



Magnolia grandiflora
The Laurel Tree of Carolina
Catesby's *Natural History*, 1743

Magnolia

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Drayton Hall and the Michaux Connection

By Barbara Orsolits, Atlanta, Georgia

Drayton Hall, a National Historic Landmark and a National Trust for Historic Preservation site, is one of the finest examples of Georgian-Palladian architecture in the United States. It is located 10 miles northwest of Charleston, South Carolina on the Ashley River. Drayton Hall's edifice has stood virtually untouched since John Drayton designed and constructed it in 1738, as his vision of a gentleman's countryseat.

Although Drayton Hall remains totally preserved and has never been renovated or modernized, little remains of the landscape and gardens from the eighteenth century. There is virtually no documentation, other than secondary accounts regarding the landscape and gardens from John Drayton's ownership.

Charles Drayton, the second owner of Drayton Hall, kept a diary from 1784 to 1820, which provides a more detailed picture of how the landscape and gardens were laid out. This material, in addition to the landscape and garden history, also provides a good overview of life at an eighteenth-century southern plantation. The diary and papers chronicle the relationship between Drayton Hall and the French explorer and botanist, André Michaux. Although historians knew Michaux had given shrubs to Charles



Courtesy of Drayton Hall, a National Trust Historic Site

Drayton Hall - landside view 2002.

Drayton, there was never documentation that established what this included. From entries in Charles Drayton's diary and his plant lists, his close friendship with Michaux is evident. Charles Drayton also makes references in his diary to a collection of plants given to Drayton Hall by the Scottish explorer and Botanist, John Fraser.

Charles Drayton had been trained as a physician in Edinburgh, Scotland. Along with his medical school training he also had become acquainted with botanical science. Botany was to be a lifelong passion of Drayton's that proved very useful in his work as the owner and manager of Drayton Hall and several additional plantations. Charles Drayton returned to Charleston in 1771, after completing medical school, along with Arthur Middleton and Thomas Pinckney.

In 1774 he married Hester Middleton, the daughter of Henry Middleton. Charles, through this marriage, created family ties with not only the Middletons of Middleton Place but also the Pinckneys of Snee Farm. Hester's sister, Sarah, had married Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in 1773.¹ The Middleton and Pinckney plantations were well known for the beauty of their landscape and gardens. Both

Inside this Issue

- | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Page 7 | <i>A Token of Remembrance—Daffodils in Cemeteries</i> |
| Page 10 | <i>Our Old so-called "Butter and Eggs" Daffodil is Likely 'Derwydd' not 'Van Sion'</i> |
| Page 12 | <i>The Elusive and Enigmatic Gloucester History</i> |
| Page 14 | <i>Plant Introductions – Chinese Wisteria and Spanish Cork Oak</i> |
| Page 15 | <i>The Garden Conservancy's Open Days Program Opens the Gate to the Best Private Gardens in America</i> |
| Page 16 | <i>Members in the News</i> |

(continued on page 3)

CALENDAR

Now through September 21, 2003. "Saving Mount Vernon: The Birth of Preservation in America," an exhibition at the National Building Museum in Washington, DC; co-sponsored by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. The museum is located at: 401 F Street NW, Washington, DC 20001. For information call: (202) 272-2448 or visit their Web site at: www.nbm.org

April 11-13, 2003. "*Atlanta's Landscape Legacy*" – the 21st Annual Meeting of the Southern Garden History Society. In 2003 the SGHS returns to Atlanta, the site of its 1983 inaugural meeting. The conference also coincides with the height of dogwood season and the 67th annual Dogwood Festival in Piedmont Park. Lectures will address Atlanta's garden and landscape history with particular attention to its early 20th-century legacy. The conference features the works of Neel Reid and Philip Shutze, two of Atlanta's most notable architects, as well as Frederick Law Olmsted, Ellen Shipman and others who have contributed to Atlanta's landscape legacy. The meeting will focus also on southern garden literature and writers such as Elizabeth Lawrence. The meeting is headquartered at the Atlanta History Center (AHC), the city's premier history museum offering award-winning exhibits about Atlanta and the South, thirty-three acres of gardens, the historic Tullie Smith and Swan Houses, and the Cherokee Garden Library, Center for the Study of Southern Garden History. For information, contact Staci Catron-Sullivan at (404) 814-4046; fax (404) 814-4175;

SCatronSullivan@AtlantaHistoryCenter.com. AHC is located at 130 West Paces Ferry Road, NW. Web site:

www.atlantahistorycenter.com; telephone: (404) 814-4000.

May 10, 2003. "2003 Spring Garden Tour of Historic Hillsborough, North Carolina," sponsored by The Alliance for Historic Hillsborough. Featured gardens include: Fairmont, the Webb-Grunewald Garden, and the Alexander Dickson House Garden. For further information, contact Cathleen Turner, (919) 732-7741; cathleen@historichillsborough.org or visit the Web site at: www.historichillsborough.org

May 15-August 31, 2003. "Central Park: A Sesquicentennial Celebration." In celebration of the 150th anniversary of the legislation that designated as "a public place" the lands that were to become New York's Central Park, the Metropolitan Museum of Art is mounting a special exhibition in the American Wing focusing on the "Greensward" plans and drawings of Calvert Vaux and Frederick Law Olmsted. For more information, visit www.metmuseum.org

May 24, 2003. The Annual Open House of the Thomas Jefferson Center for Historic Plants featuring heirloom roses, dianthus, iris and other historic perennials at the center's nursery and headquarters at Tufton Farm. For more information, call (434) 984-9816; e-mail: pcornett@monticello.org or visit Monticello's Web site at: www.monticello.org

May 28-31, 2003. "Landscape Preservation on the Edge: Historic Landscape Challenges on the Exurban Fringe," the 25th Annual Meeting of the Alliance for Historic Landscape

Preservation at ThorpeWood near Thurmont, Maryland, in the Catoctin Mountains of central Maryland. Meeting will include site visits to the State Arboretum of Virginia, Momcacy National Battlefield, Frederick Town Historic District, and travel to Point of Rocks, Maryland, Clarke County, and Mosby Heritage Area. For more information, contact Barbara Wyatt at wyattland@aol.com

June 8-20, 2003. "Preserving Jefferson's Landscapes and Gardens," the seventh annual Historic Landscape Institute, sponsored by the University of Virginia and the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, in Charlottesville, Virginia. Participants live on the historic Lawn of the University and attend an intensive curriculum focusing on the landscapes and gardens of Thomas Jefferson. For information, contact Peter Hatch, (434) 984-9836; phatch@monticello.org

September 25-27, 2003. "A Genius and His Legacy: Frederick Law Olmsted in the South," the 14th Conference on Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscapes held at Old Salem, Inc. For further information, contact Kay Bergey, (336) 721-7378; bergeymk@wfu.edu; or write her at: Drawer F, Salem Station, Winston-Salem, NC 27108.

October 2, 2003. "The Botanical Journey of Lewis and Clark," Lewis Ginter Botanical Garden. Lectures by Peter Hatch, director of Monticello's gardens and grounds, and Dr. James Reveal, author of *Gentle Conquest*, and botanical scholar with the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia on the unique Lewis and Clark collection of original plant specimens from the famed expedition. For more information, call (804) 262-9887; or see the botanical garden education series Web site at: www.lewisginter.org

October 24-25, 2003. "Texas Country Gardens – A Harvest of Ideas," annual Oktober Gartenfest at Winedale near Round Top, Texas. Will include visits to Peaceable Kingdom Gardens near Navasota, Texas and the private gardens of Tony and Kay Scanapico and Gary and Angela McGowan near Round Top. The University of Texas Center hosts this annual fall gardening program for American History Winedale Division in cooperation with the Texas Agricultural Extension Service of the Texas A & M University System. Other participants include the Herb Society of America, Pioneer Unit, the International Festival-Institute at Round Top, and the Pioneer Arts Foundation. For more information, contact SGHS members Bill Welch, (979) 690-9551; e-mail: wc-welch@tamu.edu; or Mary Anne Pickens, (979) 732-5058; e-mail: gravel@wcnet.net

April 23-25, 2004. The 22nd Annual meeting of the Southern Garden History Society in New Orleans, Louisiana. The meeting will be headquartered in the Historic French Quarter and the entire St. Marie hotel has been reserved. Programs will be held at the Historic New Orleans Collection facility. Tours are planned for the French Quarter gardens and Uptown in the Garden District. Mark your calendars and plan early for this exciting meeting. For more information, contact Sally K. Reeves at skrnona@cox.net or Betsy Crusel at: hapc@aol.com

Drayton Hall...

(continued from page 1)

families were well acquainted with André Michaux and it is believed he made gifts of plants to Middleton Place. One of the

Courtesy of Drayton Hall, a National Trust Historic Site



Drayton Hall - ca 1984 river view

plants discovered by Michaux, the fever tree, was named *Pinckneya* in honor of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

During the Revolutionary War Drayton Hall was occupied by the British but survived intact. John Drayton had died in 1779 and had left Drayton Hall to his fourth wife, Rebecca Perry Drayton. His many marriages and his will were to set the stage for legal battles amongst his surviving heirs. In 1783, Charles Drayton assumed ownership of Drayton Hall but he would be forced in the future to defend in the courts the legality of his ownership. These legal battles would leave Drayton Hall on precarious financial footing and would require Charles Drayton to operate Drayton Hall with an ever-watchful eye on his finances.

