr. Ralph T. Whitelaw, whose knowledge of the families, estates, and records of the Eastern Shore of Virginia is most comprehensive, is still in doubt whether the John Custis I of Rotterdam, father of the Major General, ever came to Virginia, and considers it an open question. Without doubt, there has been some confusion with the Curtis family, which was on the Eastern Shore in the first half of the seventeenth century. For convenience, he accepts the designations heretofore used, John I of Rotterdam, John II the Major General, John III of Wilsonia, John IV of Williamsburg, until further investigation.

<sup>28</sup> Edward Randolph, Surveyor General of Customs, reported to Blathwayt June 28, 1692, that Colonel Custis was forced to resign on account of misconduct in office as Collector of Customs on the Eastern Shore; his resignation was accepted in the Council April 15, 1692, but with a statement in the minutes that Custis had faithfully discharged his duty. *Exec. Journ. of Council*, vol. 1, p. 222.

<sup>29</sup> He was born in August, 1678. See his letter written in 1742, from the verso of page 94 of his letter-book.

<sup>30</sup> Pronounced Mackeél.

<sup>31</sup> For new information about Daniel Parke II see E. W. Greenfield, "Some new Aspects of the Life of Daniel Parke" (*Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 54, no. 4, pp. 306-15). An account of Parke's rule in Leeward Islands, and his death is in Algernon E. Aspinwall, *West Indian Tales of Old*, London, Duckworth & Co., 1912, chap. 2, pp. 23-50. His will in full in the Appendix. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series America and West*

*Indies, 1710-June, 1711.* The Index has six columns of references to Parke. See the pathetic letter of Jane (Ludwell) Parke, to her husband in England, of July 12, 1705 (*Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 54, no. 4, 1946, pp. 312-5), reproving him for 'his insufferable neglect of her and the two daughters, and appealing for "as small a competence as you please"; she refers also to his godson, Julius Caesar Parke, who had attended William and Mary College for a year without any benefit, and who had been under her care altogether eight years; this boy, whom Parke mentions in his will, was a natural son; and is mentioned as such by Micajah Perry, London merchant, in his letter to Col. William Byrd II (*Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 20, pp. 372-81). Although in some biographical sketches he is referred to as Lieutenant General, I find no authority for the title. Winston Churchill in his *Life of Marlborough* has no mention of Parke except in volume 4, referring to him three times; he prints the short letter of Marlborough to his wife, after the Battle of Blenheim, August 13, 1704, in which the writer says, "the bearer my aide-de-camp Colonel Parke." Parke carried the news of the victory to Queen Anne, who asked him what present he would like to receive as the bearer of such good news, and he replied that he would prefer a miniature of the Queen above everything else. It has been commonly believed he received nothing more. Mr. Churchill says he was given £1,000, which when Marlborough heard of it, said he thought £500 would have been appropriate (vol. 4, p. 114). Churchill does not refer to him as General Parke.

<sup>22</sup> B. J. Lossing, in his *Mary and Martha, the Mother and Wife of George Washington*, says the husband of Frances Custis was a "Dansie," but gives no authority. D. S. Freeman, *Life of Washington*, vol. 2, p. 292, says that Frances Custis Winch died in 1744, and gives as his authority the deposition of Edward Randolph P. R. O. C. O. 5, 1328, f. 181. The second husband may have been Capt. Thomas Dansie, the shipmaster to whom Custis and Collinson refer occasionally.

<sup>23</sup> A planter like Custis with large holdings of land, and about two hundred slaves, was only nominally prosperous; he depended mainly upon the proceeds from his tobacco sold in England. After paying all duties, taxes, fees and commissions, in Virginia and England, he was fortunate to have a net of one fourth of the proper valuation of a consignment; a shipment which at the current price he estimated was of the value of £2000 would bring him about £500 net. He was at the mercy of his agent in England who profited by handling his tobacco, and by the goods which he sold to the planter in a return consignment. Custis was more fortunate than many planters in having for that time a considerable deposit of funds in England.

<sup>24</sup> For the frequent bickerings of William Byrd and his wife, see the *Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712*, edited by Louis B. Wright, and Marion Tingling, Richmond, Va., The Dietz Press, 1941.

<sup>25</sup> The record of students who attended William and Mary College before 1753 is very incomplete. No matriculation book, bursar's book, or roll book of any of the professors survives. The bursar's manuscript books, 1753-1778, include names of those who boarded at the College; it omits students who lived at home in Williamsburg, or in the country near Williamsburg, or who boarded in Williamsburg.

<sup>26</sup> On August 26, 1749, the Council suspended Custis, being "utterly incapable of managing the business of the government." This action was taken in order to prevent him as the longest in service on the Council, from being President of the Council and Acting Governor when Gooch was absent on leave in England. Such a suspension was permissible only in a highly critical emergency. *Exec. Journ. of Council*, vol. 5, p. 299.

<sup>27</sup> Philip Ludwell II (1672-1727) of Green Spring.

<sup>38</sup> July 21, 1741. Mr. [Daniel Parke] Custis stayed and came with design to make love to Annie (*Another Secret Diary of William Byrd, 1739-1741*, ed. by M. H. Woodfin, 1942, p. 175). Dr. Woodfin says in note "Apparently it was not Evelyn but Anne who was being wooed." Anne Byrd was born in London, daughter of the second wife; she married Charles Carter of Cleve.

<sup>39</sup> James Power's letter to Daniel Parke Custis giving the father's consent to the marriage to Martha Dandridge is printed on page 83 of Lossing's *Mary and Martha, the Mother and Wife of George Washington*; also in G. W. P. Custis, *Recollections*, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> The name of this island on the southeastern coast of Northampton County has been variously spelled; it does not appear on John Smith's map, 1612; on Hermann's map of 1673, it is "Mokkon or Custis Isle"; on the Jefferson and Fry map, 1755, it is "Mocken"; the form now used is Mockhorn. The whole island, upland and marsh contains about 4000 acres, one fourth in upland. Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Cushman acquired the island in 1902, built a sea wall, reclaimed the land, and made many improvements, but the storm of 1933 destroyed all their work. There is no grazing of stock and no one living on the island today. In 1668 Major General John Custis and Peter Reverdy attempted to manufacture salt on the island from sea water, but this was later abandoned, and the island for a while was used for grazing. Smith's Island near Mockhorn has 4040 acres, largely marsh. In 1911 Mr. Samuel O. Campbell of New York acquired title from the different Lee heirs, and used it as a private gunning preserve; in 1926 he disposed of it to the Smith's Island Corporation; it is now uninhabited except for the attendants in the lighthouse and coast guard station and is not used for grazing; the original island as first discovered, has been cut into three times by severe storms. Information from R. T. Whitelaw of Accomac. For an account of the ownership of Smith's Island from the time of its sale for delinquent taxes on June 15, 1864 to the sale to S. O. Campbell by the Lee heirs, Nov. 1, 1911, see D. S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, vol. 4, pp. 388-90.

<sup>41</sup> Mr. R. T. Whitelaw of Accomac writes that the tombstone "generally is in excellent condition." "A survey made in 1822 for G. W. P. Custis of Arlington tract on Old Plantation Creek showed a total of 536 acres." "The survey notes the site of the graveyard and a short distance south east from it is a chimney of old mansion; when the dwelling was burned is unknown." For William Byrd's visit to his brother-in-law at Arlington see the *Secret Diary, 1709-1712*, pp. 104-10. The editor of these letters of Collinson and Custis visited the Arlington plantation in May, 1947. The cemetery is carefully protected by the local branch on the Eastern Shore of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. A substantial and elegant wrought-iron fence encloses the cemetery. There is a sketch of this tomb accompanying an article by Howard Pyle in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 58, p. 806, May, 1879; the sketch is unsigned.

<sup>42</sup> This map is in the Rochambeau collection in the Map Division of the Library of Congress.

<sup>43</sup> Through the kindness of Mr. Edward M. Riley of the National Park Service at Yorktown, I have been supplied with the following extract from the *Maryland Journal* of September 22, 1778, an advertisement for the sale of the Queen's Creek plantation by John Parke Custis. A description, such as this, of the plantation has been long sought for. It supplies details which have always been lacking, owing to the loss of General Court records. Strangely enough, there is little in the York County records about the property. This advertisement is dated about a month before the General and his wife signed the release to young Custis of their dower right, not only in the Queen's Creek plantation, but in all the real estate originally owned by Daniel Parke Custis. "September 12, 1778. To be Sold, for Ready money, or Loan-Office certificates, my valuable Tract of Land adjoining the city of Williamsburgh, containing 3330 acres, and binding on Queen's Creek

for several miles, which abounds with most excellent oysters and fish. This land is equal to most in the state for the culture of corn, wheat and tobacco, particularly the latter, which was always much esteemed for the peculiar excellence of its flavour. This tract may also vie with any in the state, in natural advantages, for the raising of stock of all kinds, there being at least 700 acres of fine firm marsh, which afford most excellent pasturage the greatest part of the year, and a great sufficiency of hay, exclusive of the marsh; the high land affords abundance of grass, and produces red clover equal to any land. There are several valuable swamps, which may be easily converted into good meadow, at a trifling expence; the wood which may be got from the swamps will repay any expence attending the reclaiming of them, there has been considerable progress made in the reclaiming of one of them which will make a beautiful meadow. In addition to the many conveniences which this tract can boast of, is a mill on a very constant stream, in good repair, and very valuable, from the vicinity of the city; with several orchards of good fruit. This tract may be divided into three very good farms, there being a sufficient number of houses, among which are two good dwelling-houses (one of which is in good repair with excellent offices of every kind; the other having been neglected, is rather out of repair, but may be easily repaired.) The plantations are in good order, the fields being ditched in, with a good fence or wattle on the bank; the great quantity of cedar on this land furnishes an endless supply for enclosing the fields. . . . I would rather sell the whole tract together, but a sufficient price will induce me to divide it. I could recommend this land to any person desirous of settling in that part of the country. The land being level may be greatly improved and beautiful; in point of natural advantages no one tract can exceed it. . . . The land will not be sold before November, and will be shewn by Mr. JAMES HILL, who lives on the premises. . . . The terms will be made known by applying to Mr. [Posey] in New Kent, or to the Subscriber. JOHN PARKE CUSTIS."

<sup>44</sup> In 1714 John Custis purchased from the trustees of Williamsburg lots 353, 354, and 355, fronting on Duke of Gloucester Street; on lot 355 there now stands the Maupin house, not having been identified up to this time as having originated in a preceding Custis house; the Maupin house has been handsomely restored by the Williamsburg Restoration, Inc. It is not known when Custis purchased the lot of about four acres fronting on Francis Street, sometimes called the back street, but it must have been several years before 1719; in that year in the deed of another property, the four-acre lot is referred to as "Custis Square." This lot is identified as being in the eastern part of the land now owned by the Eastern State Hospital, and to the east of it is a ravine which separates it from the property of the Williamsburg Lodge. On this lot Custis built a brick house, and as early as 1717 was developing a garden, because in that year he wrote to the Perry firm in London, ordering some handsome striped hollys and yew trees; this is the first mention of his garden; in 1724 he writes that he has a strong and as high a house as any in the government [i.e., Williamsburg], and adds that it stands on high ground, a description which agrees with this location. After the death of Custis in 1749, it is supposed that his son and executor, Daniel Parke Custis and wife Martha Dandridge lived here when in Williamsburg; upon the death of her husband in 1757, Mrs. Custis acquired as dower one third of all the real estate for life, including all the property in Williamsburg. In the course of time, the several buildings on the property fell into ruin, except the kitchen, built like all Virginia kitchens, separate from the main house, which withstood all the forces of destruction and remains today; it has been known as the Martha Washington kitchen. According to an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1773, Peter Hardy, coach and chairmaker, maintained a shop in the buildings. In 1778 John Parke Custis, the son of Mrs. Washington, obtained a full release from General George Washington and his wife, of the dower right in all the Custis real property, wherever situated; in that same year, he offered for sale "my house and lots situated in the back street, and one of the most retired and agreeable situations in Williamsburg. The house is in tolerable good repair,

having two good rooms and a passage on the lower floor. The offices are a kitchen and a large stable, with a meathouse, etc. There are about four acres enclosed in one lot and will be sold with the house" (*Virginia Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1778, Dixon and Hunter). In 1818, it is referred to in the tax records, as "Custices or the six chimneys." In a deed as late as 1815, it is still referred to as the six-chimney lot (deed of J. E. Sheldon to William S. Peachy). The late John S. Charles, beloved member of the Pulaski Club of Williamsburg, and devoted antiquarian, in his manuscript recollections recalls the Custis lot in 1861, when he was a boy. He says "this lot known as the six chimney lot, with a little brick house near the center of it still standing, and said to be Martha Washington's kitchen, was surrounded on all sides by holly and cedar trees," which were undoubtedly the survivors of those which John Custis was writing about to the Perry firm, to Robert Cary, and to Peter Collinson. Of all that Custis planted, there remains today a yew tree in all its glory of two hundred and twenty years growth. This Custis plot is distinctly indicated in the Frenchman's Map of Williamsburg, 1781; the diagram shows a somewhat longer dimension for the house than commonly found in Williamsburg at that time. The information about this property has been gathered from scattered sources and is printed here, because most of the early court records, being destroyed in 1865, have left its history incomplete. Mrs. Rutherford Goodwin, acting director of the Williamsburg Restoration Department of Research, has kindly supplied me with much of the data.

