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Dorothy S. Manks

JOHN ADLUM (1759–1836)

BIOGRAPHY

John Adlum, the son of Joseph and Catherine Adlum, was born at York, Pennsylvania, 29 April 1759 and died at Georgetown, D. C., 1 March 1836. His grave is in Oak Hill Cemetery, Georgetown.

It is easy to picture John, an eager boy of fifteen, caught up in the political ferment of 1774, forming a company of mock-soldiers among his friends. Some of them went with him to Philadelphia to enlist on 7 July 1776. John’s career in the army was short, for by November 1777 he had reached the rank of corporal, had been wounded, captured, then released, and sent home on parole. His loyalty to army life continued and in 1799 he was commissioned Major in the Provincial (regular) Army in Maryland. He saw active service as an officer in the War of 1812, and eventually became a Brigadier-General in the state militia of Pennsylvania.

At home in 1777 his father’s tanning business failed to hold his interest, and he soon gave it up in favor of surveying. Between 1789 and 1791 we find him, by appointment of the Governor of Pennsylvania, studying the navigation of the Susquehanna and Schuylkill Rivers. The opening of these western valleys to settlement and trade involved negotiation with the Indians and in this he seems to have been adept. In 1795 he was appointed one of the first Associate Judges of Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, and he held the post until he moved from the district in 1798.

In middle age he married his cousin Margaret Adlum, by whom he had

EDITOR’S NOTE: This is the first of a series of contributions by Miss Manks on the biography and bibliography of the less well-known American authors. The format provides for the bibliographic treatments of published books to follow a brief biographical account and—when available—a portrait of the author. References to source materials are given at the end of the account of each author’s work. Collations and analyses of contents that have been prepared by members of this library’s staff are identified by their respective initials (D. S. K. for Daniel S. Kalk, and G. B. for Günther Buchheim); all others, in simplified form, are by Miss Manks.
two daughters. Accounts vary as to the date of this marriage. His granddaughter reported him to have been fifty-four years old.\(^1\) Eisenhart, in his genealogy of the family (1957, p. 14), reports him to have been forty-six, and gives the date as 13 December 1805.

From the available fragments of biography, it appears that Adlum's interest in agricultural affairs was life-long. An account given by his granddaughter to L. H. Bailey (1898, p. 60) reports that, "... as a scientific agriculturist, he had few superiors. He devoted almost the whole of his life to the acquisition and diffusion of useful information. In early life he was a great friend of Dr. Joseph Priestly [then living in Northumberland, Pennsylvania] ... and the knowledge he acquired of chemical science ... he applied with signal success to various agricultural operations." In 1808 the botanist Constantine Rafinesque named for him the dainty *Adlumia*, whose one species (*A. fungosa* (Ait.) Greene) we know as Mountain-fringe, or Allegheny-vine. From this, one may draw further assurance of his deep interest and established reputation as a plantsman.

With this background we pick the story up in 1814, when Adlum moved to Georgetown, D. C., and established his two-hundred-acre estate, "The Vineyard." In the next few years his work opened a new era in American horticulture. In 1823 he published the first book on grape growing based on American cultural practice and led a successful drive for the cultivation of native types of grapes. He made the first proposal for a government testing ground. He introduced the 'Catawba' grape into cultivation.

To understand the full significance of these accomplishments one must know something of fruit growing in the America of that period. Even after two hundred years of settlement, all agriculture continued to be based on European methods and on the guidance of European writers. There was no American agricultural or pomological literature. Fruit growing was important, and the propagating stocks of the best English and French varieties of all fruits were imported regularly, even though they did not adapt well to American climates, seasons, and soils. As for grapes, the wild native species grew and fruited lavishly everywhere. Strains of the European *Vitis vinifera* were used almost exclusively, though they failed to ripen at the right time, and they lacked resistance to disease. Once in a while a grower experimented with them, and a handful of native varieties were on the market.

Adlum's first contribution was his persistent campaign for the use of native species. His conviction about them was based on experience, for he

operated his vineyard both as a commercial establishment and as a trial ground. Extensive plantings of both foreign and domestic varieties of grapes led him to discard most of the foreign kinds in favor of the best of the natives.

The literature of the grape in America began with *A sketch of vine culture* by Colonel Robert Bolling, of Virginia. This was a compilation from European sources, with comments. According to Hedrick (1908, pp. 14-15, 40) the full text was never published, but manuscript copies were circulated, and extracts were printed in the *Virginia gazette* and later (1828-1829) in the *American farmer*. Hedrick assigned 1765 as the original release date.

In 1771 came Edward Antill's *An essay on the cultivation of the vine, and the making and preserving of wine* . . . It was a long, rambling discussion, concerned only with European varieties and notable only for its early appearance. Nothing more appeared until 1804, when editor James Mease published in *The domestic encyclopedia* an article on the vine which carried the first protest against the widespread use of foreign types. Two years later Bernard M'Mahon's *An American gardener's calendar* (1806, pp. 229-235) listed four American varieties with some fifty foreign ones.

In 1823 came Adlum's *A memoir on the cultivation of the vine in America and the art of making wine*. He followed it between 1824 and 1830 by a series of articles in *The American farmer*. These had wide circulation and were written in a persuasive and direct style.

The proposal for a government testing ground was a significant administrative novelty. In the Preface of his *Memoir* he wrote of it:

... I wished to obtain of the President of the United States, a few years ago, a lease of a portion of the public ground in the City [Washington] for the purpose of forming a Vineyard, and of cultivating an experimental farm . . . My application was, however, rejected, and I have been obliged to prosecute the undertaking myself without assistance and without patronage, and this I have done to the full extent of my very limited means. A desire to be useful to my countrymen has animated all my efforts, and given a stimulus to all my exertions.