Charles Drayton took up residence at Drayton Hall in January of 1784.² While in Scotland, Drayton's views and approach to the world were profoundly affected by the Enlightenment movement. The Enlightenment was a philosophical movement, which began in England at the end of the seventeenth century and by the mid-eighteenth century had become centered in France. It emphasized that knowledge was both empirical and rational.³ From researching the Drayton Papers Collection, Charles Drayton emerges as a rationalist who adopted a practical approach to life and his management of Drayton Hall.

The Enlightenment encouraged the development of science as a method for acquiring empirical knowledge and it acted as a catalyst for fostering curiosity about the natural world. Eighteenth-century botanists and plant explorers such as a Mark Catesby, André Michaux and John Fraser, explored the New

World and extended the knowledge of North American native plants. Michaux, in particular, would make a major contribution to the landscape and gardens at Drayton Hall.

The landscape and gardens laid out by John Drayton earlier in the century would have been at their full maturity when Charles Drayton assumed ownership in 1784. John Drayton's design of both the landscape and house was intended to be a symbol of his success and the position of prominence he occupied in Charleston society. Charles Drayton had a different vision for Drayton Hall. He began almost immediately to develop Drayton Hall along the lines of a "*ferme ornée*" or "ornamental farm." Field grid drawings from Charles Drayton's papers illustrate the layout of Drayton Hall's fields and gardens that point to a *ferme ornée* landscape design. Charles Drayton's papers also contain notes that refer to Humphrey Repton and the elements of a *ferme ornée* plan.

Courtesy of Drayton Hall, a National Trust Historic Site



Drayton Hall - 1970s aerial view

As early as 1712, the Englishman Joseph Addison had proposed a revolutionary gardening idea that was to have far reaching results. Addison proposed "why not a whole estate be thrown into a kind of garden by frequent plantations a man might make a pretty landskip in his own possessions."⁴ Some scholars consider Mount Vernon and Monticello to be examples of the eighteenth-century *ferme ornée* in colonial America. At Monticello, Thomas Jefferson commented on this mingling of fields, vegetables, and flowers in this description "all are intermixed, the pleasure garden being merely a highly ornamented walk through and round the divisions of the farm and kitchen garden."⁵ The ornamental field design utilizes practical landscapes that are both attractive but also productive.

By 1793, although the legal battles over Drayton Hall were

continued on page 4

Drayton Hall...

(continued from page 3)

behind Charles Drayton, the resulting financial settlement meant all properties including Drayton Hall had to be income producing or provide provisions. Census records from 1790 show there were “41 Negroes” at Drayton Hall (throughout his diaries, Charles Drayton refers to the slaves as “Negroes”), but by the next census in 1800 this number had increased to 172. Charles Drayton recorded in his diary the construction of new slave housing based on the designs of the social reformer and architect, Count Rumsford.⁶ Drayton Hall would never produce as much rice or indigo as the other plantations owned by Drayton but it would contribute provisions for both the Drayton family and the slaves.

From the Drayton Collection Papers, Charles Drayton recorded that he planted peas, lettuce, cabbage, spinach, and radishes.⁷ In the coming months he also mentions turnips, corn, and sweet potatoes as well as the sowing of wheat. In

were sending botanists to America for both exploration and to send back specimens of the flora and fauna. André Michaux, had been commissioned by the King of France to explore and also develop a botanic garden. Michaux established his first botanical garden in New York but the climate proved too harsh. In 1786, he relocated the botanical garden to more temperate Charleston, which was also advantageous for the many individuals involved in horticulture and botany who lived there. Additionally, there were a number of French Huguenots that had immigrated to Charleston from France and Barbados that provided Michaux with entrée to Charleston society. He established himself quickly but soon realized he could not afford the expense of living in the city. Michaux rented a house in Goosecreek along with 111 acres of land that was to prove both economical and also very productive for his horticulture and botanical work.¹⁰

Property maps reveal that Michaux’s French Botanical Garden was adjacent to property owned by Charles Drayton and documentation from the Drayton Papers Collection (DPC) indicates that Michaux had a major influence on the landscape and gardens at Drayton Hall during this period. The first reference to André Michaux in the DPC is an entry from Charles Drayton’s diary dated February 17, 1793. It describes a visit to the gardens near the ten-mile house. The plants listed are: yellow jessamine (*Gelsemium sempervirens*), Chickasaw plums, Judas or redbud in bloom and *Viburnum tinus* and green tea. A March 6, 1793 entry mentions planting Michaux’s plants and seeds. The DPC contains a list of the plants that Michaux gave to Charles Drayton, titled “Catalogue of Seeds Sown in Nursery,” showing Michaux’s generosity and the great diversity of plants he offered.



Drayton Hall - undated photo

keeping with his “ornamental field” landscape, the bowling green was planted with hay, the orchard with rye, the octagon received broad-leaf spinach, and in the park the peach orchard fence was planted with peas and hemp seed. Additionally, strawberries joined cauliflower and asparagus in the gardens. Because cotton did not show a profit, hay was planted, but Drayton continued to experiment with various types of cotton that might be profitable. From 1790 on, Drayton’s major crops were corn, peas, and potatoes.⁸

Figs, melons, peaches, and plums were harvested from Drayton Hall’s orchard and gardens. Charles Drayton had carefully tended 118 olive stones sent by Thomas Jefferson to the South Carolina Agricultural Society in 1791, but none survived.⁹ In researching Drayton’s diaries and papers a picture emerges of a man constantly working to improve the productivity of his landholdings and always willing to experiment with new plant discoveries. The material from the Charles Drayton papers titled “Flora” gives in extensive detail his work in botany at Drayton Hall.

During this time period a number of European countries



Drayton Hall - front up close.

Throughout Michaux’s life, one piece of bad luck seems to have followed him. Michaux’s horses would die on his journeys, which in the eighteenth century was a serious impediment to both travel and exploration.¹¹ Charles Drayton on November 10, 1794 refers to a visit by Michaux and the death of

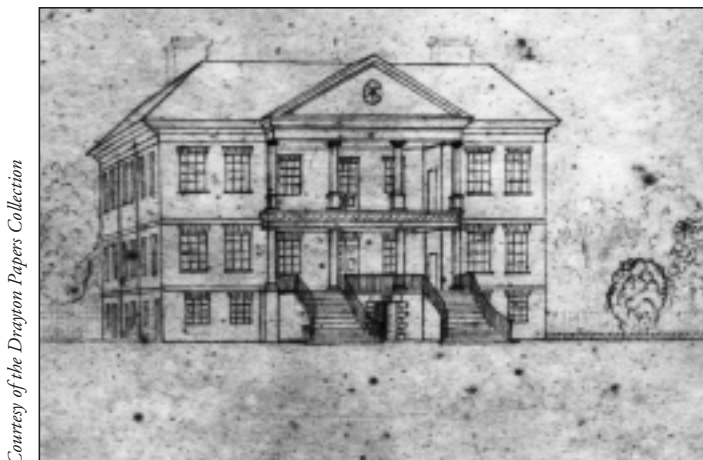
continued on page 5

Drayton Hall...

(continued from page 4)

Michaux's horse, which Drayton replaced so he could continue on his trip. As a gesture of appreciation, Michaux sent nine rare plants. In an entry dated, February 23, 1795, Charles Drayton mentions going to Michaux's French Botanical Garden and returning with *Viburnum tinus*, yellow jasmine, woodbine, and flowering almond.

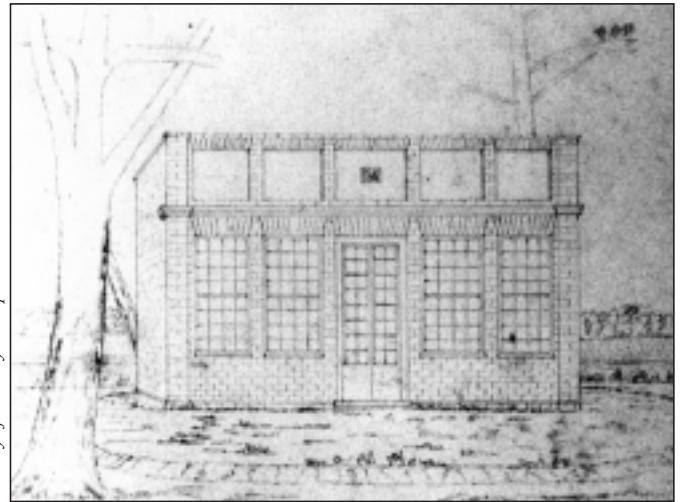
Michaux's French Botanical Garden thrived from 1786 to 1796 but after the French Revolution the government could not provide the financial support it had in the past. The French government ordered Michaux to terminate his work and put the garden up for sale. By August of 1796, Michaux had left the Charleston area and returned to Europe. His fortunes depleted, Michaux joined an expedition to the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. He left the Mauritius expedition and sailed to Madagascar to study plant life. Michaux, accustomed to a busy pace in his previous explorations, did not heed warnings regarding Madagascar's unhealthy tropical climate. Worn out



Gibbes sketch of landfront including flankers

and far from home, Michaux succumbed to a malarial fever and died in 1802. His great work on the oaks of America, *L'Histoire des Chenes d'Amerique*, was published in 1801. Along with his other work, *Flora Boreali-Americana*, Michaux's reputation was established as one of the most important and influential botanists in North America during the late eighteenth century.¹²