In his diary for Saturday, April 26, 1760, Washington says: "Visited all the estates, and my own quarters about Williamsburg: found these also in pretty good forwardness." On May 6, 1768, "Rid to the plantations near Williamsburg and dined at Mr. Valentines [the manager]." On May 16, 1769: "Rid over to my dower land in York, to shew that and the mill to the gentlemen appointed by the General Court to value and report thereon." On trips to Williamsburg, Mrs. Washington and the children sometimes accompanied her husband as far as Eltham, the seat of her brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Burwell Bassett, about twenty-five miles from Williamsburg; they would remain there and make short visits to Williamsburg; occasionally they lodged in the same inn as Washington, but sometimes not, owing to the limited accommodations in any one house, and the number of transients that came to Williamsburg to transact business, commercial and governmental, at the time of the meetings of the General Court, and of the General Assembly. In the diaries there is no reference to a visit in the old home of John Custis where the garden had been, which according to the diary of April 28, 1760, had been rented to a tenant. In the days of her first marriage, it would be most likely that Martha Dandridge Custis, with her husband, Daniel Parke Custis, would spend their Williamsburg visits in the former home of his father, that is, in modern parlance, on the six-chimney lot. It was then that the building still known as the Martha Washington kitchen was used by her household. On Monday, April 28, 1760, Washington, in his diary, says, "Let my house in town to Colo. Moore [Thomas Moore, of King William] for Colo. Dandridge [Bartholomew, brother of Mrs. Washington] who is to come into in the fall, and pay me £45 per ann. In the meanwhile I am to paint it."

"I have now, at your request, given my full consent to the sale of the lands which I hold in right of dower in a tract in the county of York, to a water grist mill there; to lots in the city of Williamsburg, and others in Jamestown." G. W. to J. P. C. Oct. 10, 1778. Fitzpatrick's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 13, p. 56.

<sup>45</sup> These letters to Robert Cary, merchant of London, and agent for Custis in the sale of tobacco, and purchase of supplies for use in Virginia, are printed here in order to show the early interest of Custis in gardening. The letter to Perry, in which there is mention of gardening, 1717, is omitted.

<sup>46</sup> James Cary (1622-1694) of Hampstead was the first of three generations established in London, who sold tobacco on commission for Virginia planters. Mr. Fairfax Harrison



believes that the Francis Cary mentioned by Colonel Norwood in his *Voyage to Virginia* was a brother of this James Cary. James had a son Oswald living in Middlesex County, Virginia, certainly as early as 1687; he died in that county in 1691. The youngest son of James was Robert (1675-1751), who succeeded to the tobacco business, carrying on his transactions, first as Robert Cary, and later as Robert Cary & Co. He died in 1751, by his will disposing of a large estate, and providing for his partners to carry on his Virginia business until his son should be old enough to take charge. This son Robert (1730-1777) carried on the business until his death. He was the correspondent of prominent Virginians, among them George Washington, Daniel Parke Custis, and Thomas Jefferson; this Robert had no sons. The business was carried on after 1777 under the firm name of Wakelin Welch & Co., one of the partners being Wakelin Welch. In a letter to Arthur Young, Aug. 15, 1791, Washington refers to having closed his correspondence with Wakelin Welch, Esq. & Son (Fitzpatrick's *Washington's Writings*, vol. 27, pp. 119, 213; vol. 31, p. 341). This information about the Cary family of Hampstead, which was not closely connected with the Cary family of Warwick County, Virginia, has been condensed from Fairfax Harrison's *The Devon Carys*, vol. 2, pp. 694-704. A good example of the loss sustained by a Virginia planter to a London firm such as Robert Cary & Co. is the following advertisement: The following property of Theophilus Pugh merchant and planter of Nansemond County, Virginia was advertised for sale by James Power, the attorney for Robert Cary & Co., of London, in order to pay the debt to Cary: 9000 acres of land, in eight different tracts in North Carolina; 1500 acres in Virginia, in seven different tracts; lots and houses in Williamsburg and Suffolk; forty-four slaves, two ships, two sloops, two schooners. *Virginia Gazette*, Oct. 31-Nov. 7, 1745.

<sup>47</sup> A report of the ships, with the name of the captain and statement of cargo of each, in York River, and in James River, was printed frequently in the *Virginia Gazette*. Since the *Gazette* was not established until 1736, there was no general shipping news available locally before that time. Under the direction of Dr. Maude H. Woodfin, of the University of Richmond, *A Chart of Shipping in Virginia in 1736-1766* has been compiled by Edith M. Harker, from the files of the *Virginia Gazette*. This manuscript is in the library of the University of Richmond.

<sup>48</sup> John Carter, the eldest son of Robert known as King Carter, received the greater part of his father's estate. He took oath as Secretary of Virginia, April 2, 1723, and in addition to holding this lucrative office he was appointed a Councillor and took office April 25, 1724. His home was Corotoman, Lancaster County. He held both offices till his death, which occurred between November 3, 1741, and August 6, 1742.

<sup>49</sup> John Randolph, later Sir John Randolph, the son of William Randolph of Turkey Island, was born in 1693 and died in 1737. A prominent attorney of Williamsburg. He has the distinction of being the only native of Virginia who received the honor of Knighthood in the colonial period.

<sup>50</sup> One of the few attempts to develop a history of an English merchant, and his successors, trading in Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the contribution by Dr. Elizabeth Donnan in the *Journal of Economic and Business History*, vol. 4, pp. 70-98, entitled "Eighteenth Century English Merchants: Micajah Perry." From fragmentary and scattered sources she has succeeded in presenting a more detailed study of an English tobacco firm than can be found elsewhere. As early as 1673, Micajah Perry and Thomas Lane were dealing in tobacco shipped from Virginia. The firm was composed at one time of Richard Perry, Micajah Perry, and Thomas Lane, this Richard probably the brother of Micajah. It is believed that the Richard Perry who had been in business and who died in 1719 was the son of Micajah. Lane and Perry both had relatives in Virginia. The will of Micajah Perry, Sr., is dated Dec. 22, 1720. The mercantile establishment and a considerable part of his property was willed to his grandsons Micajah, Jr., and Philip. This firm

acted as mail handlers and bankers for Virginians who corresponded in England. It was influential politically, controlling at times the appointment of members of the Council in Virginia, and of the Council of Maryland, and served as financial agent for some years for the College of William and Mary. The following volume is of interest: William Purdie Treloar, *A Lord Mayor's Diary, 1906-7; to Which is Added the Official Diary of Micajah Perry, Lord Mayor, 1738-9*, London, John Murray, 1920. Perry served as Lord Mayor of London September 29, 1738, to October 28, 1739. In October, 1727, he had been elected one of the three Whig members from the City of London to Parliament. He was sheriff in 1734-35. He lost his seat in the House of Commons in the general election of 1741. He had persistently voted against Walpole and the government. Before his death in 1753, he seems to have been in needy circumstances.

<sup>51</sup> Mark Catesby (1682-1749) was born at Sudbury in Suffolk. His interest in Virginia began through the marriage of his sister, Elizabeth, to Dr. William Cocke, of Williamsburg, Secretary of the Colony. He was in Virginia for seven years, 1712-1719. Byrd mentions him in his *Secret Diary* in May, June, August, September, 1712. Richard Pulteney in volume 2 of his *Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England to the Introduction of the Linnæan System*, London, 1790, devotes a whole chapter, pages 219-30, to Catesby; this sketch is sympathetic and appreciative, and as full as any in print, until recent years. The preface to his *Natural History of Carolina* tells us somewhat of his life and his purpose. An exhaustive study of him is desirable, which should include his scattered published letters and those unpublished in English depositories. J. C. Loudon in *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, London, 1844, vol. 1, pp. 68-70 has this to say of Catesby: "Ryall, who wrote the preface to Catesby's *Hortus Americanus Europæus* (which was not published till 1767, nearly twenty years after Catesby's death), observes, 'that very little regard was had to the trees and shrubs of America on our first settling in that country; nor, indeed, was any considerable step taken about introducing them into England till about the year 1720, chiefly in consequence of Mr. Catesby's exertions.' Catesby lived many years at Hoxton; but in the latter part of his life he removed to Fulham, where he occupied a house, and had a garden within the site of what is now the Fulham Nursery, in which some trees remain that were planted with his own hand (*Lynons*, vol. ii, p. 829). Catesby was born in 1682, and died in 1749. In a notice of his death, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1750, vol. 20, p. 30, he is called the 'truly honest, ingenious, and modest Mr. Mark Catesby.' On a blank leaf of Collinson's copy of Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina* (which, in January, 1835, came into the possession of A. B. Lambert, Esq.) is the following curious memorandum in Mr. Collinson's own handwriting, and signed with his name: 'The ingenious author, Mr. Mark Catesby, was born of a gentleman's family at Sudbury in Suffolk. Some of his family being settled in Virginia, and having himself a turn of mind to natural history, he went over there to see his sister and improve his genius. From thence he travelled to Carolina, Bahama Islands, &c., and painted all the subjects from the life. On his return, the subscription being at an end, he was at a great loss how to introduce this valuable work to the world, until he met with a friend (Peter Collinson) to assist and promote his views. He learned to engrave, and coloured all himself, yet it proved so very expensive, that he was many years in accomplishing the work, being himself a principal operator. So noble and so accurate a performance, begun and finished by one hand is not to be paralleled: but it afforded a subsistence to himself, his wife, and two children, to his death; and his widow subsisted on the sale of it for about two years afterwards, then the work, plates &c., sold for £400, and about £200 more left by the widow, was divided between the two children, a son and a daughter.' At the bottom of the title page is written: 'This edition of this noble work is very valuable, as it was highly finished by the ingenious author, who in gratitude made me this present for the considerable sum of money I lent him without interest, to enable him to publish it for the benefit of himself and family; else of necessity it must have fallen a prey to the

booksellers. Date 1731." Returning from Virginia in 1719, Catesby remained in England until 1722, when he went to Charleston, S. C. He spent three years in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and the Bahamas. The collection of papers of Capt. Roger Jones, and of his son Thomas Jones, now in the Library of Congress, is invaluable for information about Catesby. Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. William Cocke and Elizabeth Catesby, was the mother of Thomas Jones. The references in *Darlington* to Catesby, with some of his letters to Bartram in full, are well known; not so well known are the references in *Colden's Papers*, and in the *Literary and Scientific Correspondence of Richard Richardson*, 1835. Of the Library of Congress transcripts of the Sloane MSS., Dr. Sioussat writes:

"We have only one Mark Catesby item from the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum. This is a [List of] '*Seeds from Virginia sent by Mr. Catesby to Mr. Dale.*' In James Petiver's hand. Sloane MSS. 3339, fols. 73b-75. Regrettably we do not have copies of the letters of Mark Catesby to Sir Hans Sloane found in Sloane MSS. 4046 and 4047. When our transcripts of these papers were made many years ago, for some reason unaccountable to us now, these two volumes were omitted. We are, however, making a note of this omission and shall endeavor to secure copies as soon as it is feasible. From the Royal Society Letter Books we have photostats of two items regarding Catesby which may be of interest to you. These are two letters of Gov. Nicholson to Mr. Alban Thomas, dated March 8, 1721 and November 6, 1721, as described in Andrews and Davenport, *Guide to Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum*, etc., pages 365-366. Also from the *Royal Society Papers*, we have negative photostats of a paper by Mark Catesby entitled, *Of the Aborigines of America* [May 12, 1743]."

Several contributions of importance on Catesby have been published in recent years: Elsa G. Allen, "New Light on Mark Catesby," in *The Auk*, vol. 54, 1937, pp. 349-63 and plate 53 (a letter of Catesby to Sir Hans Sloane), with much new information gleaned in the course of a visit to Catesby's birthplace in Suffolk, and the result of examination of marriage, birth and will records, and of manuscripts hitherto overlooked; the author has proved the date of birth to be 1682, instead of 1679 as heretofore stated, and believes that the date of death may be April 20, 1750, instead of Dec. 23, 1749. William Hubert Miller, "Mark Catesby, an Eighteenth Century Naturalist," in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 29, no. 3, Jan. 1948, pp. 167-80, the most recent contribution, with some references not used before by biographers. J. H. Barnhart, "Bibliography of Editions of Catesby," in Britton and Millsbaugh, *Bahama Flora*, 1920, page 657. Witmer Stone, "Mark Catesby and the Nomenclature of North American Birds," in *The Auk*, vol. 46, no. 4, 1929, pp. 447-54.