Nearly seventy years went by before the government took up such a plan, and established experimental stations through the country.

A new era in American grape growing opened with the introduction of

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1 James Mease, M.D. (1771-1846), a practising physician of Philadelphia, was a founder and the first Secretary of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society. He was also one of the managers of the “Company for the Improvement of the Vine” and maintained a vineyard for wine production. He also contributed articles in a wide range of subjects for A.F.M. Willich’s *The domestic encyclopedia* (1803-1804).

2 Citations for these articles are: *The American farmer, [Baltimore]* 6: 15, 123, (1828-29); 9: 261, (1827-28); 10: 152, (1828-29); 12: 181-182, (1830-31).
the 'Catawba' grape from Adlum's vineyard. In the regions where it grew well it solved the problems of hardiness and flavor. It has held its place for a century and a half, and is still one of the four great table and wine grapes produced from American species.

The 'Catawba' was a chance find. The details of its ancestry and discovery remain mysteries. Hedrick (1950, p. 434) believed "... it probably came from the Catawba River region, Buncombe County, North Carolina." Bailey (1949, p. 600) considered it to be a hybrid between the American Vitis labrusca and the European V. vinifera. Plants were found in several locations, and Adlum came upon it on the property of a Mrs. Scholl in Clarksburgh, Maryland. In return for pruning, he obtained cuttings for himself. These were set out in his vineyard in 1819 and distributed soon afterward. Although it came to him as 'Catawba,' Hedrick (1950, p. 435) reports that he was persuaded to introduce it as 'Tokay' because of the similarity of the flavor of its wine to that of the Austrian 'Tokay.' When the second edition of his book appeared in 1828 he took up for it the name 'Catawba,' though the text does not link the two as synonyms. Through such nurserymen as William Prince in New York and Nicholas Longworth in Cincinnati the commercial distribution was rapid. The variety 'Catawba' was soon the basis of an extensive vine growing and wine making industry, and in the eastern United States the day of European varieties as important wine grapes was soon to be over.

In The grapes of New York (p. 46) Hedrick appraised John Adlum's contribution to American horticulture by saying:

Adlum must be counted one of the geniuses of his day, as devoted to the welfare of the country, as having almost a prophetic vision, and as actuated by the best of motives. His struggle for the national experimental vineyard, the work of his pen, his dissemination of the 'Catawba' and other grapes, and his vineyard experiments give Adlum a high place among the improvers of American grapes.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1a. A memoir on the cultivation of the vine in America . . . Washington, D.C., 1823. (For title-page, see Fig. 13.)

Collation: 12°: 1-126; 1-3 4-5 6-7 8-104 105 106-138 139 140-142 143-144. [G. B.]

Contents: i, title, i-7 registration certification, dated March 1, 1823. 1-15° preface. 17° □. 1-9°, text proper, divided into the cultivation of the vine (1-4°) and on making wine (4°-9°). 9°-12° Appendix; extracts of letters of several correspondents on the making of wine and remarks and observations by the author. 12-12°, catalogue of grapes cultivated in the author’s vineyard near Georgetown, D.C. 12°°° printer’s imprint. 12°° □. [G. B.]

Paper: Halsheets; largest page sizes found (MBH copy, partly cut): width 117 mm, length 205 mm; white, wove. [G. B.]

Printer: Davis and Force.

Date of publication: 1823 (after 1 March).

For commentary on this and the second edition, see below.


Collation: 12°: 1-7 4 5 6 7 8-10 11 12 13 14-179 180.


Printer: W. Greer, Washington, D.C.

Date of publication: 1828 (after 7 April).

COMMENTARY

For each edition, Adlum divided his book into four main parts: cultivation of the vineyard, the making of wines, an Appendix of extracts from letters with his own comments, and a catalogue of the grapes in his own vineyard. In the section on vineyard management he referred often to such standard English books as William Forsyth’s Treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees (1802) and Philip Miller’s Gardener’s dictionary, ed. 8 (1768). The frequent quotations were accompanied by his own suggestions for adapting
A MEMOIR
ON THE
CULTIVATION OF THE VINE
IN
AMERICA,
AND THE
BEST MODE OF MAKING WINE.

BY JOHN ADLUM.

"Wine is as good as life to a man, if it be drunk moderately; what is life
then to a man that is without wine? for it was made to make men glad.
Wine meekly drank, and in season, bringeth gladness of the heart,
and cheerfulness of the mind."
ECCLESIASTICUS, c. 51, v. 27, 28.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY DAVIS AND FORCE, (FRANKLIN'S HEAD)
PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

1823.

Fig. 13. Title-page facsimile (reduced). Adlum's Memoir on the vine.
Massachusetts Horticultural Society copy
the advice to American conditions. He attempted to explain "what" as well as "why," even though he failed to recognize the wide variations in local soils and climates. To complement his own experience he quoted also from McMahon's American gardener's calendar (1808).

In the second edition, text revision was limited to rewriting of individual paragraphs. The many footnotes of the first edition and the Appendix of quotations were incorporated in the text.

Perhaps wine making was a more intricate operation than vineyard management. At any rate, some two thirds of the Memoir deals with the processes of making wines and cider, while only one third deals with the cultivation of grapes. Yet the book is significant to horticulture. It was the first American monograph on a subject of current importance, it suggested improvements in cultural practices, and emphasized the use of native varieties. All these factors made it a practical contribution in its own day and a historic landmark in ours.