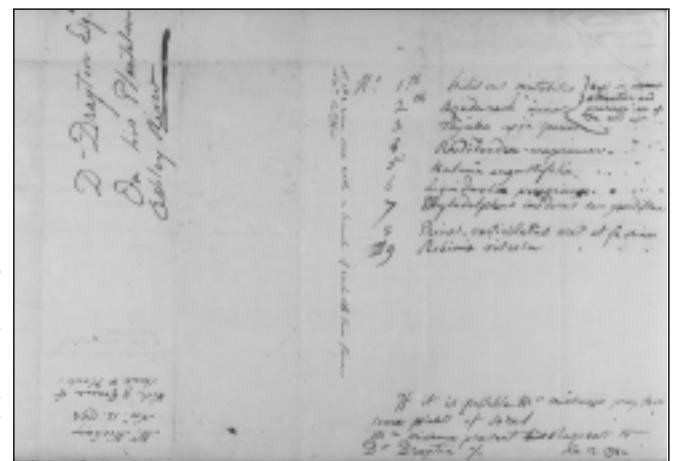
After Michaux departed Charleston, the French Botanical Garden remained along with a number of flower and shrub specimens. There is some documentation to suggest that a neighboring planter watched over the Botanical Garden during this period.¹³ Charles Drayton, in an entry from May of 1801, provides one of the oldest detailed descriptions of the garden after Michaux left. He describes several young trees bearing pale red flowers that he identifies as *Rhododendron maximum*. He says, "Michaux had sent him a specimen of the rhododendron but it perished." Besides the rhododendron, Drayton mentions pines or firs, *Kalmia* (mountain laurel), *Pinckneya*, *Viburnum* sp.



Gibbes sketch of the orangerie

and laurel. He notes also that, "Michaux had ordered the particulars of his garden to be distributed to two or three gentleman."

In March of 1802, Charles Drayton records a visit from Michaux's son François to Drayton Hall. Drayton mentions François recounting to him "that his father, André Michaux had been shipwrecked off the coast of Holland and barely survived." In the entries from Charles Drayton's diary for this period there is no mention of Michaux's death in Madagascar. It is possible that François may not have been informed of his father's passing before he left France for America. François had been sent to close and dismantle the French Botanical Garden in Charleston by Napoleon's administration. He oversaw the sale of the site to a private individual on behalf of the French government. At the conclusion of his business in Charleston, he was to go on a



Letter from Michaux to C. Drayton 1794

geographic and exploratory mission in the American wilderness. Like his father, François André Michaux would become famous

(continued on page 6)

Drayton Hall...

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Courtesy of Drayton Hall, a National Trust Historic Site



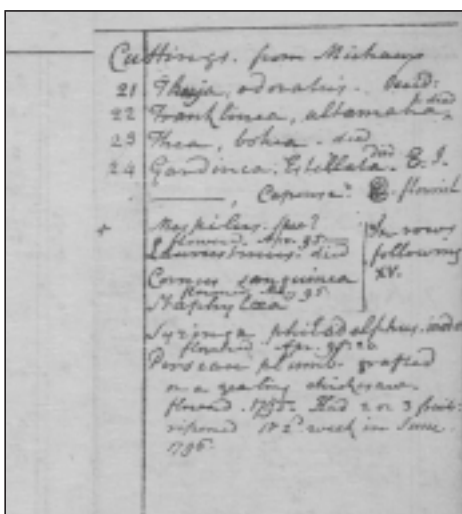
1890 Charles Drayton and family riverfront closeup

for his botanical work and explorations. In 1808, he returned to France to complete the monumental work, *Histoire des Arbres Forestiers de l'Amerique Septentrionale*. The first of the three volumes appeared in 1810 and the next two in 1813.¹⁴

Charles Drayton's diary describes several other visits to the French Botanical Garden, the last being in March of 1808. From his descriptions the gardens had become badly overgrown but

there were still

Courtesy of the Drayton Papers Collection



Shrubs by Michaux

remnants of its former collection of ornamental flowers and shrubs. It appears that on some of his visits he was able to obtain cuttings from some including: *Pinckneya pubens* (fever tree), *Kalmia*, and *Rhododendrons*.

Charles Drayton mentions in several entries of his diary that the Scottish explorer John Fraser also presented him with plants. In March of 1809, he gave Drayton a *Magnolia michauxia* [?], *M. fraseri*, *M. pyramidata* [*M. fraseri pyramidata*], *M. acuminata*, *Acer saccharinum*, *Blandfordia*, *Rhododendron maximum*, and *Kalmia*. Fraser made several other visits to Drayton Hall until his departure for England in 1810. He died shortly after his

return to England in 1811.

Charles Drayton continued his botanical work at Drayton Hall until his death in 1820. Today, little remains of the landscape and plants from the Michaux period. With the recent digitalization of the DPC, André Michaux's botanical contributions to Drayton Hall are now being documented. Drayton Hall's preservation policy maintains the house and landscape "as is," neither restored nor reconstructed to an earlier or specific period. What remains today of the landscape is the entrance alleé, the river walk with swales on either side, and the various drainage features

that make up the skeleton of the original eighteenth-century axial plan. These landscape elements are in harmony with the rest of the site and enhance the presentation of the house.

Charles Drayton continued his botanical work at Drayton Hall until his death in 1820. Today, little remains of the landscape and plans from the Michaux period. With the recent digitalization of the Drayton Papers Collection, André Michaux's botanical influence has been uncovered. The Michaux Connection is an important element of the larger initiative at Drayton Hall to re-evaluate its historic landscape through the development of a landscape master plan, which is due to be completed in the spring of 2003.

[The previous article was prepared as a graduate project under the direction of Jim Cothran, adjunct professor, in Georgia State University's Heritage Preservation Program.]

¹ Dorothy Griffin, *The Eighteenth-Century Drayton's of Drayton Hall* (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1985), 335.

² Griffin, 351.

³ Phillip Pregill and Nancy Volkman, *Landscapes in History* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998) 416.

⁴ William Howard Adams, *Jefferson's Monticello* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983) 177.

⁵ Adams, 178.

⁶ Griffin, 363.

⁷ Charles Drayton Diary, February 14, 1794.

⁸ CDD, February 3 and 12, August 16, October 26, and May 7, 1784, and June 25, 1789.

⁹ CDD, June 18, 1791; July 4, 1793; February 3, 1795.

¹⁰ Henry Savage Jr. and Elizabeth J. Savage, *André and François André Michaux* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1986) 54.

¹¹ Savage and Savage, 150.

¹² Ann Leighton, *American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century, "For Comfort and Affluence"* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987) 31-33.

A Token of Remembrance—Daffodils in Cemeteries

By Sara L. Van Beck, Atlanta, Georgia

One of the best ways to study the cultural aspects of American cemeteries is to observe the hardy, long-lived cultivated plants that have perennialized over time. This article focuses on historic daffodils found primarily in cemeteries of the Deep South, which were planted c.1850 to c.1920, coinciding with the “rural cemetery” movement and the Victorian era in America.

The rural cemetery movement saw the creation of community cemeteries in response to the needs of the growing population, which were rapidly exceeding the available space in local church graveyards. These new cemeteries were meant to be inviting places for reflection and remembrance, with idyllic landscaping, winding roads, and

wrought iron fences around family plots. Beginning in the early twentieth century a new movement in American cemetery design occurred, namely the “lawn-park” design (*South Carolina Cemetery Preservation Guidelines*, 1997), featuring open expanse of grass lawn with orderly rows of gravestones for easy maintenance, which shunned the landscape plantings



Chinese Sacred Lily

common in earlier cemeteries. In older rural cemeteries and small family burial grounds, many historic daffodil plantings (along with other cemetery floral plantings) have been lost due to overzealous grounds maintenance and the general vagaries of time. Early hybrid, historic and species daffodils were able to naturalize and/or perennialize because of their genetic fortitude, and many still continue to hold on.

In the Victorian era, the daffodil was ascribed funerary symbolism as with many other natural objects. Both affluent whites and African Americans (presumably post-Emancipation) took up the daffodil symbol as a token of remembrance for the dead. My research did not find evidence for this symbolism to pre-date the romantic Victorian period. There is some tenuous evidence to suggest that African cultures may have been predisposed to use specific plant in cemeteries (*South Carolina Cemetery Preservation Guideline*, 1997), and so adopting daffodil symbolism from the white culture is certainly plausible.

The Internet posts a number of reference guides to historic headstone carvings and includes information on daffodil carvings and their symbolic meaning(s) to Victorian America. One such site covers the history of Rochester, New York, <http://www.vintageviews.org/vv-tl/index.htm> “Rochester’s History: An Illustrated Time Line.” It includes information on the history of Victorian symbolism in headstone carvings, and lists the daffodil as signifying “death of youth, desire, art, grace, beauty, deep regard” (see Web page Glossary of Victorian Cemetery Symbolism, Plants, Daffodils). A second Web page, posted for The Hope Cemetery Guide in Barre, Vermont, notes a carved daffodil on a family headstone as symbolizing “Regard and Desire” (www.central-vt.com/visit/cemetery). The Hope Cemetery was established in 1895 and noted for its wide array of granite memorial design and skilled craftsmanship.

While many cemeteries around the country have Web sites, often the landscape plantings are not discussed much past a few trees or the general topography (see the Web page “Links to resources on

cemetery history and preservation” at www.portifos.com/cemeteries.html#history as a good starting place to find specific cemeteries). A few cemeteries in North Carolina, Virginia, and Texas have sites with information on historic daffodil plantings as well as one in Oklahoma created by an individual documenting her genealogical history.