<sup>62</sup> There were several well-known English books on gardening in the library of Daniel Parke Custis, according to the inventory. Some, if not most, of his books came from his father's library; we may believe that those that bore dates before 1749, the date of his father's death, were used by John Custis; that is William Salmon's *Botanologia, the English Herbal; or History of Plants*, London, 1710; Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening*, 1728; *Dictionarium Rusticum & Urbanicum*, 1704, 1717 or 1726 edition. Very little exact information exists about the early gardens of Williamsburg. Early prints, drawings and sketches are not extant, except the engraving known as the Bodleian plate, which does give hints as to the gardens at the Palace and the Wren Building of the College. Traces of garden walls have been uncovered occasionally in the course of preliminary excavation for the restoration of the city. Few of the early trees and shrubs remain; notable remnants are the yew in the garden of John Custis, and now in the grounds of the Eastern State Hospital; and the live oak, which stood at the entrance to the college campus for many years, until three years ago. Detailed and accurate accounts are wanting; for this reason the letters of Collinson and Custis are of the deepest interest to garden lovers and to architects, supplying them with data about some of the plants cultivated as early as two hundred and thirty years ago in a Williamsburg garden. The visitor who comes to Williamsburg today sees

new gardens, planned and developed under the masterly direction of Mr. Arthur A. Shurcliff in the last twenty years. To the most conscientious and faithful study of the fragmentary evidence of old Virginia gardens, he has added the inspiration that comes from long and successful experience, from personal observation of the existing early gardens in England, and from the judicious interpretation of gardening literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; it is not strange that he has evolved the house gardens which blend so harmoniously into the general picture of architectural simplicity and of agreeable living. For a better understanding of Mr. Shurcliff's ideals and achievement, the reader should peruse the following contributions from his pen: "City Plan and Landscaping Problems" (*Architectural Record*, Dec., 1935, vol. 78, no. 6, pp. 383-6); "The Gardens of the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg" (*Landscape Architecture*, Jan., 1937, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 55-95); "The Ancient Plan of Williamsburg" (*Landscape Architecture*, Jan., 1938, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 87-101); "Look here upon this picture—" (*Landscape Architecture*, Jan., 1938, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 102-7). There was an occasional item in the *Virginia Gazette* showing local interest in gardening: "Gentlemen and others may be supplied with good garden pease, beans and several other sorts of garden seeds; also with great choice of flower roots; likewise trees of several sorts and sizes fit to plant in gentlemen's gardens at very reasonable rates, by Thomas Crease, gardener to the College in Williamsburg," *Virginia Gazette*, Jan. 6-13, 1737 [1738].

Mrs. Rutherford Goodwin of the Research Department of Colonial Williamsburg has prepared the following note that may be helpful to students of the plant life of eighteenth century United States. "Between 1932 and 1935, Mr. Arthur A. Shurcliff compiled lists of flowers, trees, shrubs, etc., known to have grown in the English-American colonies in the eighteenth century. These lists give the botanical name of the plant, whether native or the date of introduction, and date and source of eighteenth century reference. This information is typed and bound into three small volumes, under the following titles: A catalogue of herbs and flowers native to or introduced to northeastern America during the Colonial and early Republic periods with historical, botanical and horticultural information; A catalogue of shrubs and vines native to or introduced to northeastern America during the Colonial and early Republic periods with historical, botanical and horticultural information; A catalogue of trees native to or introduced to northeastern America during the Colonial and early Republic periods with historical, botanical and horticultural information."

Colonial Williamsburg has also prepared the following mimeographed pamphlet: *Trees, Shrubs and Vines*; A brief list of the most common plant materials used in the restored gardens of Colonial Williamsburg; the native plants, of which there are a great number, and the introductions were all known in the eighteenth century.

<sup>63</sup> Colonel Thomas Jones was the son of Captain Roger Jones; he married the widow Elizabeth Catesby Pratt, who was the daughter of Dr. William Coker, Secretary of Virginia, and Elizabeth Catesby the sister of Mark Catesby the naturalist. Colonel Jones was a leading merchant and an influential man in the first half of the eighteenth century; some of the letters in the Roger and Thomas Jones collection in the Library of Congress have been printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 26, pp. 70-80 and 162-81. Intimate, friendly letters of this period in Virginia, for the first three decades of the 18th century, are not common. The Catesby, Coker, Pratt, Roger and Thomas Jones families, and others, are represented in these letters. In the letter of September 30, 1728, Thomas asks his wife, in England on a visit there, to "remember garden seeds of the best sort." *Ibid.*, p. 173. Mrs. Holloway was Elizabeth Catesby, the sister of Mark Catesby, who married William Coker, Secretary of the Colony. After his death she married John Holloway, treasurer of Virginia, who died in 1734. Mrs. Holloway died in 1755.

<sup>54</sup> The French Ordinary was a tavern built about 1680, on the road from Williamsburg to Yorktown, near the intersection of the road that led south and southeast to Martin's Hundred; this tavern served as the court house of York county from 1681 to 1697 when the court was moved to Yorktown. The point at which the Ordinary was built was on the ridge between the head of King's Creek, and the head of the western branch of Felgate's Creek, this branch sometimes known as Black Swamp. Not far from the site of the Ordinary, Kiskiack Church was built, the name becoming corrupted into Cheesecake, and so referred to in Revolutionary and Civil War literature. Without positive proof, it is believed that on the site of the Ordinary or near it was the later tavern known as the Halfway House which appears on the maps of the French and American engineers of the Yorktown campaign in 1781. This Halfway House is not to be confused with the Halfway House on the road from Yorktown to Hampton. The old York road was the principal highway from the Capital of the colony to the main port, Yorktown; it was much used until World War I. Shortly after the end of that war, the road was closed, and nearly all of it now lies in the reservation of the United States Naval Mine Depot. There were French doctors practicing in York County in the middle of the 17th century: Dr. Giles Modé, anglicized later to Moody; Dr. John Peteet, which became Pettit; and Dr. Peter Plovier (or Plouvier). There is no evidence that the French Ordinary was near the home of any one of these men and that it obtained its name from him. There were other French settlers in York County in the early period. A crossroads point where the main highway from Williamsburg to the harbor at Yorktown intersected with the road to Martin's Hundred, and where there was a church, an ordinary, and a courthouse indicates a site of considerable importance.

<sup>55</sup> This letter may be one of the two letters Collinson in his letter of October 20, 1734, refers to as being received from Custis. The horse-chestnuts may have been received in the care of the Randolphs before Collinson's letter of October 20, 1734, came to Custis. Accepting this as one of the two mentioned by Collinson, there is one letter wanting, that is, it is not in the letter-book.

<sup>56</sup> Isham Randolph of Dungeness, Goochland County, brother of Sir John Randolph, son of William Randolph of Turkey Island. He married Jane Rogers; their daughter Jane who married Peter Jefferson, was the mother of Thomas Jefferson. Isham died in 1742, aged fifty-seven years. He was a planter, a shipmaster, a merchant, and a public official, a good example of a prosperous Virginian of that period who, wishing a successful career, was under the necessity of being something more than a planter. Dungeness, the estate of Isham Randolph, was on the James River near the mouth of Lickinghole Creek, and about ten miles down the river from the site of present Columbia, and one or two miles up the river beyond the station, Irwin, on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. The old house, standing in the memory of the older residents of Goochland County, has entirely disappeared. Dungeness is indicated on the Jefferson and Fry map of Virginia, 1775.

<sup>57</sup> *Mertensia virginica* (L.) Link. (Virginia cowslip, true lungwort, Roanoke bells). "*Pulmonaria Virginica*. [Note by Collinson] '*Symphytum Virginicum flore caeruleo*. Mountain cowslip. Banister and Plukenet.' Mem. [by Collinson] 'Miller's sixth species, a most elegant plant, was entirely lost in our gardens, but I again restored it from Virginia by Col. Custis; flowered April 13, 1747, and hath continued ever since (1765) a great spring ornament in my garden at Mill Hill.' Mr. Collinson has left another memorandum, that in May, 1767, twenty seven stems were produced from one root, and Miller says that the species was originally sent by Banister, from Virginia, to the gardens of Bishop Compton, at Fulham. It also appears in the Catalogue with the name '*Pulmonaria floribus pulcherimis caeruleis. Fl. Virgin.*'" Dillwyn (*Hortus Collinsonianus*, p. 43). "*Mertensia virginica* (L.) Link. (Virginia cowslip. Bluebells. Smooth lungwort.) Abundant in alluvial soil on Flat Creek in Campbell County. *Mertensia* is reported formerly to have grown abundantly on the islands in the James River near Lynchburg, but I have been

unable to determine if this is still true. I have found it, however, in an odd habitat, in woods along the lower slopes of Flat Top Mountain, one of the Peaks of Otter, in Botetourt County, far removed from human habitation and unlikely to have been introduced by man. In much botanizing in the Blue Ridge, this is the only place we have found this plant, ordinarily belonging to alluvial river bottoms, growing in the mountains." Signed R. S. Freer (*Claytonia*, vol. 2, no. 10, May, 1936, p. 56). A small colony of this plant was found in 1933 on South River in the vicinity of Lyndhurst, Augusta County, growing in alluvial soil. This plant was also collected in 1936 from the bank of Cowpasture River; by L. G. Carr (*Claytonia*, vol. 3, no. 1, July, 1936, p. 11). J. B. Lewis has located this plant in only one place in Amelia County, on the bank of the Appomattox River. The finest bed of these plants of which he has knowledge is on the bank of Great Creek in Brunswick County. *Claytonia*, vol. 3, no. 1, July, 1936, p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> Dr. John S. Bassett in his contribution "The Relation Between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant" in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1901*, vol. 1, p. 573, quotes William Byrd's observations on 'shipmasters, but does not give the date or present location of the letter: "They [shipmasters] are commonly men of no aspiring genius, and their understanding rises little higher than instinct, when they go out of their element. They are most of them airant sea calves, and the Tritons that swim under, are just as wise as those that sail upon it. The most that they can be taught to do, is, some times to deliver a letter, and if they happen to have superior parts, they may be instructed perhaps to call for an answer. One may as soon tutor a monkey to speak, or a French-woman to hold her tongue, as to bring a skipper to higher flights of reason." The captains had their troubles as the following advertisement shows: Thomas Bolling, commander of the ship *Harrison* at Swineyards, James River, advertised a list of 16 consignments on his vessel, of which the owners were unknown to him, each consignment having a mark of initials but no name. *Virginia Gazette*, June 23-30, 1738.

<sup>59</sup> He had been left a specified amount by his grandfather for education in England. There has always been some question as to his residence in England, but this statement verifies the tradition that he was educated there.

<sup>60</sup> Collinson may have written to Custis before this date; if so, the letter has not been found. At the end of this letter Collinson acknowledges the receipt of two letters. The letter of Custis preceding this may be one of them.

<sup>61</sup> William Byrd II (1674-1744) of Westover, who married Lucy Parke, the sister of Frances, wife of John Custis.

<sup>62</sup> Dogwood. *Cornus florida* L. Common throughout the Peninsula.

The late Dr. Earl J. Grimes, of William and Mary College, and Mrs. Grimes devoted much time of the two years before his death in 1921, to the collection of plants in the Peninsula between the James and York rivers. Mrs. Grimes, later, as Eileen Whitehead Erlanson prepared a list of these plants under the title of *The Flora of the Peninsula of Virginia* and published it in the *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, vol. 4, pp. 115-82. Those students who wish to have the pleasure of identifying plants at present in the Peninsula region with those mentioned by Custis and Collinson, will find Mrs. Erlanson's *Flora* useful; there is "A Select Bibliography of Virginia Flora" on pages 178-82, which includes titles published through the year 1923. The Society of Natural History of Delaware published in 1946 the work *Flora of Delaware and the Eastern Shore; an Annotated List of the Ferns and Flowering Plants of the Peninsula of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia*, 313 pages, illustrated. By Robert R. Tatnall. Dr. Fernald says that this is a "must book" for everyone interested in the Botany of Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. Typographically perfect for comfortable use and with an unimpeachable index. Many important discoveries and additions to our knowledge of the flora of eastern

Virginia have been made by Dr. M. L. Fernald and his associates in the past twenty-five years. For further investigation the student will have recourse to his reports originally in *Rhodora*, reprinted as *Contributions from the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University*, Nos. 107, 109, 115, 120, 123, 128, 133, 145, 149, 150, 156; these all relate to the flora of Virginia, and especially the tidewater section, with emphasis on southeastern Virginia. The genius and the industry of Dr. Fernald in personal explorations have known no limitation. In introducing "*The Seventh Century of Additions to the Flora of Virginia*" (*Contribution from Gray Herbarium No. 145*), Dr. Fernald says, "My records show that from September, 1933, to August, 1940, my companions and I, in thirty trips of three days to two weeks each, in tidewater Virginia, had collected approximately 650 flowering plants and vascular cryptogams not previously recorded as definitely growing in the state. In addition, of course, there are many species, like *Burmanna biflora*, which had long been supposed to be extinct in the state but for which living stations are now known. The results of our four trips in 1941, supplemented by old collections not previously worked out, brought the returns to 751. This brief statement is here made to clarify the title of the present paper. It should not be inferred that there are six preceding reports with essentially similar titles. Unfortunately the present title is misleading, in that the actual record is here brought above the middle of the eighth century." The Arnold Arboretum performed a much needed service to all botanists in publishing a photolithographed reproduction in 1946 of John Clayton's *Flora Virginica*, edition of 1762, striking in the beauty of format, and the fidelity to the original, accomplished according to the highest standard of the photolithographer's art. It would be desirable to have all facsimile reproductions of early books achieved in such a perfect way. Both editions of Clayton, the first (1739, 1743), and the second, 1762, have become rare; reproduction of the 1762 is most timely. A list of plants found within two or three miles of Williamsburg and considered official by U. S. Pharmacopia. Signed G. Williamsburg. *Southern Literary Messenger*, vol. 7, p. 779, Nov., 1841. Important recent contributions on Virginia flora are in the five volumes of *Claytonia*, 1934-1939, and in the section of botany in the *Virginia Journal of Science*, published by the Virginia Academy of Science, 1940 to date; in *Garden Gossip*, vols. 1-18, 1925 to date, published by the Garden Club of Virginia; and in *Castanea*, vols. 1-12, 1936 to date, published by the Southern Appalachian Botanical Club, West Virginia University; in the *Bulletins of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute*, prepared by Prof. A. B. Massey, botanist of the Institute: "Medicinal Plants Native and Naturalized of Virginia," *Bulletin*, vol. 35, no. 13, August, 1942; "The Willows of Virginia," *Bulletin*, vol. 37, no. 9, July, 1944; "Native Grapes and Their Wildlife Value," *Bulletin*, vol. 38, no. 9, July, 1945; "Poisonous Plants Native and Naturalized of Virginia," *Bulletin*, vol. 36, no. 8, June, 1943; "The Ferns and Fern Allies of Virginia," *Bulletin*, vol. 37, no. 7, May, 1944; "Farm Weeds (in Virginia), Their Importance and Control," *Bulletin*, vol. 34, no. 14, August, 1941.