As an author John Adlum must receive recognition in spite of himself. His forward look, his cultural skills, and his sense of conviction were far and away mightier than his pen. He was obviously not at home with words. He could not organize his material. By modern standards, his cultural directions were vague and inaccurate and his descriptions failed to describe. In spite of his wish to promote the use of native grapes, he did not even distinguish the natives from the imports. From the perspective of a century and a half we would say that he misjudged the relative importance of grape growing and wine making in his relative allocation of space to each, and with his heavy emphasis on the latter. Yet this is not a fair criticism, for he reflected the interests of the 1820's.

Where a more experienced writer would have been formal and impersonal, Adlum wrote with complete naturalness and lack of self-consciousness. In allowing his warm and generous and public-spirited nature to appear, he made the book a model which more sophisticated writers might copy. Could any writer state his purpose more appealingly than did Adlum in his Preface: "... A desire to be useful to my countrymen has animated all my efforts, and given a stimulus to all my exertions... I have not put down anything that I do not myself believe, and which I could not prove if necessary."

REFERENCES


——. (Ed.)—*The standard cyclopedia of horticulture.* Ed. 2. 3 vols. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1922.


FORSYTH, William—*A treatise on the culture and management of fruit-trees;...* London, Nichols & Son, 1802.

——. — *A treatise on the culture and management of fruit-trees;...* Philadelphia, Printed for J. Morgan, 1802.


WILLIAM COBBETT (1762-1835)

BIOGRAPHY

William Cobbett, social reformer, journalist, and agriculturist, was born near Farnham, in Surrey, England, 9 March 1762, and died at Kensington, then a London suburb, 18 June 1835. His most important contribution was to English social reform, but the full range of his interests and the catalogue of his writings (more than sixty titles in all) covered the fields of political journalism, religion, economics, English and French grammar, surveys of country life, and horticulture. So complex was his impact on his time that
one cannot review one aspect of his career alone without giving some consideration to the others.

Cobbett was the grandson of a farm laborer, and the son of an independent small farmer and innkeeper. He had a deep love of farming both as an occupation and as a way of life, and he made significant contributions to this field in both England and the United States. He began his working life as a very small boy, for his earliest memories were of long, exhausting days weeding and hoeing the crops, or chasing birds from the planted fields. There was little time for formal schooling. In the evenings the father taught the children to read and write, and good books were always at hand, yet his education was gained largely through wide reading after he grew up.

At the age of eleven or twelve William was employed in the gardens of Farnham Castle, under a head gardener who had come from the Royal Gardens at Kew. Descriptions of the beauties of Kew caught the boy's imagination, and he ran away from home and walked all the way to Richmond to see them for himself. At the end of the journey, tired, hungry, almost penniless, he came to a book stall. It was a toss-up whether to buy Jonathan Swift's *Tale of a Tub* (for its fascinating title) or a bun for his supper. Literature won, and he spent the night at the foot of a hay cock, reading as long as the light lasted.

Cobbett's adult career began in 1784 with enlistment in the British army and eight years of service in Canada. The life was brutally hard and the hours were long, but he found time in odd moments to read the English classics and to "study English grammar." This was no casual dabbling, but a strict discipline. Through it he gained a well-rounded fund of knowledge, and forged a literary style whose sword-like quality was to be a valuable weapon in his campaigns for justice.

In Canada he met Ann Reid, a soldier's daughter, who later became his wife. His biographers agree that she was a devoted companion to her unpredictable and often difficult husband. There seems to have been a fine bond between them.

In 1792 Cobbett returned to England and was discharged from the army. He threw himself at once into the writing of *The soldier's friend*: a protest against the brutality of army life and a demand for a living wage for the men in the ranks. This was so very blunt a statement that his personal liberty was endangered and he fled with his wife, first to France, then to the United States, where—in Philadelphia—he taught English to French émigrés.

Those years in the army set the pattern for Cobbett's long, stormy career as a political reformer and journalist. All the most vigorous comparisons
Fig. 14. William Cobbett (1762-1835).
By courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London
are needed to describe him. He was a firebrand, a dynamo, possessed by a pugnacious and stubborn will. His peasant origin was no doubt the source of this drive, for he had first-hand knowledge of hardship. G. K. Chesterton once wrote a verse about him:

\[
\begin{align*}
I\ &\ saw\ great\ Cobett\ riding, \\
&\ The\ horseman\ of\ the\ shires; \\
&\ And\ his\ face\ was\ red\ with\ judgment \\
&\ And\ a\ light\ of\ Luddite\ fires. \\
A\ &\ trailing\ meteor\ on\ the\ Downs,\ he\ rides\ above\ the\ rolling\ towns, \\
&\ The\ horseman\ of\ Apocalypse,\ the\ Rider\ of\ the\ Shires.^{4}
\end{align*}
\]

During his first residence in America (1792-1800) it was inevitable that he should become involved in American politics. He was tactless enough to favor publicly the cause of the Loyalists (still being argued by the die-hards). On domestic issues he engaged in a hot pamphleteering war, adopting on occasion the pseudonym of Peter Porcupine, and in effect founded the American party press, characteristic of that rough-and-tumble era. He did, in fact, found a newspaper, Porcupine’s gazette and daily advertiser (1797-1799) in which to vent his vindictive.

Politics, though an absorbing interest, did not monopolize his thoughts, for as he went about he observed farming practices, noting especially the importance of fruit growing and the lack of suitable books on the subject. As a bit of practical assistance, he prepared an adaptation of William Forsyth’s Treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees to the needs of American growers, which was published in Philadelphia and New York in 1802.