During a clean up of a neglected cemetery in old Durham, North Carolina, members of the Old West Durham Neighborhood Association found historic daffodils in the Erwin Mills cemetery (www.owdha.org/cemclean.htm). Established in 1893, the cemetery served a mixed community of white and African-American cotton mill workers. As burial plots were free for mill workers, interments took place mostly through the 1930s. Finding the hardy daffodils led to a planting effort by residents to place more daffodils in the historic cemetery the following year.

The article “Cemetery Plantings of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Round Top, Texas,” (www.herbsociety-stu.org/bible_herbs.htm) discusses the plantings of this German settlers church founded in 1866 and possibly the oldest Lutheran church in Texas. The one narcissus inventoried at the cemetery is described as Chinese Sacred Lily for its common name, but the inventory then lists two botanical names for ‘Chinese Sacred Lily’, namely “*Narcissus tazetta orientalis*” and “*Narcissus tazetta italicus*.” The article does not state whether the flowers were found associated with specific interments or simply as background design landscaping material. The South Texas Unit of The Herb Society of America sponsors this Web page, however, it appears that the historic plants inventory for the church was reprinted from the article “Blumen Auf Dem Grab (Flowers on the Grave): Round Top Cemetery” by Dr. William C. Welch and Greg Grant (*Magnolia* IX, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 6-8).

The Old City Cemetery of Lynchburg, Virginia, under the guidance of Jane White, has an active preservation consortium; the group has planted a wide array of trees, shrubs, and flowers in keeping with its landscape preservation plan. Further, the group planted nineteenth-century daffodils in an arboretum, namely: ‘Rijnveld’s Early Sensation’, ‘Carlton’, *Narcissus* ‘Telamonius Plenus’, Butter and Eggs, *Narcissus x medioluteus* (www.lynchburgbiz.com/occ/index.html). Scott Kunst, owner of Old House Gardens heirloom bulbs, recommended these cultivars and supplied them to the cemetery.

Russell Studebaker, in his article “Cherokee Daffodils” in the March/April 2003 issue of *Horticulture* magazine, notes daffodils in Oklahoma associated with the Cherokee. He lists five different cultivars found at Cherokee grave sites near Tahlequah, namely ‘Van Sion’ (‘Telamonius Plenus’), Campernelle (*N. x odorus*), *N. pseudonarcissus*, Early Louisiana (*N. jonquilla*) and the double “Butter and Eggs.” Studebaker was informed by a local resident that the cemetery did not get its first mowing until the end of May, thus allowing sufficient time for the bulbs to build up energy stores for the next year, and so survive. As an aside, Dr. Anthony Paredes, Regional Ethnographer with the National Park Service, suggests that this practice by the Cherokee is not a “native” tradition, but rather one acquired from the dominant Victorian period Euro-American culture.

The *South Carolina Cemetery Preservation Guidelines*, by Susan H. McGahee and Mary W. Edmonds (1997, So. Car. Dept of Archives and History, State Historic Preservation Office, ISBN 1-880067-43-9, at www.state.sc.us/scdah/hstcm.pdf), is a detailed cemetery preservation “how to” book for planning preservation documentation and restoration work. Written in a way to serve both dedicated, novice community activists as well as trained professionals

Daffodils in Cemeteries

(continued from page 7)

working in the broad field of historic preservation, the document includes a brief but interesting history of American cemetery practices as well as how to produce a Master Plan (recording features, preparing a site map, photographic record, developing a maintenance plan for landscape and structural features). The history section includes information on the symbolic uses of plants in landscapes for both white and African-American cemeteries (with particular mention of symbolism held over from the African area of origin for slaves), with daffodils planted as symbols of rebirth or resurrection. For comparative purposes, it states that some African cultures believe the spirits of the dead remain with the living and that certain plants impact the spirits actions; thus, thorny yucca and cactus were planted to hold the deceased's spirit from wandering around the cemetery. The guide also discusses the use of plants for delineating graves and for identifying lost structural features of a cemetery.

British and European references also lend insight to historic daffodil plantings in cemeteries. *The Flora and Fauna of Boston Cemetery Old Part* (Martin Potts, Cemetery Manager, January 2000, <http://www.boston.gov.uk/web042000/downloads/flora.pdf>) includes a plant observation list created in 1993/1994 (by Sandra Hull, RSPB South Lincs Group), which mentions "wild daffodils (*Narcissus pseudonarcissus*)" and "daffodil cultivars and crosses." There is no in-depth discussion of the landscape plan of the Boston cemetery (established in 1854) and whether or not it has changed significantly since its creation or if any changes have occurred in the plantings. The Web site for "The City of London Cemetery" (Paul Ferris, 2000, The Wren Conservation and Wildlife Group, <http://www.wrengroup.fsnet.co.uk/COL.htm>) notes the cemetery, initiated in 1854, is considered a fine example of Victorian cemetery design.

An array of daffodil varieties was incorporated into the original design and not with specific interments. Variety names are not provided; they are simply referred to as "many specimens of garden daffodils *Narcissus* ssp." The Internet site for a Netherlands World War II cemetery notes that children had planted narcissus on the graves of Canadian soldiers. The daffodil description is simply "white with orange heart." I found this to be of interest simply because the type of flower chosen was not a standard yellow-on-yellow flower.

The following anecdotal data on daffodils observed in historic cemeteries was obtained from long-time American Daffodil Society (ADS) members and from other daffodil gardeners via the Internet. I include Internet information from a large Georgia cemetery simply for regional comparative purposes. It is important to note that these perennialized or naturalized daffodils are not necessarily the same flowers that would be found similarly adapted in old town gardens or at abandoned farm and homesteads in the same areas. The areas are presented in USDA Zone sequence from colder to warmer (following the USDA Plant Hardiness Zone Map at www.usna.usda.gov/Hardzone/hzm-sm1.html). A few of these daffodils are illustrated in Scott Ogden's 1994 work *Garden Bulbs for the South*; others may be viewed at Internet sites for bulb merchants such as Old House Gardens (www.oldhousegardens.com) and Brent and Beckys' Bulbs

(www.brentandbeckysbulbs.com).

In north Alabama (Zones 7a to 7b), 'Twin Sisters' 13W-Y (formerly *biflorus* now *N. × medioluteus*) was the daffodil of choice at historic cemeteries (planted by both whites and African Americans). The connection between this flower and cemeteries is reflected in its regional common name, "Cemetery Ladies" and "Cemetery Whites." Secondary flowers used were *N. jonquilla* 13Y-Y (sometimes called "Sweeties") and older tazettas such as 'Grand Primo' ('Grand Primo Citronere') 8W-Y and 'Grand Monarque' 8W-Y. Few paperwhites (such as 'Paper White Grandiflorus' 8W-W) were ever noted (Weldon Childers, 2002, personal communication), probably because paperwhites would not be hardy this far North.

At Atlanta's historic Oakland Cemetery (Zones 7a to 7b) family and friends of the deceased planted daffodils, as well as trees, shrubs and other flowers, soon after burial as part of the grieving process, a custom that still prevails. The cemetery was established in 1850 as the main cemetery for the city (<http://oaklandcemetery.com>). Daffodil varieties noted include the double yellow 'Butter and Eggs' ('Orange Phoenix' 4Y-O) and Pheasant's Eye (*N. poeticus*). These plantings resulted in daffodils scattered about the cemetery. Unfortunately, clumps of daffodils have dwindled and disappeared totally in recent memory. Thus, the Georgia Daffodil Society has launched an identification project at the cemetery to identify the varieties and their locations within the historic landscape, with the ultimate end goal of sparing the daffodils from mowing by the grounds crews. A recent beautification project by cemetery staff planted "King Alfred type" bulbs [which means simply big yellow trumpet daffodils] at the Watchman's House (Kevin Kuharic, personal communication, 2002). Conversely, the Web page for the Memory Hill Cemetery (established in 1809) in Milledgeville (Georgia's capital city from 1807 to 1868 and in Zone 7b) discusses at length trees, shrubs, and flowers planted as part of the landscape and as memorials, but daffodils are not mentioned <http://oldcapitol.gcsu.edu/MemoryHill/default1.htm>.

Piedmont South Carolina has its own array of memorial daffodils found in historic cemeteries. These include *N. × tenuior* 13W-Y, two strains of *N. pseudonarcissus* 13Y-Y (a long neck and a short neck strain) *N. medioluteus* ('Twin Sisters'), and early historic doubles 'Butter and Eggs' 4Y-O (yellow petals with yellowish-orange petaloids) and 'Orange Phoenix' 4W-O (white petals with yellowish-orange petaloids). The most commonly observed flowers are *N. × tenuior* first, followed by *N. pseudonarcissus* (Wordsworth's daffodil), probably the most common historic daffodil found in the uplands (Barbara Tate, personal communication, 2003).

N. moschatus 13W-W (sometimes called "Silver Bells") and "Twin Sisters" or "Cemetery Ladies" are the most commonly observed daffodils in historic cemeteries in Arkansas (Zones 6b through 8a, but primarily in southern Arkansas Zones 7b and 8a). Also found are the yellow daffodils *N. jonquilla* 13Y-Y and *N. × odorus* 13Y-Y ("Campernelle jonquil"). Most daffodils found seem to be surviving in spite of grounds clearing maintenance efforts, so that many are growing along side the cemeteries and not within the grounds proper. As a result, the soil conditions the daffodils are found in closely resemble gravel. No differences between African American and white cemetery plantings have been observed to date. *N. moschatus* also has been observed in historic cemeteries in Georgia and South Carolina (Roxane Daniel, personal communication, 2002).