<sup>63</sup> *Kalmia angustifolia* L. Commonly called "ivy" (Dillwyn, *Hortus Collinsonianus*, p. 27). *Kalmia angustifolia* L. (sheep laurel, lambkill, wicky, Gray). Not in Erlanson. *Kalmia latifolia* L. (calico bush, mountain laurel, spoon-wood, Gray). Erlanson reports found throughout the Peninsula.

<sup>64</sup> *Chionanthus virginica* L., mentioned by Erlanson as growing now in James City County in woods and along streams.

<sup>65</sup> Charles Friend, master of the ship *Brother of Glasgow* in 1736; of the *Royal Friend* of London in 1737; of the *Carteret* in 1746 and 1747. Governor Gooch in a letter to his brother, 1738, speaks well of Friend. There was a Captain Thomas Friend born in 1700 and died in Chesterfield County, Virginia, 1760. He married Frances Cox of Henrico. For descendants see *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d series, vol. 11, pp. 330-5. He is referred to in Goochland County records as a "Marriner." What relation to Captain Charles Friend does not appear.

<sup>66</sup> *Gleditsia triacanthus* L. In wasteland near Williamsburg. *Erlanson*.

<sup>67</sup> *Diospyros virginiana* L. Common on Peninsula.

<sup>68</sup> Catesby in his *Natural History of Carolina*, vol. 2, 1771, ed., p. 57 has some remarks on the use of the Yapon tea by the Indians; it was the annual custom in the spring to drink it with a considerable ceremony. It grew chiefly in the maritime provinces and the Indians on the coast carried on a trade with the mountain Indians; he compared it with the south side tea which the Spaniards traded to Buenos Aires which may be the tea we now call maté, *Ilex Paraguayensis*. The "black drink" of the Southern Indians was not the *Ilex vomitoria* or *Ilex Cassine*; it was a very strong drink brewed from a mixture of various roots (Porcher, quoted by M. L. Fernald, *Edible Wild Plants of Eastern North America*, p. 263). The tea from either *Ilex vomitoria*, or *Ilex Cassine* is much milder stimulating, and not unpleasant, somewhat like the tea from *Ilex Paraguayensis* (maté), if the leaves and branches are prepared properly. Fernald, page 264, quotes Porcher's directions for processing. John Bartram found what he supposed was *Ilex Cassine* on one of the islands owned by John Custis; this may have been either Mockhorn or Smith's Island. There is much holly today on Smith's Island. A short account of the "black drink" is in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 150 with references to the literature on the subject. Peter Collinson to John Bartram, April 12, 1739: "it grows nowhere to the northward of that island thee found it on—which belongs to Colonel Custis. I have it in my garden" (*Darlington*, p. 131). C. S. Sargent in his *Silva*, vol. 1, pp. 111, 112 has some references to early literature on *Ilex vomitoria* Ait. not in Hodge. R. R. Tatnall in the recently published *Flora of Delaware and the Eastern Shore* notes the occurrence of this shrub on the old Arlington plantation in Northampton County. *Ilex vomitoria* Ait. is not in *Erlanson*.

<sup>69</sup> *Erlanson* reports *Iris verna* L. near Williamsburg, and *Iris versicolor* L. common in open swamps, Henrico County.

<sup>70</sup> William Whitesides, master of the ship *Gooch* of London in 1736 and 1737. He may be the same as Captain Whitesides of the ship *Cato* of London, in 1737. A William Whitesides of Whitehaven was a master as early as 1718. The death of Captain Whitesides is mentioned in Collinson's letter of December 5, 1737.

<sup>71</sup> *Cercis canadensis* L. Found in wooded uplands throughout the Peninsula. *Erlanson*.

<sup>72</sup> Catalogue, if received, was not preserved with the letter.

<sup>73</sup> *Pulmonaria officinalis* L. (Common spotted lungwort or Jerusalem cowslip). Grows naturally in Italy and Germany; cultivated in English gardens, chiefly for medical use. Miller, *Abridgement, Gardener's Dictionary*.

<sup>74</sup> Puccoon. *Lithospermum canescens* (Michx.) Lehm. Gray calls this "puccoon of the Indians." Not in *Erlanson*. John Smith refers to it; *Arber's Edition of Smith's Works*, vol. 1, p. 59. Frequently mentioned in early accounts of Virginia products.

<sup>75</sup> Silkgrass. *Yucca filamentosa* Pursh. (Adam's needle, bear grass, common bear grass). "*Yucca flore albo, foliorum marginibus filamentosis*. (Silkgrass.)" (Clayton. *Flora Virginica*, 1743, p. 152). *Erlanson* reports near Diascund, James City County.

<sup>76</sup> *Canna indica* L. (Indian shot).

<sup>77</sup> Constantine Cant, master of the ship *Burwell* of London, 1736. The names of Constantine Cant, and William Cant, are on a petition with other masters to the Council, May 15, 1706. The name of Constantine Cant appears also as a master in a petition of 1722 to the Council. "Bradby and Cant I think are the best ships that come to York River." Thomas Jones, to Mrs. Jones, 30 Sept., 1728; *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 26, p. 172.



<sup>78</sup> Sorrell or sourwood, tree. *Oxydendrum arboreum* (L.) DC. Common in dry upland mixed woods in James City County (Erlanson). Mr. J. B. Lewis in *Garden Gossip*, 1939, vol. 14, no. 5, p. 12, describes a sourwood tree, in Amelia County, the largest he has ever seen at four feet above the ground, 27 inches in circumference.

<sup>79</sup> The friend in Pennsylvania was John Bartram. *Darlington*, p. 67.

<sup>80</sup> John Randolph (1727-1784) discusses the raising of strawberries in his garden in Williamsburg, in his *Treatise on Gardening*, edited by Marjorie Fleming Warner, 1924, pp. 45, 46. He remarks that there are three sorts chiefly propagated, "the wood, the scarlet or Virginian, the hautboy." He mentions the Chili strawberry as growing to the size of a hen's egg. "Virginian strawberry. *Fragaria virginiana* Ehrhart. The scarlet strawberry of French gardens. This species, indigenous in Canada and in the eastern states of America, and of which one variety extends west as far as the Rocky Mountains, perhaps even to Oregon, was introduced into English gardens in 1629. It was much cultivated in France in the last century, but its hybrids with other species are now more esteemed. Chili strawberry. *Fragaria chiloensis* Duchesne. A species common in Southern Chili, at Conception, Valdivia, and Chiloe and often cultivated in that country. It was brought to France by Frezier in 1715. Cultivated in the Museum of Natural History in France, it spread to England and elsewhere. The large size of the berry and its excellent flavor have produced by different crossings, especially with *F. virginiana* the highly prized *Ananas*, *Victoria*, *Trollope*, *Rubis*, etc." De Candolle. *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, 1885, p. 205.

<sup>81</sup> The chinquapin, *Castanea pumila* (L.) Mill., has disappeared in some places in Virginia, where man has interfered with it, but in much of the state chinquapins are as frequent as ever. The chestnut, *Castanea dentata* (Marsh) Borkh., has practically disappeared. Very occasionally in the state a tree is found in the woods which produces a dozen or so nuts. Through the mountain areas, especially the Alleghanies, the chestnut sprouts are abundant; however, these are commonly killed back by the blight before they are old enough to produce nuts (A. B. Massey, botanist, Virginia Polytechnic Institute). The chinquapin is frequently seen in the neighborhood of Williamsburg. *Erlanson*.

<sup>82</sup> For remarks on cabbage by a gardener of Williamsburg, whose kitchen garden was not far removed from the pleasure garden of the Custis estate, see the *Treatise on Gardening*, by John Randolph (1727-1784), edited by Marjorie Fleming Warner, and published by the William Parks Club.

<sup>83</sup> "*Salvia Hispanica* . . . the fourth sort grows naturally in Spain." Miller. *Abridgement, Gardener's Dictionary*. Not in *Erlanson*, *Small*, *Gray*, or *Bailey List of Cultivated Salvias*.

<sup>84</sup> *Vigna sinensis* Endl. (China bean, black-eyed bean, black pea, cowpea).

<sup>85</sup> The cultivation of the grape commercially in the Peninsula has not been successful. In the May session 1769 of the General Assembly an act was passed appointing trustees to purchase a piece of land not exceeding one hundred acres, fit for the culture of vines, as near Williamsburg as convenient; a dwelling house was to be erected, three negro slaves purchased, and three poor boys apprenticed; this was in the nature of a subsidy to André Estave, a native of France. At the end of six years if he succeeded in making ten hogsheads of merchantable wine, then the lands and the slaves were to be his (8 *Hening* 364-6). In October session of 1776, the General Assembly appointed Commissioners to sell the land and appurtenances, and place the money in the public treasury (9 *Hening* 239). In the May session 1784 the vineyard lands were vested in William and Mary College (11 *Hening* 406). The College sold the tract in 1789; it is located on the old Yorktown road, and not far from Fort Magruder, the site of the Battle of Williamsburg May 5, 1862. Hugh Jones in his *Present State of Virginia*, Sabin reprint, p. 128, gives an account of Robert Beverley's experiment in vine culture. Robert Bolling has an "Essay on the Utility of Vine Planting

in Virginia" in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, Feb. 25, 1773. He begins in this way: "The measure adopted by government in the year 1769 is, at least in theory, of an interesting a nature as any which hath heretofore fallen under contemplation. I mean that of a publick vineyard . . . let us consider then the real nature of this experiment. Is it whether vines will grow in Virginia. Is it whether wine is made of grapes . . . The experiment, to analyze it properly, is, first, whether André Estave can raise a vineyard a mile below Williamsburg, which shall furnish a sufficient quantity of grapes. Secondly, whether he can produce therefrom a wine wholesome and potable." In the issue of March 18, 1773, André Estave reports on his experiment so far at the publick vineyard. He was not successful in raising foreign vines. "It is my humble opinion the native vines alone can be cultivated." There is a second letter from Estave in the issue of September 2, 1773. Robert Bolling has an additional letter on the subject in the issue of July 29, 1773. The author preserved a copy of these letters in a manuscript volume for the history of which see the *Historical Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 1, Jan., 1860, p. 19; vol. 4, no. 7, July, 1860, pp. 218-20; vol. 4, no. 9, Sept., 1860, p. 280. John S. Skinner of Baltimore, editor of the *American Farmer*, was allowed to print extracts from this manuscript volume in the *American Farmer*, vol. 10, 1828/29, p. 387, and in vol. 11, 1829/30, p. 172. William Byrd II, in his letter to Collinson, July 18, 1736, refers to his discouragement in raising grapes, demolished by the frost the latter part of May (*Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 36, p. 355). A letter of William Byrd II to Mr. Warner, July, 1729, thanks him for his fine collection of vines received; he now has twenty sorts of vines growing; mentions his fruit trees and garden; sends Warner seeds and promises plants (*Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 36, pp. 116, 117). Prof. A. B. Massey, Botanist of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, has a contribution on "Native Grapes of Virginia" in the *Virginia Journal of Science*, vol. 2, nos. 7 and 8, Nov.-Dec., 1941, pp. 272-4.

<sup>86</sup> *Kalmia latifolia* L. which is found near Williamsburg.

<sup>87</sup> The General Assembly was in session from August 5 to September 23, 1736.

<sup>88</sup> *Morus alba* L. In waste land near Williamsburg. Erlanson.