In June 1800 he was able to return to England in political safety. There he found that his plain writing had already made him famous, and he could continue his political and journalistic activities. At the same time his love for the land could be indulged, and between 1804 and 1817 he farmed at Hampstead.

In October 1817 came the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, which had protected him from arrest. There was nothing to do but to return to the United States. Cobbett was then fifty-five years old, and the firebrand reformer had mellowed. It is difficult to recognize him in the quiet farmer and writer on Long Island, New York. Now he could give his whole attention to farming and writing, and he came to his full stature as a literary figure.

For the two years that he remained in this country he spent most of his time writing The American gardener and A year’s residence in the United States of America. In the Preface to the former he said that he hoped “to cause the art of gardening to be better understood and practiced than it now is in America.” The climate and soils of America, he saw, were better than those of England, but gardening was less well done, because “where land is abundant, attachment and even attention to small plots wears away.”

During these years he was also the proprietor of a seed and book store in New York City, and seems to have done a profitable business. He featured imports of novelties in field and garden seeds and with his usual care for detail he made up a standard assortment, and enclosed with each order a pamphlet of directions for culture. This may fairly be called one of the minor pieces of nineteenth-century American gardening literature.⁵

In the spring of 1819 this quiet life was ended abruptly by a fire which destroyed the house where he was living. In November he returned to England, to reunion with his family. He was now an accepted leader in the movement for political reform, and he continued this and his journalistic writing for the rest of his life.

To see for himself how the British country people lived and what they were thinking, he undertook a series of journeys on horseback. In the next ten years he covered most of southern England, the Midlands, and East Anglia. His reports appeared regularly in his magazine, The political register, and were later collected in book form as Rural rides. They give a lively and detailed picture of life and people.

In 1821 Cobbett established a nursery at his 4-acre farm in Kensington, where he grew extensive stocks of American plants for introduction into British gardens. John Loudon visited Cobbett at his nursery in February 1828, reporting (Gard. Mag. 3: 363-364):

We found the veteran writer sitting in his garden-house, by a wood fire made in one of his cast-iron American stoves [a Franklin fireplace], a table beside him covered with newspapers, and a few books behind on a shelf. The garden contains about four acres of deep sandy loam, admirably suited for raising seedling trees, and almost the whole of it is so occupied.

After recounting the species and varieties of American imports that were in conspicuous quantity in the nursery, Loudon observed further “while the trees ... are growing old in the nurseries, from being little asked for, Mr. Cobbett cannot raise a sufficiency of seedlings to supply the demand.”

⁵ [Cobbett, Wm.] A list of field seeds and garden seeds ... New York, Printed by Clayton and Kingsland, 1819.
From this period came five horticultural books published by him in London: the introduction to his production of a new edition of Jethro Tull’s *Horse-hoeing husbandry* (1822), and, under his own name, *The woodlands* (1825), *A catalogue of American trees, shrubs, plants, and seeds for sale by Mr. Cobbett* (first printed in his newspaper *The political register* in 1827), *The English gardener*; ... (1827), and *A treatise on Cobbett’s corn* ... (1828).

The Cobbett of the 1820’s and 1830’s fits the traditional picture of an English yeoman-farmer (see Fig. 14). His biographer, Coles (1947, p. 12), described his appearance as “a strong, hale, stout man, with a head crowned with the snow of age, a ruddy countenance, a small laughing eye, and the figure of a respectable English farmer.” Coles quoted Hazlitt, who reported him to be “a very pleasant man: easy of access, affable, clear-headed, simple and mild in his manner, deliberate and unruffled in his speech. His figure tall and portly ... he has a good, sensible face, rather full, with a hard, square forehead.”

For many years it was William Cobbett’s ambition to sit in Parliament. In 1821 he tried for a seat and lost. He tried again in 1832 and won. At the end of his life the poor farm boy could sign himself, “William Cobbett, Esq., M.P.” But at seventy his best years were over, the seat was an empty honor. His family watched as his health failed during the final years (probably from cancer of the larynx), and he died at his farm in Kensington on 18 June 1835.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1a. *The American gardener*. London, 1821.6 (For title-page, see Fig. 15.)

**Collation**: 12°: A-Y6; (Note: A-F $1, 3 are signed; 3 is signed as “3,” indicating that part of the halfsheet which had to be cut off and inserted in the middle of the gathering; G-Y $5-3 are signed, except o which is not signed); 132 unnumbered leaves. [D.S.K.]

**Contents**: A1r title; A1v printer’s imprint; A2r dedication to Mrs. Tredwell of Salisbury Place, Long Island, N. Y., dated London, 20 June 1821, and signed “WM. COBBETT.”; A3v-A6r preface, signed “WM. COBBETT.” dated “North Hampstead, Long Island, 1819.”; B1r-Y3v text, description on developing gardens and cultivation of vegetables, herbs, fruits, and flowers (T3v □); Y4r-Y5v index to vegetables, herbs, fruits, and flowers; Y6r index to gardening. Running titles: chapter headings. All paragraphs, preface to index, are numbered consecutively. Text illustrations: four relief cuts showing aspects of gardening, numbered “Plate” I-IV on D3v, I6v, S4r, T4r (rectos of these pages □); untitled, unsigned. [D.S.K.]