Historic daffodils observed in northwestern Louisiana cemeteries (Zone 8a) include 'Grand Primo' ('Grand Primo Citronere') 8W-Y, 'Grand Monarque' 8W-Y and *N. italicus* 13W-Y (Celia Jones, personal communication, 2002).



Paperwhites

Courtesy of Linda Van Beck, 2003

(continued on page 9)

Daffodils in Cemeteries

(continued from page 8)

In eastern Texas (Zones 7b to 9a, but mostly Zones 8a and 8b), historic African-American cemeteries reflect reliance upon fragrant species and wild hybrids with plantings of *N. italicus* 13W-Y, *N. × odoratus* ("Camperneli" or "Campernelle jonquil") 13Y-Y, *N. jonquilla* 13Y-Y, and the rare to occasional *N. pseudonarcissus* subsp. *pseudonarcissus* 13Y-Y and "Twin Sisters" (Keith Kridler, personal communication, 2002). Another daffodil enthusiast noted taking slides of "Grand Primo" 8W-Y, *N. italicus* 13W-Y and *N. jonquilla* 13Y-Y in Texas cemeteries (Greg Grant, personal communication, 2002. See also his archived articles on Texas perennialized daffodils at www.plantanswers.com/arcadia_archives.htm).

In old cemeteries near Tallahassee, Florida, (Zone 8b), one nearly always finds a few paperwhites or *N. italicus* 13W-Y holding on in the dappled shade; another flower found in the old City cemetery is Chinese Sacred Lily (*N. tazetta* subsp. *lacticolor*). Daffodils have been found in the old Tallahassee city cemetery as well as at a small African-American church graveyard east of Tallahassee. Groundskeepers of the old city cemeteries have been warned not to pull daffodil foliage because of damaging the bulbs. In general for north Florida, flowers planted in remembrance are found more often in small African-American church graveyards than in community or church cemeteries designated for whites (Linda Van Beck, personal communication, 2002).

A number of planting locations were observed in historic cemeteries in North Florida and South Georgia. These were: Adjacent to the headstone, either front or back; along the top of the grave slab; around the interment, as a border; within a stone grave border, such as for children; and in a row along the inside of the family plot wall. Unfortunately, no particular planting location seems to have afforded bulb foliage protection from the evils of mowing. These planting locations were observed at historic city cemeteries in Tallahassee, Thomasville, Apalachicola, and to a lesser degree, at Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta.

The repeated appearance of white daffodils at first seems odd, given the current general preference for yellow colored flowers. Traditionally, however, white has been the color associated with death (such as wearing white flower corsages on Mother's Day instead of colored flowers, to signify that one's mother had passed away), and given how tradition-conscious most Southerners are, this color preference should not come as a real surprise. Also, some of the white flowers in the South are more tolerant of shade, so as old cemeteries and burial grounds became more shaded over the decades as their trees grew, those yellow daffodils requiring full sun would likely have been "shaded out."

There also are some notable differences in cultivars observed in these areas based upon the cold requirements of the specific flowers. For instance, 'Grand Monarque', *N. × medioluteus* ("Cemetery Ladies") and *N. moschatus* do not thrive at all in Zone 8b (*N. × medioluteus* rarely blooms in the April heat in north Florida), whereas paperwhites as a group are probably a bit too tender to really thrive in Zone 7a. It also is interesting to note the use of fragrant yellow flowers by Texas African Americans, while African Americans in northern Alabama seem to have used *N. × medioluteus* more frequently. How much of this comparative color and fragrance preference is culturally derived and how much of it is botanical reality (e.g., insufficient cold weather in the observed Texas cemeteries to make "Cemetery Ladies" happy) is speculation.

This study has led to many questions. How prevalent was the planting of daffodils in Victorian period rural/community cemeteries and in family burial grounds? Are there differences in chosen cultivars

between cultural groups of settlers, freed African Americans, etc.? Are there differences in what was planted based upon economic status, size of the cemetery, etc.? Are those flowers surviving today a skewed statistical artifact of a shade-induced culling out of full-sun cultivars? A tangential speculation point could be exactly which "Grand Primo" is planted where by region—is it the one with white petals or the one with yellow petals? Within Zone 9, does one find daffodils in cemeteries but only in Texas and not southern Louisiana or central Florida? Are there many cemeteries in North Carolina, Tennessee, or other northerly

tiered southern states where perennialized daffodils appear in larger, landscaped community cemeteries or in smaller churchyards or family burial grounds? What about Ohio and other northern states? If daffodils appeared on the gravestones in the North, did anyone actually plant them in the cemetery? The author welcomes any further information the readers might offer.



Courtesy of Linda Van Beck, 2003

Narcissus italicus

During the finalization of this article, I had to travel to southwestern Ontario, Canada (Zones 5a and 5b), for a family funeral. On my travels I met with a monument carver, who'd been in business for many years, and decided to continue my line of inquiry. He had been to numerous small community cemeteries in the region, many of which date back to the 1890s and earlier (1850s). He indicated that daffodils were often planted with specific interments in the past and that the tradition still continues. In order to survive, the bulbs were planted deeply and very close to the headstone, with often some soil preparation required, and then the foliage had to somehow escape the grounds maintenance crew. He indicated that both yellow and white daffodils could be found, and that he had never noticed any planting patterns based on religious denomination (Verne Rumble, Woodstock Monuments, personal communication, 2002).

The planting of daffodils in memory or honor of the deceased continues today. Municipalities, churches, and civic groups sponsor many cemetery-planting projects in memory of individuals or as a general beautification projects. Of the more recent, large-scale plantings of daffodils, one of the most notable is Lake View Cemetery and its Daffodil Hill in Cleveland, Ohio (www.lakeviewcemetery.com). The cemetery contains over 100,000 daffodil bulbs, planted in a three-acre area as an on-going project since the 1940s. The current movement of planting daffodils in memoriam took a nationally visible turn with the planting of one million daffodils in New York City as a memorial to those individuals who lost their lives as a result of the September 11 terrorist attacks ("The Daffodil Project," initiated by Partnerships for Parks; see the Brooklyn Botanic Garden's web page at www.bbg.org/daffodilwatch/index.html).

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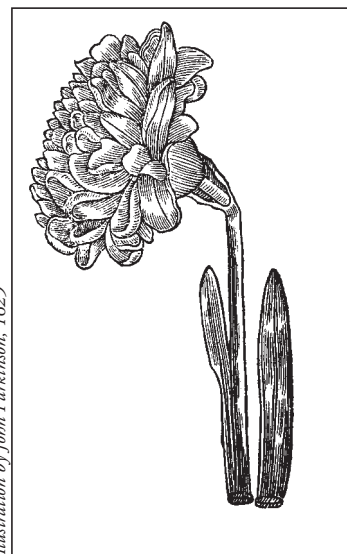
Our Old so-called “Butter and Eggs” Daffodil is Likely ‘Derwydd’ not ‘Van Sion’

By Arthur O. Tucker, Delaware State University, Dover

For many years, I followed the conventional wisdom that the common sloppy double green and yellow daffodil of graveyards and old farmhouse gardens, often called “Butter and Eggs” by the locals, is ‘Van Sion’ (yes, I realize that the real ‘Butter and Eggs’ is actually a selection of *Narcissus* ? *incomparabilis*). Sure, our green and yellow daffodil differs from the commercial Dutch offerings of ‘Van Sion,’ but I assumed that this was cultural. The commercial form has better

form and does not show slashes of green; the commercial form also shows a double cup on the first year after transplanting, but then goes to a full double yellow daffodil in subsequent years.

Then, in 1996, Scott Kunst (Old House Gardens, Ann Arbor, MI) was exhibiting at the American Daffodil Society’s show in Baltimore and asked me to bring some daffodils from my garden. I stopped along the way to supplement my meager bouquets from a row of double daffodils at an abandoned farmhouse on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. When I arrived at the show, two British nurserymen chided me for application of the name ‘Van



Mrs. Wilmer's Great Double Daffodil

Sion’ for these daffodils. They said the common, sloppy green and yellow daffodil from our gardens was definitely not ‘Van Sion.’ When I asked what it really was, they just shrugged their shoulders.

At first, I took this as so much British arrogance, then, quite by accident, a picture in *Country Life* (Anonymous 1995) leaped out at me under the headlines “Ragged riches of a rare Welsh daffodil”:

This remarkably disheveled looking specimen is the rare Derwydd daffodil, which flowers late — from mid March — in the Twyi and Cennen valleys near Llandeilo, Dyfed. It is notoriously difficult to find, but has been recorded as occurring in the vicinity of ‘Derwydd’ for the past 300 years, where it grows wild in south-facing, sheep-grazed, sloping pastures. With its ragged, greenish petals and unusual globular buds, it is quite distinct from the old, cottage-garden double daffodil known as Van Sion. In fact, botanists believe the Derwydd daffodil to be a double mutant form of the Tenby daffodil, *Narcissus pseudonarcissus obvallaris*.

The Tenby daffodil (*N. obvallaris* Salisb.) is the national symbol of Wales, so I immediately purchased *The Tenby Daffodil* by David Jones (1992). No mention is made, however, of a double form or ‘Derwydd’. Meanwhile, I tried to find out the inspiration for the article in *Country Life* and, in 2001, I found her: Dr. Caroline Palmer, an expert in human sleep, Paleozoic animal fossils, and gardens. Caroline very graciously scanned a number of obscure articles for me, including some ‘Derwydd’ daffodils collected in Wales. As I was later to find out, the article in *Country Life* may have helped sell a magazine but was a bit of hyperbole, and the ‘Derwydd’ daffodil is actually much more common.