<sup>89</sup> Pigeon pea. *Cajanus Cajan* Millsp. Called in English colonies doll (dhal), pigeon pea. In French Antilles pois d'angola, pois de Congo, pois pigeon. Angola pea, Congo pea, cajan. No American origin. Introduced into West Indies from coast of Africa by slave trade. In tropical Africa it existed wild or cultivated for a very long time and from there it was introduced into Asia by ancient travellers (DeCandolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, 1885, pp. 332-4). Not raised now in the Peninsula, according to C. W. Richards, County Agricultural Agent. "I am not aware that it is grown in Virginia. If so, it would be for ornamental purpose, and not as a crop. Some years ago, there was a flair of interest in it; however, this did not last long." A. B. Massey, Botanist, Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

<sup>90</sup> John Bartram. It is amusing that Collinson avoids giving the name of his friend.

<sup>91</sup> If Custis sent a list of the plants in his garden, he did not make a copy of it in his letter-book, and therefore is lacking in connection with this letter.

<sup>92</sup> "*Zanthoxylum clava-Herculis* [note by Collinson] '*Zanthoxylum lentisci foliis*. Toothache tree. Virginia. Vide Catesby, *Nat. Hist.*' [Note by Collinson]: 'This day, July 1, 1762, went to see the old garden of my late old friend Charles Dubois, at Mitcham; Toothache or *Zanthoxylum tree* No. 1 was then in flower, a small green flower, on a small spike, perhaps the only tree now in England'" (Dillwyn. *Hortus Collinsonianus*, p. 58). Gray in new ed. has *Zanthoxylum clava-Herculis* L., Southern prickly ash.

<sup>93</sup> The Royal Exchange. Merchants dealing in the same commodities had by custom fixed on certain different parts of the Exchange to meet one another, to exchange news and transact business; these meeting places were termed "walks." William Maitland in his

*History and Survey of London*, 1756, vol. 2, p. 901, gives a floor plan of the building, in which the twenty-four "walks," including the "Virginia Walk," are located. In the *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 26, pp. 82, 83, Dr. Charles M. Andrews has a note on the location of the Virginia Coffee House on Michaels Lane, Cornhill, a short distance from the Royal Exchange, accompanied by a sketch map of the neighborhood of the Virginia Coffee House. In the *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 27, pp. 371-5, there is a note by Leo Colleton, on the same subject with a sketch map of the neighborhood.

<sup>94</sup> Johann Ammann (1707-1742), professor of botany of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, established in 1725. Fifteen professors, each of whom was to follow investigation in a special field, were supported by its funds.

<sup>95</sup> "[Collinson's] Mem: 'I sent seeds of a Turkey cucumber to Mr. Custis in Virginia, in the year 1737; it produced a fruit three feet long and fourteen inches round; grew in one night three inches in length, and people came twenty miles round to visit it. Such are the effects of so fine a climate on so rich a soil'" (Dillwyn, *Hortus Collinsonianus*, p. 60). For an account of this cucumber see the *Virginia Gazette* of Aug. 12-19, 1737, and of Aug. 25-Sept. 1, 1738.

<sup>96</sup> Collinson in letter of November 12, 1736, acknowledges receipt of Custis' letter of July 29, 1736. In his letter of December 25, 1736, he acknowledges two letters from Custis. One of these may be the letter written between August 5 and September 26, 1736, and which in his letter of December 4 he reports Capt. Friend as having brought but not delivered to him. The conclusion is that one of the two mentioned in letter of December 25 is not in the Custis letter-book.

<sup>97</sup> "[Collinson's note]: '*Spartium Junceum* var. I first introduced the Spanish broom with double flowers; it was sent me from Nuremberg anno 1746'" (Dillwyn, *Hortus Collinsonianus*, p. 52). *Cytisus scoparius* (L.) Link. (Scotch broom, Irish broom), throughout the Peninsula; see *Erlanson*. Bailey, *Manual of Cultivated Plants* has *Spartium junceum* Lam. (*Genista juncea* Lam.) Spanish broom. Dr. J. M. Galt in 1803 wrote to John Hartwell Cocke, at that time living at Mount Pleasant, Surry County, recommending the culture of the Scotch broom as a food for sheep and hogs; he said they devoured the flowers greedily. He had brought over seed from England and planted it as an ornamental shrub in Williamsburg. He added that in Warwick County where it had been planted as an ornamental hedge it spread until it covered hundreds of acres. *Tyler's Quarterly*, vol. 2, pp. 246, 247.

<sup>98</sup> Ipecacuana. *Gillenia trifoliata* (L.) Moench. (Common ipecac or Bowman's root). Gray, rev. by Bailey, *Field, Forest and Garden Botany*. "Indian physic; Indian hippo; Meadow Sweet" (G. S. Cheney Co., *Druggists Handbook* . . .) Found near Williamsburg (*Erlanson*). *Gillenia stipulacea* Nutt. (Large stipulated ipecac or American ipecac). Gray, rev. by Bailey, *Field, Forest and Garden Botany*. *Euphorbia ipecacuanhae* L. (American ipecac). Spurge. Wild ipecac) (G. S. Cheney Co., *Druggists Handbook* . . .) The ship *Phoenix* for London, among other freight, carried four hogsheads of ipecacuana. *Virginia Gazette*, June 2-9, 1738.

<sup>99</sup> Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton in his *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century*, Richmond, Garrett & Massie, 1931, pages 119-29, brings together the scattered information about Dr. John Tennent of Virginia and his advocacy of the snakeroot, *Polygala senega* L., as a medicine; title pages of seven of Tennent's publications are reproduced; facing page 138 is a plate "*Seneca rattlesnake root*." The *Index-catalogue of the Surgeon General's Library*, first catalogue, has nineteen entries relating to the snakeroot, entered under *Senega*; the second catalogue has one entry; the third catalogue has none. Collinson probably refers not to *Polygala senega* L., but to *Eryngium yuccifolium* Michx. (rattlesnake master, button snakeroot) (*Gray*). The term "snakeroot" is most indefinite. It is

used at the present time in a popular way for at least twelve species of medicinal plants growing in the United States. See also Note 159.

<sup>100</sup> "Doctor Christopher Witt was born in Wiltshire in 1675, came to Pennsylvania in 1704, died in 1765. A skilful physician and a learned man; reputed a magus, or diviner, or in grosser terms, a conjurer." J. F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, Philadelphia, 1844, vol. 2, p. 22.

<sup>101</sup> *Apocynum medium* Greene, *Erlanson* reports in dry soil along railway at Lanexa on the Peninsula.

<sup>102</sup> The *Gardener's Dictionary*, by Philip Miller (1691-1771), the close friend of Peter Collinson. The universal esteem and use of the *Dictionary* in England and America are plainly shown in the numerous editions, nine, published in the author's lifetime. Copies have been located in the following libraries of colonial Virginians: Lord Botetourt; Thomas Lord Fairfax; Daniel Parke Custis, probably the one that John Custis owned; John Herbert of Chesterfield County; Peter B. Thornton of Northumberland County; Colonel William Fleming; Councillor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall; John Randolph, Jr., Attorney General; it was offered for sale by Dixon and Hunter in Williamsburg in 1775. The *Dictionary* was much used by John Randolph, Jr. (1727-1784), in preparing his *Treatise on Gardening*; for a reprint of this work see the edition, published by the William Parks Club in 1924, edited by Marjorie Fleming Warner.

<sup>103</sup> "The Apothecaries Company and the Chelsea Physic Garden." Chapter xvii, in J. Reynolds Green, *History of Botany in the United Kingdom to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1914. See also C. R. B. Barrett, *The History of the Society of the Apothecaries of London*, London, Eliot Stock, 1905; F. G. D. Drewitt, *Romance of the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea*, 3rd ed., Cambridge, University Press, 1928.

<sup>104</sup> Strawberry tree. *Evonymus americanus* L. (The American strawberry bush) Gray. *Erlanson* reports, in wooded flood plains, James City County.

<sup>105</sup> Catesby refers to the stories current about the charming powers of the rattlesnake, but he says he never saw an instance himself in his travels in America. *Natural History of Carolina*, 1771 ed., vol. 2, p. 41. See B. S. Barton "On the Supposed Power of Fascination in Serpents," in *American Philosophical Society, Transactions*, vol. 3, 1793; also his "General Observations on the Rattlesnake," *ibid.*, vol. 4, 1799. Barton does not believe in the power of fascination; birds try to protect their young, and the movements are for their protection. Dr. S. Weir Mitchell in his "Researches upon the Venom of the Rattlesnake," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 12, 1860, article 6, pp. 4 and 5, agrees with Barton; he experimented with birds and others in a cage of rattlesnakes; perhaps whatever stupefying there is may be due to a very powerful odor of the snake. Later naturalists agree with Barton and Mitchell. For Robert Beverley's account, in his own personal experience of a rattlesnake charming a hare, see his *History and Present State of Virginia*, edition of 1722, pp. 262-4; edition of 1705, edited by L. B. Wright, p. 301.

<sup>106</sup> *Erlanson* reports *Cypripedium acaule* Ait., frequent in woods around Williamsburg; also *Cypripedium parviflorum* Salisb. var. *pubescens* (Willd.) Knight.

<sup>107</sup> No copy of this inventory is in the letter-book.

<sup>108</sup> Live oak. *Quercus virginiana* Mill. Occurs in the neighborhood of Virginia Beach, Cape Henry, Buckroe Beach and on the coast near Hampton, also reported near Messick and Poquoson in York County. Reported on Mobjack Bay in Gloucester, but not verified. The cultivated live oaks thrive at Fort Monroe and on the campus at William and Mary College. Not in *Erlanson*.

<sup>109</sup> In correspondence on botany and horticulture, Collinson usually avoided reference to business affairs of his own or of merchant friends in London, a rule to which he adhered with only an occasional lapse. If his strictly business correspondence has survived, it has not been published.

<sup>110</sup> Peach trees thrive on the Peninsula, but they are not cultivated so extensively as in colonial times. A few orchards in Warwick county near Denbigh produce profitably for local markets; most farmers have a few trees which bear abundantly for home use about four out of every five years. Late frosts in April and May do much damage. Warm weather in March and April may bring out the bloom of peach, apple, pear and plum trees, and then a killing frost often follows. The inevitable change of weather in late April and early May discourages farmers from attempting fruit raising in a large way. See William Byrd's comment on peaches, peach bread, mobby, and peach brandy (William Byrd's *Natural History of Virginia or the Newly Discovered Eden*, edited and translated from a German version by Richmond Croom Beatty and William J. Mulloy, Richmond, Virginia, Dietz Press, 1940, pp. 47, 48). The reader who wishes information about fruits and vegetables in addition to what Beverley gives in his *History and Present State of Virginia* should consult Byrd's *Natural History*, pp. 20-51. Unfortunately there is no index to this translation. Byrd wrote, as Beverley did, from firsthand knowledge and experience in managing a large plantation and in travel in the sparsely settled parts of Virginia. Thomas Glover in *An Account of Virginia, Philosophical Transactions, Royal Society*, June 20, 1676, reprinted by B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1904, has observations on fruit growing in Virginia: "As to fruit trees . . . few planters but that have fair and large orchards, some whereof have 1200 trees and upward, bearing all sorts of English apples . . . of which they made great store of cider . . . likewise great peach-orchards, which bear such an infinite quantity of peaches, that at some plantations they beat down to the hoggs forty bushels in a year . . . great store of quinces . . . quince drink . . . apricocks and some sorts of English plums but these do not ripen so kindly as they do in England . . . some sorts of pears but at very few plantations . . . good figs . . . those that take the pains to plant gooseberries have them . . . no English currants . . . mulberry trees . . . meanest planter hath store of cherries . . . abundance of vines in the woods." Glover also has one of the few references to early pleasure gardens: "They have likewise in their gardens roses, clove-gilliflowers, and variety of other sorts of flowers."

"At noon we came to Littleton [a plantation on the James, below Kingsmill and adjoining it] where we landed, and where resided a great merchant, named Mr. Menefit [Menefie], who kept us to dinner, and treated us very well. The river is half as wide as before. Here was a garden of one Morgen [i.e., two acres] full of Provence roses, apples, pear and cherry trees, the various fruits of Holland, with different kinds of sweet-smelling herbs, such as rosemary, sage, marjoram and thyme. Around the house were plenty of peach trees which were hardly in blossom. I was astonished to see this kind of tree, which I had never seen before on this coast" (DeVries, *Voyages from Holland to America, 1632 to 1644*. Tr. by H. C. Murphy. *New York Historical Society Collections, 2nd ser.* 1857, vol. 3, p. 34). DeVries was in Virginia in 1633. There were extensive peach orchards throughout tidewater Virginia in colonial times. Peach brandy was of course the main objective. John Joyce writing in 1785 (*Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 23, p. 410) says, "the very meanest and hilly lands are proper for the peach trees, every planter almost having an orchard of these trees. The brandy I think is excellent and they make it in general in sufficient quantities." Matthew Marable offers for sale in 1773 lands which "promise to produce 30 hogsheads of tobacco, 1500 bushels of corn, 3000 bushels of wheat, and 1000 gallons of peach brandy," *Virginia Gazette*, July 22, 1773.

<sup>111</sup> It was seldom a Pennsylvania vessel entered the Virginia rivers. Schooner *Fanny* for Philadelphia, mentioned (*Virginia Gazette*, June 22-30, 1738). There were three or four ships a year to New England ports, an occasional one to Pennsylvania, South Carolina,

North Carolina, Madeira, Jamaica, fifteen or twenty a year to London, five to ten to Bristol. Vessels from London and Bristol generally arrived in winter, or in spring.