6 For the Claremont, N. H. edition, usually cited as “Preface dated 1819” and erroneously considered to be the first edition of this work, see no. 1b.
THE
AMERICAN GARDENER;
OR,
A TREATISE


BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

"I went by the field of the slothful and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding: and, lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the stone-wall thereof was broken down. Then I saw and considered it well: "I looked upon it, and received instruction."

Proverbs: Chap. XXIV, Ver. 30.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY C. CLEMENT, 1, CLEMENT'S INN.

1821.
Manks: Horticultural writers

Paper: page size 108 × 183 mm [Hunt Botanical Library Copy no. 1, cut and trimmed], white, wove. Watermark "1812" on some leaves [in Hunt Botanical Library copy no. 1 on F2, L3, N1, Q1, R1, T1, U3; in Hunt Botanical Library copy no. 2 (cut and untrimmed) on C1, I3, O4, R6, S1, U1]. [D.S.K.]

Printer: J. Edgerley, 76 Fleet Street, London.

Publisher: C. Clement, 1 Clement's Inn, London.

Date of publication: 1821, probably after 1 July [dedication is dated June].

Notes: This is the first edition of The American gardener (for the so-called 1819 edition, see no. 1h below). In his notes on this period of Cobbett's life, Pearl reported that "... this book, finished in 1819 during his second sojourn in America, was intended for the American farmer. ... Cobbett published the book in 1821 after his return to England. Melville (vol. 2, 1913) quotes a letter from Cobbett's daughter Anne, to her brother James P. Cobbett, in New York, dated Brompton, 16 December 1820, as follows: "The French Grammar and gardening book will both sell very well, and would have been out now if it had pleased Her Majesty to bide away a few months longer."

1b The American gardener, Baltimore, 1823.7

Collation: ix, [10]-252 p., 4 plates included in paging, 140 mm.

Contents: [i] title, [iii]-ix Preface; [10]-247 text divided into Chapt. 1, On situation, soil, fencing, and laying-out of gardens, p. [10]-40; Chapt. 2, On the making and managing of hot beds and greenhouses p. [41]-71; Chapt. 3, On propagation and cultivation in general p. 71-107; Chapt. 4, Vegetables and herbs p. 108-176; Chapt. 5, Fruits p. 177-222; Chapt. 6, Flowers p. 222-247; Index to vegetables and herbs, fruits and flowers p. 248-250; Index to the general matter p. 250-252. (Note: in this and succeeding editions, both the leaves and the paragraphs are numbered.)

Printer: printed and published by Robinson, Circulating Library, and J. Robinson & Company, Frederick, Maryland.

Lacks the dedication. Pearl (1955, page 119) quoted Cobbett as saying that the issue lacking the dedication was pirated. See also no. 1h.

1c The American gardener. New York, 1835.


7 This edition was allegedly reproduced in 1827, with some modifications as The English gardener; actually, that work was completely rewritten, see no. 10. An Italian translation is Il giardiniere Americano. Corfu, 1826 (copy at Massachusetts Horticultural Society).
CONTENTS: [lf. 1'] title, [lf. 1'] Scatcherd and Adams, Printers; [lf. 2'] Dedication, lf. 2' [blank]; p. 3-8 Preface; [6-226 text divided into Chapt. 1, On the situation, soil, fencing and laying-out of gardens [9]-36; Chapt. 2, On the making and managing of hot beds and greenhouses 36-64; Chapt. 3, On propagation and cultivation in general 64-97; Chapt. 4, Vegetables and herbs 98-162; Chapt. 5, Fruits 162-204; Chapt. 6, Flowers 204-226; Index to vegetables and herbs, fruits and flowers 227-238; Index to the general matter 229-230; [followed by two unnumbered leaves of advertisements for books published by Doyle].

PRINTER: Scatcherd and Adams.

PUBLISHER: John Doyle, New York.


COLLATION: 4, [3]-230 p., illustrations, 160 mm.

1e The American gardener. Concord, N. H., 1842. (For title-page, see Fig. 16.)


CONTENTS: [1'] title, 1-7' advertisement dated "Concord, April 15, 1842." and printer’s imprint; 7-7' dedication to Mrs. Tredwell dated London, 20 June 1821, and signed "WM. COBBETT."; 7'-4'-7' preface, signed "WM. COBBETT." and dated "North Hampstead, Long Island, 1819."; 4'-23,7' text, description on developing gardens and cultivation of vegetables, herbs, fruits, and flowers; 23'-23'-7' index to vegetables, herbs, fruits, and flowers; 23'-7'-23'-7' index to gardening; 23'-23'-7' □. Running titles: chapter headings. Text illustrations: four relief cuts showing aspects of gardening, numbered "Plate" I-IV on 4', 10', 19', 20'. (versos of these pages □, and 19' □) untitled, unsigned, made from a different block than those of the 1821 edition. [D.S.K.]

PAPER: page size: 98 x 166 mm [Hunt Botanical Library copy, cut and trimmed], white, wove. No watermarks. [D.S.K.]

PRINTER: "stereotyped and printed by Morrill, Silsby, & Co., Concord, N. H."

PUBLISHER: this edition, as noted on the title-page, was published simultaneously by Saxton and Pierce, Boston, and Saxton and Miles, New York.

DATE OF PUBLICATION: 1842, probably after 1 May.

NOTES: This edition is not cited by Pearl (1953). The volume was produced by a process invented about 1726 and first used in 1736, by William Ged (1690-1749), an Edinburgh gold-
THE

AMERICAN GARDENER:

A TREATISE ON THE

SITUATION, SOIL, FENCING, AND LAYING-OUT

OF GARDENS;

ON THE MAKING AND MANAGING OF

HOT-BEDS AND GREEN-HOUSES;

AND ON THE

PROPAGATION AND CULTIVATION OF

VEGETABLES, HERBS, FRUITS, AND FLOWERS.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.