The first one who seems to have written on this daffodil was Charles Tanfield Vachell in 1894. He devotes almost four pages to this daffodil, “styled by Mr. Burbridge ‘Thomas’ Virescent Daffodil’ of Penylan, so named after Mr. Thomas H. Thomas, of Cardiff, who first noticed it.” Vachell says:

It is by no means a handsome flower, but gives an impression of degeneracy, and reminds one of the leaf-like reversion so common with the petals of the polyanthus. It consists of from four to six series of coloured coronal segments, between each being a series of dwarfed greenish perianth segments—these are much smaller than the coronal segments and resembles the leaves—the coronal segments themselves often take a more or less green colour, and the general effect is to give the flower a peculiar greenish or virescent appearance. In the centre are several modified stamens too confused for the accurate determination either of their rank of botanical position. Both pollen and ovules may be found occasionally. With the coronal segments there exist all sorts of gradations from the entirely undivided state to complete division into its less compound segments. In some instances the lobing is perfect and exactly resembles the lobing of the Tenby single daffodil, in others the lobing is continued to form clefts, and in others the cleft extends into a split

In 1907, Alan Stepney-Gulston of ‘Derwydd’ wrote of this daffodil:

Narcissus obvallaris Plenus.— This is the old “Derwydd” Daffodil, where it has grown in perfusion for more than two hundred years, and known as the “Virescent dwarf double Daffodil of Derwydd.” Flowers, dwarf double; they do not fall exactly under the description of any known

(continued on page 11)

Our Old so-called “Butter and Eggs” ...

(continued from page 10)

variety, and it appears to be as interesting in its way (says Dr. Vachell) as the Tenby daffodil; the younger blooms are often virescent, sometimes absolutely grass-green, some arrest of colour development, taking place, the flower becomes yellow very slowly. Mr. Burbridge says, ‘it is what I call the coronal phase of the plant, i.e., the coronal or trumpet segments are fully developed, and the perianth segments are fully suppressed in their growth, sometimes the reverse of this is true.’

Woods (1993) provided further descriptions and illustrations to distinguish the ‘Derwydd’ from the ‘Van Sion’ daffodil. Jill Slee Blackadder (1995): wrote of the so-called old-fashioned Shetland garden daffodil: “They start off as green flowers, the petals and

trumpet staying green until well open.” Blackadder also found these daffodils in Valenciennes in northern France: “Locally called ‘jonquils’, these daffodils proved to be none other than the very same Shetland double, green-opening, old fashioned daffodils.” Caroline Palmer (1997) wrote: “Quite large numbers of

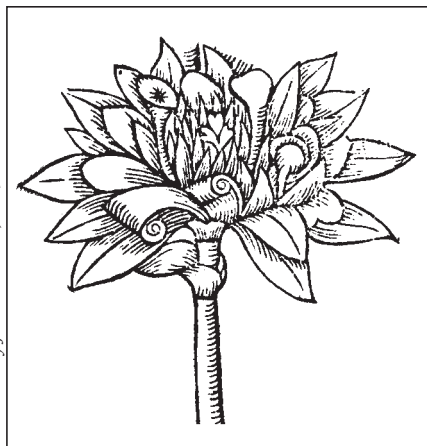


Illustration by John Parkinson, 1629

Double Spanish Daffodil

the ‘Derwydd’ form grow on the sloping meadow descending to the neglected lake at Middletown Hall future site of the Welsh Botanical Garden....” and ‘other countryside writers have drawn attention to similar short, greenish, distorted daffodils in neglected corners of the Celtic fringe, from the Shetland islands to inland Brittany.” Judyth McLeond (private communication, 2001) also notes that the ‘Derwydd’ daffodil is naturalized in Australia.

I am still struggling to understand what passes as the ‘Van Sion’ and ‘Derwydd’ daffodils today in the older literature. Gerarde and Parkinson described two very similar green and yellow daffodils. The woodcuts for both are poor, but Parkinson’s illustration of “*Pseudonarcissus aureus Hispanicus flore pleno*, the great double yellow Spanish bastard Daffodill, or Parkinsons Daffodill” most resembles the ‘Derwydd’ of today. Vachell (1894) and Stepney-Gulston (1907) quote various authors who found various double forms of the Tenby daffodil naturalized in Wales and Scilly, so I suspect that these multiple descriptions are all subtle variants of the ‘Derwydd’ daffodil.

In 1597, Gerarde described “*Narcissus multiplex Gerardi*, Gerrards double Narcisse.” Johnson’s edition of 1633 says:

The next to this is that which from our Author, the first observer thereof, is vulgarly called Gerards Narcisse: the leaves and root do not much differ from the ordinarie Daffodill, the stalk is scarce a foot high, bearing at the top thereof a floure very double; the sixe outmost leaves are of the same yellow colour as the ordinarie one is; those that are next are commonly as deepe as the tube or trunke of the single one, and amongst them are mixed also other paler coloured leaves, with some green stripes here & there amongst those leaves; these floures are sometimes all contained in a trunk like that of the single one, the sixe out-leaves excepted: other whiles this inclosure is broke, and then the flour stands fair open like that of the last described. Lobel in the second part of his Adversaria tells, that our Author Master Gerrard found this in Wiltshire, growing in the garden of a poore woman, in which place a formerly Cunning man (as they vulgarly terme him) had dwelt.

Parkinson (1629): says of this daffodil:

The leaves of this double Daffodill are very unto the single kinds, being of 2 whitish greene colour, and somewhat broad, a little shorter and narrower, yet stiffer than the former French kinde: the stalk riseth up about a foote high, bearing at the tope one very double flower, the outermost leaves being of the same pale colour, that is to bee seene in the wings of the single kinde; those that stand next them, are some as deepe a yellow as the trunke of the single, and others of the same pale colour, with some greene stripes on the backe of divers of the leaves; thus is the whole flower variably intermixt with pale and deepe yellow, and some greene stripes among them, when it is fully open, the leaves dispersed and broken” and “The last is assuredly first naturall of our owne Countrey, for Mr. Gerrard first discovered it to the world, finding it in a poore womans Garden in the West parts of England, where it grew before the woman came to dwell there, and, as I have heard since, is naturall of the Isle of Wight.”

Parkinson (1629) also described another daffodil, “*Pseudonarcissus aureus Hispanicus flore pleno*, the great double yellow Spanish bastard Daffodill, or Parkinsons Daffodill”:

This double Spanish Daffodill hath divers leaves rising from the roote, stiffer, narrower, and not so whitish a greene colour as the former, but

(continued on page 12)

Our Old so-called "Butter and Eggs" ... (continued from page 11)

more sullen or grayish, plainly resembling the leaves of the single great kind, from whence this hath risen: the stalke hereof likewise riseth almost as high as it, and neare the height of the last recited double, bearing one double flower at the toppe, alwayes spread open, and never forming a double trunk like the former, yet not so faire and large as it, the outermost leaves whereof being of a greenish colour at the first, and afterward more yellow, doe a little turne themselves backe againe to the stalke, the other leaves are some of the a pale yellow, and others of a more gold yellow colour, those that stand in the middle are smaller, and some of them shew as if they were hollow trunked, so that they seeme to be greenish, whitish, yellow, and gold yellow, all mixed one among another: the roote is great, round, and whitish on the inside, covered with darke coloured skinnes or peelings. I thinke none ever had this kinde before my selfe, nor did I my selfe ever see it before the yeare 1618. for it is of mine own raising and flowering first in my Garden.

Both these daffodils differ from the fully double, clear yellow daffodil that Parkinson (1629) called "*Pseudonarcissus aureus Anglicus maximus*, Mr. Wilmers great double Daffodill." Parkinson noted of this daffodil: "we first had from Vincent Sion, borne in Flanders, dwelling on the Banke side.... And Mr. George Wilmer of Stratford Bowe Esquire, in his lives time having likewise received it of him" Haworth (1831) called this daffodil *Ajax Telemonius* ? *grandiplenus*, while Bowles (1934) called it 'Van Sion,' the name most used today.

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The Elusive and Enigmatic Gloucester Hickory

By Wesley Greene, Garden Historian, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

Last fall I was invited to visit the 17th-century Toddsbury estate in Tidewater Virginia to see a very large hickory, which according to family legend, Thomas Jefferson knew. Toddsbury is part of the 700-acre estate patented by Robert Todd in 1664. It is located on the North River in Gloucester County, and was probably built by Thomas's son, Captain Thomas Todd in the last quarter of the 17th century. Over the centuries the house had been added on to several times and by 1794 the entire estate was inherited by the Captains grandson, Philip Tabb. The Hickory was, indeed, very old and very large, the question was; what kind of hickory was it? The nuts were huge; in some ways it resembled a mockernut but it wasn't. I am pretty well familiar with the local mockernuts, bitternuts and pignut hickories. I have seen the occasional water and shagbark hickory. This wasn't any of them, so I went looking for help.

I returned to Toddsbury in October with Donna Ware, a taxonomist from the College of William and Mary and Bill Apperson from the Virginia Department of Forestry and, after much head scratching, Donna determined that it was the shellbark hickory, *Carya lanciniosa*. This, in itself, was exciting in that the Atlas of the Virginia Flora lists the shellbark hickory as occurring only in Fairfax County, Virginia although Donna has heard of another possible example on the Gloucester-Matthews County Line.