<sup>112</sup> This was Thomas Jones, who married the niece of Catesby. Mark Catesby left Virginia in 1719. It is interesting to know that Catesby was cooperating with Custis in his garden before that date.

<sup>113</sup> Sumac. *Rhus typhina* L. Erlanson reports in dry upland thickets through the Peninsula.

<sup>114</sup> John Clayton was born in 1686 at Fulham, Kent, England. His father was John Clayton, born in 1665, admitted to Inner Temple in 1682, son of Sir John Clayton of Fulham, and grandson of Sir Jasper Clayton; a brother of the father was General Jasper Clayton, killed at the battle of Dettingen in 1743. John the future botanist came to Virginia in 1705, with his father who began the practice of law and in 1714 was appointed Attorney General, a position which he held until his death in 1737; the son succeeded Peter Beverley in 1722 as clerk of Gloucester County, an office which yielded him a competence the remainder of his life, fifty-one years, and afforded him sufficient leisure for the collection and study of the native plants of Virginia. He made many journeys through the colony, even as far as the Blue Ridge, but never beyond the Ridge. In the year preceding his death he made a trip to what was then the wilderness of Orange County. He died December 15, 1773. He corresponded with the leading American and European botanists, among them Linnaeus and J. F. Gronovius (1690-1760). Gronovius received from Clayton a collection of Virginia plants, and with the collaboration of Linnaeus described them in proper Latinity, and arranged the names according to the approved scientific system of that date. This list appeared in print, part one in 1739, published in Leyden; in 1743 part one was republished with the addition of a second part. In 1762 the two parts, with additions and revisions, edited by L. T. Gronovius (1730-1777), son of J. F. Gronovius, were published; in this volume is a valuable map, showing Clayton's journeys through Virginia in the many years he spent in collecting plants. His home estate situated in what was then Gloucester County, now Mathews County, on the Piankatank River, bore the name of Windsor; here he developed a botanic garden. When Dr. John Minson Galt (1744-1808) of Williamsburg visited Windsor about 1804, he found the plants and shrubs in a flourishing state, particularly the purple fringe tree. When the writer of this note visited Windsor in 1926, there was no evidence of the survival of any of Clayton's plants. The owner of the property informed this writer that he had located the site of Clayton's garden by underground sections of the brick wall which surrounded it. The original house occupied by Clayton was destroyed years ago. Clayton was esteemed in colonial Virginia not only for his scientific attainments, but also for his geniality, friendliness, and sterling integrity. He is reported by some writers to have been an M.D., probably on the strength of the dedication to him of the *Flora Virginica*, where the degree is erroneously affixed to his name. Nor was he a member of the Royal Society of London, as stated in some sketches. He did have a brother, Thomas, who was a doctor, also living in Gloucester County. When the Virginia Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge was organized in 1773, he was chosen president. Dr. Galt refers to him as having the characteristic of witty conversation, which may have had some significance in contributing to the length and usefulness of his life. In his journeys he was wise and humble enough to learn from the Indians, those first botanists and farmers of Virginia, all that they could tell him of the practical uses of the native plants. Information about John Clayton is scant. The Gloucester County records of the period when he lived there are destroyed. We do not have his will, nor an inventory of his estate. What other property he owned in Virginia besides Windsor, and what in England we know not. He left two volumes of manuscript, believed to be an account of Virginia plants, probably with some detail of his journeys, and a hortus siccus of folio size, with marginal notes for the engraver of a

projected volume. Jasper Clayton, a grandson, said that these volumes were in possession of his father, a son of John, at the opening of the American Revolution and were sent by him for safety to William Clayton, clerk of New Kent County. This is explained by the proximity of Windsor to Gwynn's Island, the scene of much revolutionary activity in 1776, and there was then no likelihood of any disturbance in New Kent. The Clayton manuscripts were placed with the records of the county, and remained without injury till the burning of the courthouse by an incendiary, July 15, 1787, when they were with the County records destroyed. In some biographies of Clayton blame for this destruction is placed upon the British army, when Cornwallis marched through New Kent in June 1781, but this is not correct. There were remaining in the hands of a descendant of Clayton in Chesterfield County as recently as 1906, Clayton's letter-book and some other papers; this descendant had also in his possession a copy of Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina* which the author had inscribed and presented to Clayton. The late Dr. W. G. Stanard, some years after 1906, tried to locate the letter-book, but without success; the writer of this note renewed the search about 1929, with no satisfactory result. The best authority on Clayton, brief as it is, is the memorandum sent by Bishop James Madison, President of William and Mary College, "with particulars relative to Mr. Clayton, which Dr. [John Minson] Galt has been so kind as to collect", for Dr. Barton, and which was printed in the *Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal*, vol. 2, 1806, pp. 139-145. Some biographers, notably in the Dictionary of National Biography, have confused him with Rev. John Clayton, minister of Jamestown, 1684-1686, rector of Crofton in Yorkshire, 1688, and later dean of Kildare, whose letters descriptive of Virginia were published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, volumes 17, 18 and 41; the two men were not related. Letters of John Clayton to John Bartram, 23 July 1760; 30 Aug. 1760; 1 Sept. 1760; 23 Feb., 1761; 16 March 1763; 25 Feb., 1764; 6 Feb., 1765 are in *Darlington*, pp. 406-412; reprinted in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2nd series, vol. 6, pp. 317-325, in which is included a letter of 22 May, 1765, not in *Darlington*. The originals printed by Darlington are in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Clayton is mentioned also in *Darlington* on pp. 192, 203, 224; the *Flora Virginica* is mentioned on pp. 349, 379. A letter of Clayton to Linnaeus, 1748, in Latin, and the only letter by him to Linnaeus, in the collection of manuscripts in the Linnean Society was printed in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2nd series, vol. 4, pp. 246-248. Upon the death of his father, John succeeded to an estate at Hawkshurst in Kent, England. On 21 March 1739, John wrote a long letter to the steward of the estate at Hawkshurst, and after some business commands, expresses himself at great length on Virginia game and field sports, a valuable source on the subject, printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 7, pp. 172-174. There was a copy of the *Flora Virginica* in the Botetourt library. There is in the Library of Congress a copy of *Flora Virginica*, owned by Dr. James Greenway, botanist, of Dinwiddie County, with many marginal notes. Dr. Clarence R. Williams in a contribution entitled "Dr. John Dunn as a Virginia botanist," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2nd series, vol. 15, pp. 109-116, touches on the visits of Dr. Dunn to places mentioned by Clayton in *Flora Virginica* where certain plants were to be found. Additional references to Clayton, unused by his biographers up to this time, are in the *Colden Papers*, vol. 4, p. 251; *ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 81, 82; *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 291; also *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 25, Sept., 1755, pp. 407, 408; James Britten, "Gronovius's *Flora Virginica*" in *Journal of Botany, British and Foreign*, vol. 36, 1898, pp. 264-267. The present writer believes an exhaustive exploration of Clayton's correspondence with British botanists has not been made. Perhaps a search for letters to some members of his well-known family in England might be productive of new information. Quoting from Britten, *Journal of Botany, British and Foreign*, vol. 36, 1898, p. 264: "It is of course well known that Clayton's specimens were acquired by Banks—they are entered in Dryander's Catalogue (iii. 186) as 'specimina sicca Claytoniana (ex herbario J. F. Gronovii) quae adornandae huic flora [i.e., *Flora Virginica*]

inservierunt' and they are now incorporated with the general herbarium at the British Museum."

<sup>115</sup> "*Viburnum prunifolium*. *Viburnum foliis Pruni, floribus albis, bacca edulis, Flora Virginica*.' [Dillwyn's note is] "This species again appears in the catalogue [of Collinson] with the name of *Mespilus prunifolio non spinosa fructu nigraente*; black haw, Pluk.'" (Dillwyn, *Hortus Collinsonianus*, p. 57). Gray gives *Viburnum prunifolium* L. black haw. Erlanson reports that it is found in the Peninsula. "[send] a specimen of black haw in flower and leaf, for this we know not," Collinson to Bartram, May 2, 1738, *Darlington*, p. 118.

<sup>116</sup> Virginia tree primrose. *Oenothera biennis* L. (Tree primrose, common evening primrose, scabish, anagre [onagre]). Gray gives the common name of this genus *Oenothera* as Evening primrose. The common name of *Oenothera biennis* L., as Common evening primrose. Erlanson reports it a weed in the fields around Williamsburg. Britton and Brown give additional common names: night willow herb, large rampion, four o'clock, coffee- or fever-plant, king's-cure-all, scurvisch or scabish.

<sup>117</sup> Quakers. There was a Quaker group a few miles from Williamsburg in York County, in the Skimino neighborhood. The meetinghouse has long since disappeared; this was on a tract of land adjoining Cherry Hall, about a mile from present Lightfoot. The cemetery, in which there were, according to Quaker custom, no tombstones, has been pointed out to me near the site of the former meetinghouse. The road leading from Lightfoot, in front of the meetinghouse tract, was known for many years as the Quaker road. Descendants of the Skimino Quakers are represented today in many well-known and prominent families in the South and West. Custis undoubtedly was acquainted with some members of this meeting. Skimino mill was only a few miles from the Queen's Creek plantation of Custis. For further information on the Skimino Quakers, see Fairfax Harrison's *The Harrisons of Skimino*.

<sup>118</sup> See John Randolph's advice about raising melons in Virginia, in his *Treatise on Gardening*, edited by Marjorie Fleming Warner, 1924, pp. 30-4.

<sup>119</sup> Passion flower. *Passiflora incarnata* L., and *Passiflora lutea* L. Erlanson reports on the Peninsula. These two kinds are greatly different though Custis states with reference to two kinds sent "there is but small difference."

<sup>120</sup> "Opossums are very prolific, and have from five to fourteen in a litter. The young, after a gestation period of eleven to twelve days, are born while still in an embryonic state, are naked and completely helpless. They are placed in the brood pouch by the mother and are attached to the teats of the mother for two months. They are so small at birth that eighteen may be placed in a teaspoon." "Of great importance as a fur-bearer, having attained its value in the last few years." "The greatest number reported taken in Virginia during one season was 121,859 in 1937-38" (J. W. Bailey, *The Mammals of Virginia; An Account of the Furred Animals of Land and Sea Known to Exist in This Commonwealth with a List of Fossil Mammals from Virginia*. Richmond, Virginia [privately published], 1946). Has two interesting illustrations of opossum and young. Nearly two hundred years after Collinson propounded the problems relating to the opossum, Dr. Carl Hartmann, of the University of Texas solved some of them. His paper entitled "Breeding Habits, Development and Birth of the Opossum" was printed in the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1921, pp. 347-63, with 10 plates. See also Hornberger's remarks and references to John Mitchell's "*An Account of the Male and Female Opossum*," read before the Royal Society, February 10, 1742, but not printed; also *Further Observations on the Opossum*, read before the Society, March 20, 1746 (printed by Thatcher, *Virginia Magazine*



of *History*, vol. 40, p. 336). See also Edward McCrady, Jr., *The Embryology of the Opossum*, New York, 1938. Also L. M. Dickerson, Parturition in the Opossum, in *Science*, vol. 68, n.s. pp. 111, 112.

<sup>121</sup> This is in reply to the desire expressed by Custis to remain loyal to Robert Cary & Co. by continuing to send tobacco consignments to that firm.

<sup>122</sup> *The Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth and Preached by the People Called in Scorn Quakers . . .* by Robert Barclay was probably the volume sent Custis by Collinson, because it was the work that owing to its learning, its style, its sincerity, and its full understanding of the Quaker doctrine, was accepted as the best exposition of the belief of the followers of George Fox. In the inventory of the library of Daniel Parke Custis, which included many books in the library of his father, the clerk who transcribed the titles made many errors, by omitting authors, by abbreviating titles too much, and by carelessness in spelling; in the library, with approximately 457 titles, there are 39 titles on theology and related subjects, including Barclay's *Apology*. The *Apology* was reprinted many times.

<sup>123</sup> These notes in address sheet are in another hand, probably that of Custis.

<sup>124</sup> Wife of Sir Charles Wager, First Lord of the Admiralty, a friend of Collinson, and of William Byrd II.

<sup>125</sup> Probably *Magnolia virginiana* L. Erlanson reports near York River, and on swampy ground west of Williamsburg.

<sup>126</sup> As early as 1690 there was a description of the American *Tomineius* or humming bird in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, in vol. 17 and 18, pp. 760, 761. This was communicated by Nehemiah Grew, M.D. Andrew Burnaby refers to the humming bird in his *Travels* reprinted in the *Virginia Historical Register*, vol. 5, p. 36. "Repeated attempts have been made to send them alive to England, but always without success." See also *Travels*, edition of 1775, p. 10.

<sup>127</sup> Erlanson reports *Vitis aestivalis* Michx. Edge of woods throughout Peninsula; *Vitis cordifolia* Michx. Thickets in James City County; *Vitis rotundiflora* Michx. in James City County and at Lanexa, flood plain of Chickahominy River.

<sup>128</sup> See Bibliographical note, under "Bartram and Collinson"; also Appendix II, "The Travels of John Bartram in Virginia, 1737-1762."