CONCORD, N.H.
PUBLISHED BY L. HAMILTON. BOSTON: SAXTON & PIERCE
NEW YORK: SAXTON & MILES.
1842.

Fig. 16. Title-page facsimile (reduced), The American gardener (1842).
Hunt Botanical Library copy
smith turned printer. According to G. A. Glaister (An encyclopedia of the book, Cleveland, 1960, pp. 387-388), the stereo is a printing plate made by taking an impression from set-up type, or another plate, in a mould of plaster of Paris (after 1849 papier mâché, or flong was used). Stereotype metal (an alloy of tin, antimony, and lead) is poured into the mould after which the resulting stereo is reinforced by nickelling. The process was known to Benjamin Franklin who, clandestinely, was the first to use it in America (in the 1737 edition of Poor Richard’s almanack, and from 1739 onwards in the production of colonial currency). Lehmann-Haupt (1939, p. 133) credits David Bruce with having introduced the British process into America in the period 1811 to 1813, setting up a commercial book printing plant in New York, and notes that the process was very soon in operation in all important centers of printing. The term stereotype originated about 1794 with Firmin Didot (1764-1836), the French publisher and typographer who developed and used the invention. [D.S.K.]

1f The American gardener. New York, John Doyle, 1844.

230 p., 160 mm. [No copy seen, data from Library of Congress Catalog. Cited also by Pearl, who reports also an edition of 1846.]

1g The American gardener. New York, C. M. Saxton and Company, 1856.

230 p., 185 mm. [No copy seen, data from Library of Congress Catalog. Cited also by Pearl.]

1h The American gardener. Claremont, N. H., n.d. (For title-page, see Fig. 17.)

Collation: 12": 1-19 6 20 369-20 362 1-3 4-8 9 10-230.

Contents: 1f title, 17 8 [ ]; 15-14 7 preface signed “Wm. COBBETT.” and dated “North Hamstead, Long Island, 1819.”; 15-19 10 text, description on developing gardens and cultivating vegetables, herbs, fruits, and flowers; 19 8 index. Running titles: book title. Text figures, designated as plates: four relief cuts showing aspects of gardening numbered “Plate I.”—“Plate IV.” (on pages 33, 93, 190, 197), untitled, unsigned, and composed of one or more numbered figures. [D.S.K.]

Paper: page size, 90 × 150 mm [LC copy, cut], white wove. No watermarks. [D.S.K.]

Plates: no true plates present, those so identified are bibliographically a part of the book and are text figures. [D.S.K.]

Editor’s notes: Two copies of this edition (apparently identical) have been examined: one from the Library of Congress, and one from the private collection of Prof. George L. Slate, of Geneva, N. Y.
THE

AMERICAN GARDENER;

OR,

A TREATISE

ON THE SITUATION, SOIL, FENCING AND LAYING-OUT OF GARDENS;
ON THE MAKING AND MANAGING OF HOT-BEDS AND GREEN-HOUSES; AND ON THE PROPAGATION AND CULTIVATION OF THE SEVERAL SORTS OF VEGETABLES, HERBS, FRUITS AND FLOWERS.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ. M.P.

FOR OLDHAM.

"I went by the field of the slothful and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding: and, lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the stone-wall thereof was broken down. Then I saw and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction."—Proverbs: Chap. XXIV. Ver. 30.

CLAREMONT, N.H.
MANUFACTURING COMPANY.
SIMEON IDE, Ag't.

Fig. 17. Title-page facsimile (reduced), The American gardener n.d. (after 1834).
Library of Congress copy
THE AMERICAN GARDENER:
A TREATISE ON THE
SITUATION, SOIL, AND LAYING OUT OF GARDENS,
ON THE MAKING AND MANAGING OF HOT-BEADS
AND GREEN-HOUSES;
AND
ON THE PROPAGATION AND CULTIVATION
OF THE SEVERAL SORTS OF
VEGETABLES, HERBS, FRUITS,
AND FLOWERS.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

NEW YORK:
ORANGE JUDD & COMPANY.
245 Broadway.

Fig. 18. Title-page facsimile (reduced), *The American gardener* n.d. Orange Judd edition. Cornell University, L. H. Bailey Hortorium copy
Throughout the literature, this has been cited as published in 1819, on the basis of its Preface date, and has been treated as the first edition of The American gardener. Even a cursory examination of the title-page (see Fig. 17) shows this edition to be far removed from the first publication of the work, for it cites the author to be "BY WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ. M. P. | FOR OHLHAM" and we know that Cobbett was elected to Parliament in 1832. Pearl (1953) cites this edition, with a query, as possibly published in 1832. Circumstantial evidence given below postulates a publication date of ca. 1850-1858.