From this revelation I examined the Jefferson connection. Thomas Jefferson's *Garden Book* contains several references to the *Gloucester Hicory*. The first mention comes in 1787 while Jefferson is in Paris. He writes Richard Cary, in Virginia, requesting seeds from a wide variety of Native American plants, including the Gloucester hickory. After returning home, Jefferson first plants the Gloucester hickory at Monticello in 1807.

In a January 1809 letter to Jefferson from Bernard McMahon, a very well known and respected nurseryman in Philadelphia, McMahon writes: "Mr. Michaux informed me that there is a very large fruited kind of Hickory growing in Glocester County, Va. which he takes to be a non described species." That same month Jefferson replies:

"The Gloucester hiccory nut, after which you enquire, has I think, formerly spread extensively over this continent from East to West, between the latitudes of 36 & 38 but only in the richest bottom lands on the river sides. Those lands being now almost entirely cleared, I know of no remains of

continued on page 13

...Gloucester Hickory

(continued from page 12)

these nuts but a very few trees specially preserved in Gloucester, and some on the Roanoke. In Kentucky there are still a great many & West of the Missisipi it is, I believe, their only nut of the *Juglans* family...I have not Gronovius's (or rather Clayton's) *Flora Virginica* to turn to, but he certainly must have described it, as he lived in Gloucester, & I know that it grew in his neighborhood."

John Clayton was the Clerk of Courts for Gloucester County from 1720 until his death in 1773 and lived just a few miles from Toddsbury. He was perhaps the best, and probably the least known, of 18th-century American botanists. Clayton began sending herbarium specimens to Mark Catesby in London during the 1730s. Catesby passes them on to Dr. John Fredrick Gronovius in Lieden Holland who publishes them, beginning in 1739, as *The Flora Virginica*. John Clayton is the only North American botanist invited by Linnaeus to join the Philosophical Society at Uppsala, Sweden and the charming little Spring Beauty, *Claytonia virginica*, is named in his honor. Clayton sends hickory specimens to Gronovius three times. Two of them have been identified at the British Museum of Natural History as mockernut hickories. The specimen sheet for the third has never been found although Gronovius references a Linnaean species number for this sheet from the *Species Plantarum* (1753). This identifies the tree as *Juglans alba*, since renamed as *Carya tomentosa* or the mockernut hickory. There was much confusion as to the identity of this tree at the time Clayton was collecting specimens, so without the herbarium sheet it is impossible to know whether or not Clayton knew or collected this tree.

Later that month, January 1809, Philip Tabb of Toddsbury in Gloucester County writes to Jefferson:

"I am sorry it is not in my power to send you as many of the large hickory nuts of this country as you wished to plant, very few of the best trees are now left & they produced less than usual the last year & were soon consumed five only were left by accident which I now forward. I have not been altogether inattentive to those nuts since apart of the lands producing them have been in my possession - I have planted some of the largest and best which are growing vigorously & I have little doubt but the trees raised properly from the nut will be more productive than those which grow in the woods, for on clearing the lands & exposing them suddenly after the tree has matured they become sickly & unproductive."

Jefferson sends four of the nuts he receives from Gloucester to McMahon in Philadelphia. He also intends to obtain nuts from the Roanoke site, which he will send on to compare with nuts McMahon has from Kentucky. In February 1809 McMahon thanks Jefferson for the nuts and says that they do not appear to be the same as the ones he received from Kentucky and are different than any he had seen before and asks: "Does this species belong to the walnut division, or is it a true Hickory?"

In April 1811 Jefferson plants more Gloucester hickories at Monticello and sends more nuts to McMahon. Finally there is the February 1812 letter from McMahon to Jefferson: "I would thank you to inform me whether you take the Gloucester Nut to be a distinct species, as announced by Mich. f. (*Juglans laciniosa*) or whether, if only a variety, it is nearer allied to the *Juglans tomentosa* Mich. or to the *J. squamosa* Mich. fi. the *J. alba* of his father." It appears now that Francois Michaux was correct in his identification.

We all stood around the tree and speculated with Breck Montaque, the present owner of Toddsbury; could this be one of the trees Philip Tabb speaks of planting in 1809, which are *growing vigorously*? The tree has been reduced to a single limb growing from a massive, hollow trunk. It is the biggest trunk on a hickory any of us had ever seen. Perhaps it is the last living legacy of Philip Tabb.

I contacted Peter Hatch from Monticello about the Gloucester hickory and it turns out that this is not the first time this tree has been "discovered." In 1984 a Mr. Lindley from Toddsbury showed up at Monticello with a back seat full of sprouted Gloucester hickories in plastic cups. Peter was never sure what kind of hickory it was but he planted quite a few of them at Monticello and believes three of them are still alive. He also observed that they did not do well on dry sites. This, in fact, may have been the fate of the Shellbark hickory in Gloucester County. When Philip Tabb observes, in the early 19th century, that the tree seems to decline after being cleared around he is probably referring to the clearing of forests for crop land. Along with clearing, it was a common practice in the low country of Gloucester County to ditch the land for drainage. The Shellbark hickory, as Jefferson observes, is normally found in floodplains and rich bottomlands. Apparently, as this habitat was altered over the centuries, we lost the Shellbark hickory with the possible exception of the odd tree here and there. How many more Shellbarks are hiding along the rivers and wetlands of Gloucester County? No one knows, but the next time you are up this way in your hip waders; keep your eyes open!

Plant Introductions – Chinese Wisteria and Spanish Cork Oak

By James Everett Kibler, Athens, Georgia

"The progress of civilization is always a matter of reclamation."

– Allen Tate

The tricky business of determining the date of plant introductions is one of those knotty problems with which garden historians always have to deal. In fact, it may be the knottiest problem of all. Deal with it, we must, however, because creating an authentic period garden demands hard-fact dates, or at least probable ones, in order to determine what plants may have been available for a given landscape.

In the winter 2002-2003 *Magnolia*, the lead essay, Michael Reynolds's "A History of Fruitland Nurseries," provides a much-needed chronology for the establishment of that significant nursery, one which has received more than the usual attention given Southern nurseries by writers North and South. Mr. Reynolds shows that the Berckmans purchased half interest in Fruitland in the year 1857 from Dennis Redmond. Redmond was a plantsman and editor of the *Southern Cultivator*. He had bought the land, which was to become the nursery, in the year 1853, and "began a small nursery business" by 1856, at which time he was growing fruit trees and some ornamentals. In 1858, the Berckmans became the sole owners of Fruitland and formed the "Company."

Reynolds goes on to say that the Berckmans were responsible for introducing ornamental plants to the South in the nursery's first twenty-five years. Two of these, Reynolds writes, are the Spanish cork oak (*Quercus suber*) and "it is believed," Chinese wisteria (*Wisteria sinensis*). These particular attributions would thus place Southern introduction for these two plants at no earlier time than the Berckmans' arrival there — hence 1857-1858. Reynolds quotes the National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form done in 1979 by the Georgia Department of Natural Resources as the source for these introduction attributions.

Fortunately, a Fruitland Nursery catalogue for 1859 exists in the University of Georgia Rare Books Collection. In the catalogue's small ornamentals department, it lists neither wisteria nor cork oak. This, of course, is no proof that Fruitland had not begun to grow it by that date; but the hard evidence of sales and availability must concern us.

Pomaria Nurseries in South Carolina was begun in 1840. In its first extant separate catalogue of 1856, the proprietors William and Adam Summer do indeed list for sale "*Wistaria* [*sic*] *sinensis* — Chinese Glycine vine, with beautiful light blue flowers — beautiful" at a cost of fifty cents. This price was the same as Pomaria's five spirea varieties, its weigelas, its seven boxwood varieties, its buddleias, azure, red, and white clematises, its forsythias, scarlet flowing quinces, and its yellow honeysuckles and four other varieties of *Lonicera*. At fifty cents, the wisteria in 1856 fell within the cheapest grouping of the nursery's ornamental plants, which ranged up to \$2.50 and \$3. The most expensive of the lot were the *Araucaria imbricata* ("Chile Pine," or monkey puzzle tree), *Cedrus argentea* ("African or Silver Cedar"), Deodar cedar, *Cedrus deodora* (one of its best sellers), and *Cupressus funebris* ("Funereal Cypress" or Chinese mourning cypress). Pomaria's "*Libocedrus chilensis*" or "Chilean Silver Arbovitae," designated in the catalogue as "new," ranged in price from two to three dollars. The point of this comparative price list is that at fifty cents, Chinese wisteria was likely not a "new" plant at Pomaria in 1856, and probably by that time "common" enough, certainly with enough nursery stock to sell in that year. Since the nursery had been up and running for sixteen years at that

point, the nursery was not new either.

Summer was, like most experienced nurserymen, savvy at telling his customers when a plant was "new," by listing it as such in his catalogues. Such designation encouraged sales to the adventurous gardeners of his time, who, just as they do in our day, would have enjoyed trying the latest and most unusual introductions. Supply and demand; the price showed accordingly. As another example, Pomaria's extensive rose list of hundreds of varieties gave its standard price as fifty cents, but the "new French varieties" always cost one dollar. In the Pomaria catalogue for 1857, Summer had reduced his price for the "*Libocedrus chilensis*" from three dollars to two, thus possibly reflecting that its "newness" had worn off.