<sup>129</sup> *The Apology*, by Robert Barclay.

<sup>130</sup> John Hanbury, the merchant referred to, was a Quaker, like Collinson. Before his death in 1758 he had become "well-known throughout Europe as the greatest tobacco merchant of his day, perhaps in the world" (*Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vol. 14, 1917, p. 57). He handled the tobacco, carrying it in his own ships, of a considerable number of Virginia planters, among them John Custis, Daniel Parke Custis, John Parke Custis, George Washington, Archibald Cary, William Parks, and the Byrds. He not only bought and sold tobacco, but acted as a purchasing agent of all kinds of supplies for his Virginia patrons, and took the place somewhat of a banker upon whom they could draw bills. John was one of the members of the Ohio Company and it was through his energy that the authority was given March 16, 1749, by the King in Council to the Company to acquire 500,000 acres of land in the western part of Virginia, in order to establish and maintain British trade there. He was a friend of Governor Dinwiddie, and there is evidence in the *Dinwiddie Papers* that Dinwiddie depended upon him at times to secure political favors and support in England. Justin Winsor (*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. 5, p. 495) believes that it was Hanbury's influence on the Duke of Newcastle and therefore on Dinwiddie that was responsible for the selection of the Virginia route by Braddock on

his expedition, instead of the road through Pennsylvania, which was easier and safer. Hanbury was the agent for William and Mary College for some years in managing the Brafferton estate in England, and transmitting the income from it. It seems also that the firm was the receiver of moneys transmitted by the Virginia government to London, and for this easy work, received a commission of 6 per cent, annually about £300. John Hanbury had as a partner, in his later life, his cousin Capel Hanbury. After John's death, Capel and Osgood, the son of John, constituted the firm. Out of this partnership, there developed, in course of time, in 1796, the influential banking firm of Hanbury and Company, which in 1864, amalgamated into the firm of Barnett, Hoare, Hanbury & Co., and in 1884 that firm was merged into the present Lloyds Bank. (P. H. Emden, *Monty Powers of Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, New York, Appleton, 1938; p. 359.)

<sup>181</sup> Letter of Nov. 19, 1738, in *Darlington*, p. 312; also in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, vol. 6, pp. 305, 306.

<sup>182</sup> John Clayton's plantation "Windsor" near the Piankatank River, where he had his garden, was at the time Bartram visited it, in Gloucester County; it is now in the section cut off from Gloucester, and named Mathews County.

<sup>183</sup> Sir Charles Wager (1666-1743), First Lord of the Admiralty. His campaign against the Spanish in the West Indies, 1707-1709, with its prizes, made him an extremely wealthy man.

<sup>184</sup> "*Magnolia tripetala* [note by Collinson] '*Magnolio folio amplissimo, flore albo, fructu coccineo*. Catesby, *Hist.*' [Collinson's] mem: 'In the year 1753 I had sent me from South Carolina a species of *Magnolia*, called the *Umbrella*. I had it planted in Mr. J. Gordon's garden . . . this is the first tree that has flowered in England.' Collinson later says that though he first succeeded in flowering the plant, that Miller had imported it about two years before 1753" (Dillwyn, *Hortus Collinsonianus*, p. 33). Catesby says he saw only two or three of these trees in Virginia, *Natural History of Carolina*, 1771 ed. vol. 2, p. 80; he gives it as *Magnolia umbrella* Lam. "also called *Magnolia tripetala*." Gray has *Magnolia tripetala* L. (umbrella tree) and *Magnolia Fraseri* (Walt.) (ear-leaved magnolia). Britton and Brown, *Illustrated Flora*, vol. 2, p. 82, has common names North Carolina bay, cucumber tree, Indian physic, water lily tree. *Erlanson* found it in swampy plains east of Williamsburg.

Nicholas (?) Smith of South Farnham parish in Essex County was a justice between 1720 and 1730, also a vestryman in 1739. By deed of July 15, 1729, he conveyed to his son Francis 400 acres of land in Essex "being the dwelling plantation of the said Nicholas Smith." This Nicholas (?) was the son of Nicholas (!) of Petsworth parish, Gloucester County. Nicholas (?) had a son Francis as above, and Nicholas (?) to whom administration was granted on father's estate August 16, 1757. From Nicholas (?) was descended George William Smith born in 1762, who, while governor of Virginia, lost his life in the burning of the Richmond theater, December 26, 1811. The plantation of Nicholas (?) was on the Piscataway in upper Essex.

<sup>185</sup> *Physalis*. (Ground cherry). *Erlanson* reports *Physalis pruinosa* L. in James City County; *Physalis virginiana* Mill., as a weed around Williamsburg.

<sup>186</sup> Montpellier, France, was a health resort of considerable reputation in the eighteenth century and before, especially for those afflicted with what was then called "consumption." John Locke went there to improve his health in 1676-1678.

<sup>187</sup> Harding was in command of a vessel of the Hanbury firm, which evidently was not only carrying a general cargo, but also convicts.

<sup>188</sup> Recent contributions on the subject of convicts in Virginia are by E. H. Gilliam in *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 52, pp. 180-2, July, 1944; by Polly Cary Mason in

*Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 53, pp. 37-41, January, 1945, and by Matthew Page Andrews, *ibid.*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>139</sup> "Mr. Miller told me that he brought over the Moss Provence rose from Holland in the year 1727." Collinson's note in Dillwyn, *Hortus Collinsonianus*, p. 47.

<sup>140</sup> This was Mrs. William Gooch, the governor's wife, who, before her marriage, was Rebecca Stanton.

<sup>141</sup> No species of *Aesculus* or horse-chestnut found native in the Peninsula by *Erlanson*.

<sup>142</sup> "*Prunus Myrtellinum* Park. (muscle plum). Oblong, flat plum, of dark red color; the stone is large, and the flesh but very thin, and not well tasted, so that its chief use is for stocks [to bud some tender sorts of peaches upon]" Miller, *Abridgement, Gardener's Dictionary*.

<sup>143</sup> This relates to the suit of the Dunbar family of Antigua against Custis to require him to be responsible for the debts, outside of Virginia, of his father-in-law, Daniel Parke II. Thomas Dunbar married Lucy Chester, natural daughter of Daniel Parke II, to whom the father devised the Leeward Islands property; Dunbar upon marriage assumed the name of Thomas Dunbar Parke, in compliance with the will of Daniel Parke II; their children were Daniel Parke, Lucy Parke, and Elizabeth Parke. A decree of the Virginia Chancery Court April 10, 1754, nearly five years after the death of John Custis, dismissed the suit of Charles Dunbar, executor for Thomas Dunbar Parke, against Daniel Parke Custis for an accounting of the estate of Daniel Parke II. On June 24, 1757, the Privy Council of England to whom the suit had been appealed made this report, "The decree is reversed the case is ordered to stand over for want of parties," [the names of the children of Thomas Dunbar Parke having been omitted] and the plaintiffs are allowed to amend their bill by adding proper parties." The claim of the Dunbars was that the estates of Daniel Parke II in Virginia and England should be responsible for debts in the Leeward Islands (*Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, vol. 4, 1745-1766, pp. 288-90). See also the letter of William Byrd II to Captain Parke, in regard to this suit, in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 9, pp. 244-6. In a letter of George Washington, June 12, 1759, to his agents Capel and Osgood Hanbury, a few months after his marriage to the widow Custis, he says, "Dunbar's lawsuit is again brought to Virginia" (Fitzpatrick's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 2, p. 324). This would indicate that in administering the Custis estate, Washington succeeded to the troubles of the Dunbar suit. The suit is not mentioned again by Washington in any of his printed letters. D. S. Freeman in his *Life of George Washington*, vol. 2, pp. 286 ff. has explored the manuscript and printed items on the life of Daniel Parke II, and the suit of the executors of the estate of his natural daughter Lucy Chester versus John Custis in comprehensive detail. This suit, such a thorn in the life of John Custis after his father-in-law's death, has not been treated in any other work in such ample and convincing manner.

<sup>144</sup> Mockhorn, or Smith's Island in Northampton County.

<sup>145</sup> Miocene fossils. For a discussion with plates see J. K. Roberts, "The Lower York-James Peninsula," p. 27 ff. (*Virginia Geological Survey, Bulletin 37*, 1932). Miss Mary Goodwin reports in an article in *Virginia Quarterly Review* that these fossils are on exhibition in a museum connected with the Mill Hill School, near London, the site of Collinson's home. She reports the fossils were shown to her on a recent visit to Mill Hill. See "Yorktown Formation of the Miocene," in W. B. Clark, and B. L. Miller, "Physiography and Geology of the Coastal Plain Province of Virginia" (*Virginia Geological Survey, Bulletin no. 4*, p. 158 ff.).

The milldam at the head of Queen's Creek, now the site of the Williamsburg reservoir for supplying the city with water. The mill was long known as Custis' Mill, and so marked on the French engineers' map of 1781, and later as Waller's Mill. In excavations on the

banks along the streams on the Peninsula miocene fossils are frequently discovered. Custis also had a mill about half a mile in the rear of his garden, on a small tributary of College Creek.

<sup>146</sup> There were several members of the Burwell family bearing the name Lewis and living at the same time in the middle of the eighteenth century. The editor has identified the Lewis Burwell mentioned by Custis as the one living at Kingsmill on the James River where the Hog Island Ferry boat landed. In the *Executive Journals of the Council*, vol. 5, p. 139, he is referred to as "Lewis Burwell, Junr Esqr." His appointment was on December 14, 1743. He is not the same as "Honble Lewis Burwell Junr" appointed a member of the Council August 4, 1743 (*ibid.*, p. 129). It is true that Council members were sometimes Naval Officers, but it is not likely that the member of the Council who lived in Gloucester would be Naval Officer of the James River District, when he had a relative living at one of the important landings on the river. There was a "Mr. Lewis Burwell" appointed Naval Officer of the Upper District of James River, August 15, 1728 (*ibid.*, p. 184). With no data as to his death, it is likely that his death took place before the appointment of "Lewis Burwell Junr Esqr" to the same lucrative office.

<sup>147</sup> The duty of the Naval Officer was to enter and clear all ships in his district, for which he received an ample fee for each vessel; he also received a fee for all moneys received by him, such as export duties on tobacco, skins and furs, fort duties, and import duties, on servants and liquors. Burwell's district extended from Kingsmill, a famous old plantation, about ten miles below Jamestown on the James River, up the James to the Falls, and was known as the Upper District; the Collector of a district appointed by the Commissioners of the Customs in England, was paid a salary out of the treasury in England, and also received a fee for duties, and for entering and clearing vessels. At times the same person performed the office of Naval Officer, and of Collector in the same district. It is clear from Custis' correspondence that he traded largely with vessels coming into York River; it was a shorter trip from the sea to his neighborhood via the York, than up the James; and moreover his Queen's Creek plantation was accessible to lighters for loading and unloading, by coming from the York up Queen's Creek only a few miles. The landing at Kingsmill was known as Higginson's landing, Burwell's wharf, Burwell's landing, Hog Island ferry landing and Kingsmill landing; although distant from Williamsburg about five miles, and seven from the Queen's Creek plantation, shipping was not practical for Custis at that point.

<sup>148</sup> Thomas Dansie, master of the ship *Braxton* of London, in 1736, 1737. Dansie owned a plantation of 700 acres, and another of 2000 acres in Hanover County, an example of a ship-master who was also a planter. He is spoken of in this letter as one of Mr. Cary's ship-masters. Dr. Woodfin (*Another Secret Diary of William Byrd, 1739-1741*, p. 179) has a note on the Dancey family of Charles City County. This master may be the second husband of Frances Custis Winch.

<sup>149</sup> Myrtle wax was a minor export in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Governor Gooch in his answer to the *Queries of the Board of Trade* included myrtle wax as an export (*Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 3, p. 118). *Myrica cerifera* L., wax myrtle, Gray. Sometimes known as the narrow leafed candleberry myrtle, in distinction from the broad leafed candleberry myrtle, or bayberry (*Myrica carolinensis* Mill.) The wax myrtle is very common on the Peninsula today. Catesby describes it, including the process of making the wax (*Natural History of Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 69).

<sup>150</sup> Dr. John Mitchell, of Urbanna, Middlesex County, Virginia, has been the subject of recent investigation, and the scattered data on his life have been brought together by Dr. Lyman Carrier in his "John Mitchell, Naturalist, Cartographer and Historian," published in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1918*, issued in 1921, pp. 199-219; and also by Herbert Thatcher in his "Dr. Mitchell, M.D., F.R.S., of Virginia,"

published in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 39, pp. 126-35, 206-22, in vol. 40, pp. 48-62, 97-119, and in vol. 41, pp. 59-70, 144-56. In the *Virginia Gazette* of Nov. 14-21, 1745, there was an advertisement by Dr. Mitchell offering for sale: "a convenient and large dwelling . . . large garden containing many useful and curious plants and herbs, household furniture . . . apothecary's shop and small chemical laboratory . . . drugs and medicines, choice collection of books in ancient and modern languages, chiefly most approved authors in several branches of medicine, natural history and philosophy, whole collection at prime cost, or value of the books in England, Dr. Mitchell going to England by the first opportunity. Dr. Mitchell does not longer practice medicine." An advertisement, also in *Virginia Gazette*, Apr. 17-24, 1746, of Dr. Mitchell's books at Urbana. Peter Collinson in letter to John Bartram, March 10, 1744, *Darlington*, p. 171, said, "I was glad to see cones of the fine magnolia . . . I had specimens before I saw thine, from Doctor Mitchell, of Urbana, in Virginia two or three years ago, where there is a stately tree on the plantation of Nicholas Smith, in Essex County, on the head of Piscataway, Rappahannock River; in his pasture. It is well known by all, and visited by all travelers." See also Theodore Hornberger, "The Scientific Ideas of John Mitchell" (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, May, 1947, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 277-96). In the author's words "what is proposed here, is an analysis of his writings and scientific activities, as a case study in the intellectual connections among the colonies and between the colonies and Europe." "Dr. Mitchell was taken by the *Tiger* privateer, from St. Malo, Captain Pallier, who took from him all his learned observations." J. F. Gronovius, to John Bartram, 2 June 1746 (*Darlington*, p. 356). Perhaps these papers might be discovered in French archives.