Through the kindness of Marcus A. McCorison, librarian at the American Antiquarian Society, we were directed to Louis B. Flanders' Simeon Ide: yeoman, freeman, pioneer printer (1931), and to its included paper by R. W. G. Vail "The bibliography of imprints of Simeon Ide." Here it is shown that Ide did not move to Claremont until 1834. Mr. McCorison, in litt., advises me that "so far as we know here, there was no printing in that town until approximately that time." This would set 1834 as the earliest probable publication date for the book. It is unfortunate that Vail apparently did not know of Ide's production of The American gardener, for he cites no work by William Cobbett among his chronology of Ide imprints. Study of his chronology reveals that the first imprint to identify Ide as "Agent" for the Claremont, N. H. Manufacturing Company is dated 1841 (Fowle's Familiar dialogues . . .), and that from then until 1838 (the year Ide retired from the firm) the term "Agent" appears in more than half the reported imprints. It is further noted that only one of those imprints, like the one in question, is undated (The book of common prayer . . .) "circa 1858" fide Vail. Bindings of the Cobbett volumes in hand are of purplish cloth, ornately blind-stamped on both boards, and similarly so in gilt on the spine. The spine reads COBBETT'S GARDENER. This binding, believed to be the original, is characteristic of publications of the early part of the last half of the nineteenth century.

The typography is unlike that of any other edition, ruling out the likelihood of its being a stereotype. Cobbett's 2-page Dedication, immediately preceding the Preface in most editions, does not appear in these copies, nor is there any statement in the work that would provide further aid for dating. Some pirated editions also lack the dedication (see no. 1b). Collectively, the available data would suggest that the work was published sometime in the 1850's, and perhaps close to the end of Ide's membership in the firm (1858).

11 The American gardener. New York, n. d. (For title-page, see Fig. 18.)

Collation: 12°: i-16° 20° (—20°); 1-3 4-8 9 10-230. [D.S.K.]

Notes: The collation, contents, and paper of this copy (from I. H. Bailey Hortorum, Cornell University) are identical to the Library of Congress copy of 18, except for the title-page. The title-page omits reference to Cobbett as an M. P. and the imprint cites it to have been published by Orange Judd & Company, New York. It is not known to be reported in any previously published accounts. [Ed.]

Commentary

In the United States of the early 1800's, "gardening" as it is known today was almost nonexistent, except among the wealthy. Since gardens had
been cultivated for generations in Europe, and had attained great artistic style, one would expect to find the heritage here. Cobbett, however, gave an explanation. In the Preface to *The American gardener* (1821, para. 3) he wrote,

It seems, at first sight, very odd that this taste for gardening should not have been preserved in America; but, it is accounted for by reflecting, that where land is abundant, attachment and even attention to small plots wear away... When large parcels of land are undertaken to be cultivated, small ones are held in contempt; and though a good garden supplies so large a part of what is consumed by a family... there are many farmers... who grudge even a wheelbarrow full of manure that is bestowed on a garden.

To Cobbett, the devoted gardener, this was an unacceptable situation. As he had already written elsewhere, “I can never leave this country without an attempt to make every farmer a gardener.”

*The American gardener* is a comprehensive, well-planned manual on gardening, in the broadest sense. The style is simple and clear. The instructions are detailed and explain why, as well as how, things are done. He made the book useful for a wide range of climatic environments by giving season rather than date for each operation, and by making comparisons of English and American practices. This was an especially useful detail, for nearly all the gardening books then available were by English authors for English readers. The book is entertaining, too, for Cobbett had a keen eye for the quirks of human nature. In his 1821 edition he wrote (para. 9),

Tell a gentleman, that this is wrong, or that is wrong, in the management of his garden, and he instantly and half-angrily replies, that his gardener is a very skillful man. “That may be,” said I once to a friend, “... for skill may consist in getting you to expend your money without getting you any fruit.”

Cobbett would have approved of today’s little greenhouses attached to so many homes, observing (1823 edition, para. 99), “A door, opening from a parlor into a greenhouse, makes the thing very pleasant;... [and] comes fairly within the scope of usefulness; for, from it the females of a family would receive constant amusement and delight during a season when they are cut off from almost all other recreation.”

He made practical suggestions for labor-saving equipment. He pointed out that American soils and climates were better than those of England, but were so varied that no one book could apply to all parts of the country. Just as we do a century and a half later, he based his instructions on the climate of his own residence (New York) and relied on readers to adjust his timing to their own local conditions.

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* A year’s residence in the *United States of America*. 1818-1819. (Vol. 1, p. 65.)
THE
ENGLISH GARDENER;
OR,
A TREATISE
On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

And also
On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with

A Kalendar,
Giving Instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

"I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding: and, lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the stone-wall thereof was broken down.

Then I saw and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction."—Proverbs: Chap. XXIV. Ver. 26.

PRINTED BY R. BEALEY, ANGOVER,
AND
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR, 183, FLEET STREET, LONDON;
AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.
1829

Fig. 19. Title-page facsimile (reduced), The English gardener (1829).
Hunt Botanical Library copy
In a sentence in his Preface (para. 6) he summed up the appeal of gardening for his generation and for ours: "Some persons may think, that Flowers are things of no use... For my part, as a thing to keep and not to sell; as a thing, the possession of which is to give me pleasure, I hesitate not a moment to prefer the plant of a fine carnation to a gold watch set with diamonds."

2a. The English gardener. London, 1829. (For title-page, see Fig. 19.)

Collation: 12°: A² B-U¹² X¹⁰; 240 unnumbered leaves. (Library of Congress Catalog reports its copy to have 479 pages, implying them to be numbered; that copy not seen.) [D.S.K.]

Contents: Ai title, Ai² □; Az² □; Br-Xy text, description of the development of kitchen gardens, hotbeds, and greenhouses, and the formation and cultivation of shrubbery and flower gardens including a list of shrubs and flowers; Xz² □; Xx-zXy calendar of garden duties for each month of the year; Xy² □; Xy-z classification of shrubs; Xy-z-Xy classification of flowers; Xy² □; Xy²-Xy² index; Xz² printer’s imprint; Xz² □. Running titles: chapter subject headings. Text illustrations: two diagrams of garden plans, unnumbered on Br², Cs²; six relief cuts of various phases of gardening numbered "Plate II," and Plates “3-8,” untitled, unsigned on Es², Lt², Lt², Mt², Ns², Os² (text on opposite side of each respective illustration). [D.S.K.]