Therefore, even though Reynolds states that "it is believed that Berckmans introduced Chinese wisteria (*Wisteria sinensis*) to the South through Fruitland Nurseries," given the Berckmans' arrival there no earlier than 1857, and Pomaria's listing of it for sale in 1856, this cannot be the case. Chinese wisteria had preceded the Berckmans' own move to the South.

Precisely when did Chinese wisteria come to Dixie? We cannot know exactly, but from the hard evidence of the Pomaria catalogue, we do know that it was being offered for sale in South Carolina no later than 1856, out of the Pomaria Nurseries catalogue, and that at that time, it was probably not considered "new" or all that unusual. The "Chinese Glycine vine," as the Summer brothers often called it, was to remain a staple in the extant Pomaria catalogues of 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861 and onward.

What is so wonderfully significant about the Pomaria Nurseries in the annals of American plant history is that there exist the nursery sales ledgers from fall 1859 to early 1863. In the ledger pages are recorded sales of the "*Wistaria sinensis*" to Columbia, Florence, Bluffton, Ashepoo Bridge, Manniry, Gadsden, and New Bury in South Carolina and Flat Rock and Asheville in North Carolina, certainly among the early proven places in the South to grow a vine now romantically associated with the region and her gardens. "*Wistaria alba vera*" (a white version of some sort) went from Pomaria Nurseries to Columbia and Chester, South Carolina, and was never advertised for sale in the Pomaria catalogues. "*Wistaria frutescens*" (probably the native wisteria) went to Limestone Springs and Society Hill, South Carolina.

Again using the National Register Nomination for Fruitland as his source, Reynolds writes that Berckmans introduced and "developed the Spanish cork oak (*Quercus suber*) and he obtained a patent for the tree in 1860." Again, we must refer to the 1858 Pomaria catalogue, which lists *Quercus suber*. There, Summer gives its price as \$1.50, in the mid-range of tree prices, and does not designate it as "new." Ledger sales for *Quercus suber* show that Pomaria sent the cork oak to Greensboro, Georgia, and in South Carolina to Barnwell, Limestone Springs, Abbeville, Camden, and Columbia. Even if Berckman held a patent for the tree in 1860, Pomaria continued to sell it in 1862 and 1863 in South Carolina and Georgia.

Because it was listed for sale in the Pomaria catalogue of 1858, the cork oak was already available to buyers in the Deep South at the time of the Berckmans' arrival at Fruitland. From the evidence of Pomaria Nurseries, the time of introduction of the tree to the Deep South must thus be pushed back a good many years. In South Carolina, at least, it definitely falls within a solid antebellum time frame. Again, I also suspect the cork oak must have had an earlier introduction even than this. For example, Thomas Jefferson made mention of planting the tree. Betts and Hatch (1986) note that he grew it as early as 1812.

Note: Dr. Kibler's article on Adam and William Summer of Pomaria, and their achievement as nature writers, appeared in *South Carolina Wildlife Magazine* (November-December 2002), 32-37.

Dr. Kibler has contributed the following articles for *Magnolia*:

On reclaiming a southern antebellum garden heritage: an introduction to Pomaria nurseries, 1840-1879, vol. 10, no. 1, fall 1993.

The native serviceberry in antebellum southern gardens, vol. 13, no. 1, winter 1997.

Antebellum azalea and camellia varieties in southern gardens, vol. 14, no. 1, spring 1998.



Illustration from "Garden Shrubs and their Histories"

Wisteria sinensis

(CHINESE WISTERIA) E.D. Smith (1827)

The Garden Conservancy's Open Days Program Opens the Gate to the Best Private Gardens in America

A furtive peek over the privet will no longer be such a maddening temptation when you are allowed to explore some of the best private gardens in the United States. During its ninth season, the Garden Conservancy's Open Days Program will share nearly 400 private gardens in 22 states including Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Among the many listed for 2003, visitors can see the Hughes Garden in Memphis, Tennessee, which has a collection of



antique garden pieces ranging from old terracotta columns to ornate iron gates. Numerous gardens in Texas will be open, including the Nokes family garden in Austin (the creation of garden writer Jill Nokes) and the inner city garden of SGHS members Peter and Julie Schaar in Dallas.

The 2003 *Open Days Directory*, a soft-cover book that includes detailed driving directions and vivid descriptions of each garden written by their owners, costs \$15.95 (\$10.95 for Garden Conservancy members) plus \$4.50 for shipping. The *Directory* also will include a free admission coupon off (valued at \$5). Call the Garden Conservancy toll free at (888) 842-2442, to order with Visa or Master Card, or send a check or money order to: the Garden Conservancy, P.O. Box 219, Cold Spring, NY 10516. Visit the Conservancy and its Open Days Program Online at: www.gardenconservancy.org

Members in the News

SGHS member **Valencia Libby** has received a Fulbright scholarship: the Fulbright FLAD Chair in the History of Landscape Architecture for autumn 2003. The award, which is under the category of Distinguished American Lecturer, will allow Valencia to teach and advise a new program in landscape architecture at the University of the Algarve in Faro, Portugal. Val, a landscape historian and specialist in public horticulture, will also consult with regional museums and historic sites while overseas.

"Reclaiming a Family Garden," by former SGHS president and honorary board member **William C. Welch** appears in the March 2003 issue of *Southern Living* magazine's Texas edition on **Mary Anne and Bob Pickens** garden in Columbus, Texas. Their garden and home are on property near the site of the old Pearfield Nursery, which was founded in the early 1800s by Mary Anne's great-grandfather J. F. Leyendecker. Mary Anne currently serves on the SGHS board.

highlighting the gardens of **Monticello**, the pavilion gardens of the **University of Virginia**, and the **Thomas Jefferson Center for Historic Plants** in and near Charlottesville.

"Playing Garden Sleuth," an article by Nan Chase, appeared in the March/April 2003 issue of *Old-House Journal*. The author interviewed a number of SGHS members and noted garden historians, including **Colonial Williamsburg's Wesley Greene**; **Susan Hitchcock**, landscape historian for the National Park Service in Atlanta; **Scott Kunst**, owner of Old House Gardens in Ann Arbor, Michigan; Monticello's **Peggy Cornett**; **Chuck Gleaves**, director of the Kingwood Center in Madison, Ohio; and **Bill Finch**, who writes about garden history for Alabama's *Mobile Register*.

In Print

English Pleasure Gardens, by Rose Standish Nichols. David R. Godine, publisher. Hardcover, 256 pages. ISBN 1-56792-232-5, 2003, \$21.95

Boston publisher David R. Godine is issuing in a new edition Rose Standish Nichols's first book, *English Pleasure Gardens* (1902), with an introduction by Judith B. Tankard, in March 2003. When *English Pleasure Gardens* was first published exactly a century ago, it was instantly acclaimed as a resource for gardeners, tourists, and history lovers alike. This new edition will introduce a new generation to the pageantry of Britain's garden heritage and to the redoubtable Rose S. Nichols, who hailed from Boston's Beacon Hill, was among our earliest professional garden designers, and was nationally recognized for her expertise with native plants and residential garden design. Her designs derived from English formal gardens, but her planting style was American in spirit. Her gardens have disappeared, but her legacy survives in her writings. Judith Tankard's introduction includes a brief client list for Ms. Nichols, whose Southern commissions include "The Morningside," for Alfred S. Bourne in Augusta, Georgia. For further information, go to www.godine.com and click on "Titles in Preparation."



above, left: Rain lily stars in this field of colorful wildflowers. above, middle: Mary Anne and Bob Pickens kneel on their lawn of coreopsis and Indian paintbrush in front of a pergola of 'Fortuniana' roses. above, right: This climbing Lady Banks' rose flourishes with little care on a weathered trellis.

The spring 2003 issue of *People Places & Plants* magazine contains an article by Paula Deroy entitled "Back in Time: Virginia's Heirloom Country Gives Gardeners A History Lesson,"

Publications Available Through SGHS

The New Louisiana Gardener - *Nouveau Jardinier de la Louisiane*, 1838
publication by Jacques-Felix Lelièvre and translated into English by Sally Kittredge Reeves. Published by LSU press in cooperation with SGHS. Hardcover. 186 pages with color photographs and halftones. Specially priced for SGHS members at \$25 (plus \$3.95 postage). *NC orders add 7% sales tax.*

Bound Sets of Magnolia Back Issues. Includes Vol. I, No. 1 (Fall 1984) through Vol. XIV, No. 4 (Winter/Spring 1999), with index. \$50. Price includes postage and tax.

Individual Back Issues of Magnolia: \$5 each, including postage and tax.

Breaking Ground: *Examining the Vision and Practice of Historic Landscape Restoration*, (1997 proceedings of Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscapes Conference at Old Salem.). \$10 (plus \$3.95 postage). *NC orders add 7% sales tax.*

The Influence of Women on the Southern Landscape, (1995 proceedings of conference cited above). \$10 (plus \$3.95 postage). *NC orders add 7% sales tax.*

SPECIAL OFFER: If purchasing both **Breaking Ground** and **The Influence of Women**, the total cost for the two volumes is \$15 (plus \$3.95 postage). *NC orders add 7% sales tax.*

Send orders to: Kay Bergey, publications secretary, SGHS, c/o Old Salem, Inc., Drawer F, Salem Station, Winston-Salem, NC 27108.

NOTE: Checks payable to **SGHS** for *Nouveau Jardinier* and *Magnolias*. Checks payable to **Old Salem, Inc.** for *Breaking Ground* and *The Influence of Women*. For information call (336) 721-7378 or e-mail: bergeymk@wfu.edu

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