<sup>151</sup> Probably Dr. John Fothergill, a Quaker, and a close friend of Collinson. See the Bibliographical note.

<sup>152</sup> Port Mahon in Minorca.

<sup>153</sup> Probably John Norton, son of John Norton of Putney, England, and Ann Hatley; he became a merchant, and settled in Virginia, and was at one time in Yorktown; he married Courtenay Walker; one of their children was John Hatley Norton, a prosperous Virginia merchant. One of the few surviving mercantile records of the eighteenth century in Virginia, in print, covering a period of time, sufficient for the inquiring student, is the volume *John Norton and Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia . . . 1750-1795*, edited by Frances Norton Mason, Richmond, Dietz Press, 1937.

<sup>154</sup> "Four sorts of Indian corn, two of which are early ripe . . . The two sorts which are early ripe are distinguished only by the size, which shews itself as well in the grain as in the ear, and the stalk. There is some difference also in the time of ripening. The lesser size of early ripe corn yields an ear not much larger than the handle of a case knife, and grows upon a stalk, between three and four foot high. Of this may be made two crops in a year and, perhaps there might be heat enough in England to ripen it . . . The large size differs from the former only in largeness . . . This is fit for eating about the latter end of June, whereas the smaller sort (generally speaking) affords ears fit to roast by the middle of June." Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, 1722 orig. ed., p. 126; 1855 ed., p. 114.

<sup>155</sup> In the inventory of the library of Daniel Parke Custis, printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. 17, pp. 404-12, in the list of about 457 volumes, there are 29 titles relating to medicine. The titles were hastily written, and abbreviated by a clerk not familiar with the names of the authors, and consequently there is some duplication, and uncertainty as to total number of titles, and as to the meaning of the titles. Since Daniel Parke Custis was the executor and sole heir, except a few minor bequests, of his father's estate, it is presumed that this inventory represents in the main the library of John Custis. In the inventory of the library of John Parke Custis, the son of Daniel, in *Tyler's Quarterly*,

vol. 9, pp. 97-103, there are a considerable number of titles of his father's library repeated, including some of the medical works.

<sup>156</sup> Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton of Richmond, author of *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* and *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century*, has prepared the following note: "I find the excerpt from John Custis' letter very interesting as I have not previously seen an account of this disease, which I take to be Yaws, in Virginia. Yaws (*Frambesia*), essentially a disease of the colored races, has long been recognized as endemic and epidemic on the West Coast of Africa, the West Indies and other tropical and subtropical areas. It is a chronic, disabling, rarely fatal disease. Its cause is a spirochete, resembling that which causes syphilis. Clinically the disease is characterized by a papule on the skin which develops into an ulcer with a typical yellowish crust. Ultimately these lesions, sometimes nodular, may cover a large part of the surface of the body and become quite mutilating. In the early stages, fever, malaise and other evidences of infection manifest themselves. Later the bones and joints may become involved and the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet. Pains, stiffness and disability resembling that due to rheumatism may result. It seems to me that John Custis' description corresponds fairly well to the usual description of Yaws. A good account of the disease is to be found in the *Oxford Medicine*, by Admiral E. R. Stitt, vol. 5, part 2, p. 707. A bibliography is appended."

<sup>157</sup> John Custis was a member of the Council, that is he performed three duties; first a judge of the General Court, second a member of the Executive Council with the Governor, third a legislator as member of the Legislative Council. For anyone in ill health, the attendance at a session of any one of these bodies in late fall, winter or early spring was full of risk. No provision was made for fireplaces in the original Capitol building. A chimney flue was finally built in the office of the Secretary, but the Court chamber, the Council chamber, and the hall of the House of Burgesses in the first capitol never did have accommodations for heating. The General Court met regularly in April and October of each year, and meetings of the Council members as Executive Council usually were at the same season. As members of the Legislative Council they had to meet at the same time as the House of Burgesses, which occasionally was in the winter season.

<sup>158</sup> This determines the month in which Custis was born, a fact not mentioned hitherto in his biographies.

<sup>159</sup> Snakeroot. *Polygala senega* L. The term "snakeroot" is applied to a number of medicinal plants. For *Polygala senega* L., Porcher (*Resources of Southern Fields and Forests*, p. 85) gives common names "Seneka snakeroot; mountain flax." See also Note 99.

<sup>160</sup> In the early days of the colony sassafras roots constituted a lucrative export. John Smith calls attention to "sassafrage"; Arber's edition of *Smith's Works*, vol. 1, p. 59. The American species of sassafras is common throughout Virginia. See also Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton's "*Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, *passim*."

<sup>161</sup> On Spanish coast, if captured by Spanish ships.

<sup>162</sup> The list of the cabinet, each of whom would be a Privy Councillor, of 1740 includes Sir Charles Wager, first Commissioner of the Admiralty; Lord Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor; Earl of Islay, First Minister for Scotland and eleven others (Sir W. R. Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution*, 2d ed., vol. 2, p. 112). Archibald Campbell (1682-1761) was created Earl of Islay, 1705, succeeded to Dukedom of Argyll in October, 1743. John Carteret, Earl Granville, was Secretary of State in 1742 to 1744, and therefore a member of the Privy Council and a member of the Cabinet.

<sup>163</sup> In a letter to Bartram, February, 1759, *Darlington*, p. 217, Collinson says, "We are of various opinions about swallows. Some assert that they take their winter abode under water; others say that they resort in great numbers into caves or caverns and sleep all

winter. But the prevailing opinion is that, when food grows scarce, they retire to other countries, to the Southward and return in the Spring." James Rennie in his *Faculties of Birds*, published in London in 1847 by M. A. Nattali, pp. 253-66, discusses the theory of the torpidity of swallows in winter, as in caves, and bottom of ponds. The earliest statement of this notion he traces to Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, in Sweden and published in 1555. He gives references in his notes to the early learned and popular literature on the subject of which Peter Collinson must have known. Rennie and all later competent writers refute the theory. In Collinson's lifetime Linnaeus maintained his belief in the theory, but Collinson disagreed. *Brett-James* states, p. 188, that there is a copy of the *Regnum Animale* in the Linnean Society collections in which the statement that swallows hibernate is erased in Linnaeus' own handwriting.

<sup>164</sup> An early reference to Guinea corn in Virginia. Guinea corn is sorghum from which in these days molasses is made in our Southern States. In many parts of Africa it is grown for its edible seeds, and it is altogether likely that the types grown in the time of Custis were for cereal purposes. J. T. Baldwin, William and Mary College.

<sup>165</sup> Tomato. From Spanish Tomato; Mexican Tomatl, native of the Andean region. Introduced into Europe in middle of 16th century. There is record of the fruit, love apple, having been eaten as early as 1583. Collinson does not say that he is sending seeds of the tomato to Custis. If so, this would have been as early a record of its cultivation in Virginia as we have. There is no mention of the tomato in John Randolph's *Treatise*. For botanical history see Gray and Trumbull, *American Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 1883, p. 128. Tomatoes were eaten by Nahua tribes, and were called Tomatl, and also by wild tribes of Mexico. *Hernandez*, ed. of 1651, p. 295, has a chapter "de Tomatl, seu planta acinosa vel solano." Its introduction in United States preceded by many years its use as we know it now. Said to have reached Philadelphia about 1798, but not sold in markets till 1829. First notice of it in American gardens was apparently by Jefferson who notes it in Virginia gardens in 1781. Esculent use did not antedate present century, and only became general 1835-1840. See E. Lewis Sturtevant, "Kitchen Garden Esculents of American Origin. The Tomato." (*American Naturalist*, vol. 19, 1885, pp. 667-9).

"The gardens yield muskmelons, watermelons, tomatas, okra, pomegranates, figs, and the esculent plants of Europe." Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, p. 69 of the 1784 edition; p. 64 of the 1787 edition; p. 42 of the 1853 edition printed from Jefferson's own copy with corrections and notes; p. 63 of Ford's edition of 1894. Jefferson prepared the *Notes* in 1781 and 1782. The plain interpretation of the foregoing quotation is that "tomatas" were raised for food in Virginia as early as 1781. There were articles on the tomato as food in Ruffin's *Farmer's Register*, 1837, vol. 5, pp. 13, 14; 1839, vol. 7, pp. 560, 561; 1841, vol. 9, p. 589.

"In 1773 Dr. [John de] Sequeyra became the first visiting physician to the hospital for the insane in Williamsburg, and from 1774 until his death in 1796 he was on the board of directors of the institution . . . An oil portrait recently discovered has written on the back, 'Dr. Seccari, an Italian, was family physician to my grandfather Philip Ludwell Grimes. He first introduced into Williamsburg the custom of eating tomatoes, until then considered more of a flower than a vegetable.' Signed E. Randolph Braxton" (*Blanton's Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 321). Dr. Sequeyra is believed by some to have been a native of Portugal.

<sup>166</sup> Johann Jakob Dillen (Dillenius) (1687-1747), Professor of botany at Oxford, author of *Hortus Elthamensis*, and *Historia Muscorum*, published in 1741. His books and collections of mosses, with many drawings, were added to the Sherardian Museum. In *Darlington*, pp. 308-12, three letters of Bartram to Dillenius, and three of Dillenius to Bartram are printed, 1738-1743.

<sup>167</sup> Poem not preserved with letter.

<sup>168</sup> The last sentence is in another hand, probably that of Custis.

<sup>169</sup> *Liriodendron Tulipifera* L. This is quite common throughout the Peninsula. In 1835 there was standing in Dinwiddie County near border of Amelia, on lands of John Hamblin, Esq., a *Tulipifera Virginiana*, sound, straight and flourishing, 34 feet, 6 inches round the body at 6 feet from the ground, and 43 feet 8 inches round at 3 feet from ground, height to first limb 90 feet, without a limb, knot or any irregularity whatever, up to this first limb . . . Bishop Madison, president of William and Mary College once visited this tree, at which time its diameter at 3 feet above ground was 13 feet . . . it stands in solitary grandeur. *Farmers Register*, 1835, vol. 3, p. 543. This tree may have survived because it was a landmark in early land surveys.

<sup>170</sup> France declared war on England, March 15, 1744. The war continued until October, 1748, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The war was known in the colonies as King George's War.

<sup>171</sup> Mockhorn, or Smith's Island.

<sup>172</sup> Cassava.

<sup>173</sup> *Arisaema triphyllum* (L.) Schott. (Indian turnip. Jack-in-the-pulpit. Bog onion. Dragon root. Dragon turnip, Marsh turnip. Pepper turnip. Swamp turnip. Starchwort. Three leaved arum. Wake robin. Wild turnip. Lords and ladies. Meadow turnip.)

<sup>174</sup> Nicholas Smith. See Note 134.

<sup>175</sup> Arbor vitae. *Thuja occidentalis* L. Gray. See Bartram's letter to John Custis, Nov. 19, 1738, announcing his discovery of this, on the south side of James River, "a little above Isham Randolph's." *Darlington*, p. 312.

<sup>176</sup> *Asimina triloba* Dunal. (Common papaw.) Common around Williamsburg.

<sup>177</sup> Dr. John Fothergill, a Quaker, was granted the license of the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1744 (R. H. Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends*, p. 19). "The first graduate of [University of] Edinburgh to receive the College license." (*Ibid.*, p. 146). Fothergill and Collinson were most intimate friends, and the former wrote an account of his friend's life. See the Bibliographical note.

<sup>178</sup> The original *Treatise on Tar-water* was written by George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne (1685-1753). "An abstract from Dr. Berkeley's *Treatise on Tar-water*; with some Reflections thereon, adapted to Diseases in America" (*Virginia Gazette*, May 2-9, 1745, no. 458, 2½ columns; continuation, in issue of May 9-16, 1745, no. 459, 2½ columns). "Some reflections [by a local author?] on the *Treatise*" (*Virginia Gazette*, May 16-25, 1745, no. 460, 2½ columns). Twenty-four titles discussing the virtues of tar-water as a medicine are listed in the first catalogue of the *Index Catalogue of the Surgeon-General's Library*; four titles in the second *Catalogue*; no title in the third *Catalogue*.

<sup>179</sup> A slight woolen stuff being a kind of serge.



Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.