Paper: page size: 108 x 189 mm [Hunt Botanical Library copy, cut but untrimmed], white wove. No watermarks. [D.S.K.]

Printer: B. Bensley, Andover.

Publisher: William Cobbett, 183 Fleet Street, London “and sold by all booksellers.”

Publication date: In his Political register (6 September 1828, cols. 315-318, and again in 20 September 1828, cols. 382-383), Cobbett announced, “The English Gardener. I have now finished and published this work, and am here about to give an account of it to my readers... This book I have now made, and have just published.” This strongly suggests the publication date to be 1828 (vs. title-page date of 1829), but confirmation from independent sources remains to be documented.

Note: a second London imprint of the same date, but not seen, differs in its title-page reading: The English gardener: a treatise on kitchen-gardens, hot-beds and greenhouses, and on the propagation and cultivation of plants and fruit-trees. . . .

2b. The English gardener. London, 1833. (For title-page, see Fig. 20.)

THE

ENGLISH GARDENER;

OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers.

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving Instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

FOR OLDHAM.

"I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding
"and, lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the stones,
"well thereof was broken down. Then I saw and considered it well: I looked upon it, and
"received instruction."—Proverbs chap. xxiv. ver. 30.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED AT 11. BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET;

AND MAY BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1833.

Fig. 20. Title-page facsimile (reduced) The English gardener (1833).

Hunt Botanical Library copy
CONTENTS: A1r title; A1v printer’s imprint; A2v table of contents, A3r []; B5r-Y5r text, description of the development of kitchen gardens, hotbeds, and greenhouses, and the formation and cultivation of shrubbery and flower gardens including a list of shrubs and flowers; Y5r-Y7r calendar of garden duties for each month of the year; Y8r classification of shrubs; Y8r classification of flowers; Z1r index; Z1r printer’s imprint. Running titles: chapter subject headings. Text illustrations: one diagram of a garden plan, unnumbered on B5r; 12 relief cuts of various phases of gardening numbered “Plate II,” and “Plates 3-13,” unsigned, unnumbered on E4, L2, L5r, M2r, M2r, M3r, N6r, O8r, O8r (text on opposite side of each respective illustration). [D.S.K.]

PLATE: one foldout engraving of a garden plan, unnumbered, inserted between C4r and C5r. Engraver: Edward Garsed; artist: B. R. Davies. Plate marks for the height are cut off top and bottom, that for the width is 276 mm. The so-called Plates 12 and 13 on O8r and O8r are numbered as “Plate 8. Fig. 1.,” and “Plate 8. Fig. 2. Fig. 3. Fig. 4.” respectively. [D.S.K.]

PAPER: page size: 128 x 211 [Hunt Botanical Library copy, cut], white, wove. No watermarks. For plate: white, wove. [D.S.K.]

PRINTER: Mills, Jowett, and Mills, of 11 Bolt-Court, Fleet Street, London.

PUBLISHER: The same, “and may be had of all booksellers.”

EDITOR’S NOTES: As the title-page reports, this edition was published after Cobbett’s election to Parliament as a member for Oldham (a borough of Lancashire) in 1832.

This is a new edition in that it has been completely reset and new text figures provided, although nowhere does Cobbett identify it as such. The texts of the two editions are substantially the same, and even textual errors are not corrected in this one (e.g., para. 29, where the calculated area for a plot of ground is given as 156 square rods, but should have read 146 square rods). The error in paragraph number sequence of the first edition (where there is no para. 47) is corrected, and all paragraph numbers in this second edition, commencing with Chapter III, are one less than the corresponding number in the first edition. New figures (“Plates” ife Cobbett) are added to paras. 241-245, and paragraph numbering ceases with the descriptive listing of shrubs (p. 232)—but without textual change. Additional names of plants appear in the “Classification of Shrubs” and “Classification of Flowers,” on the unnumbered leaf [pages 335, 336] immediately preceding the index. Copies sold for six shillings at time of publication.

2c The English gardener. London, 1838.

Collation: 8°: pp. 338, illus.


Collation: 12°: pp. [3], 405, [5]. illus.
The similarity between title-page typography and contents of this work and Cobbett's earlier *The American gardener*, 1821 (see no. 1a and Fig. 15), provides clear evidence that this is an adaptation of the earlier book for English readers. Despite the presence in this work of occasional sentences, but rarely of a whole paragraph, lifted from the "prototype" it must be considered as having been written anew, and solely and pertinently for a British audience. Almost every page contains examples and observations based on Cobbett's personal experiences in England or taken from British publications. In fact, with his usual keen sense of British political sensitivities of that day, he wisely mentions the title *The American gardener* rarely, and very rarely does he cite his personal observations of American plants or of experiences gained when living in America. Cobbett seems to scrupulously avoid such, and although he was promoting the sale of American varieties of fruit trees at this time, he omits reference to them in this work (e.g., he extols the 'Greening' apple, but in his nursery lists he offers only the 'Rhode Island Greening'). His account of Indian corn (para. 142) describes its culture in America, but without reference to his own monograph published the previous year (see no. 6a). In that work he claimed that his variety 'Cobbett's Corn' was developed from French stock and that it was not the same as the 'Nova Scotia' variety then grown in Canada and in England; a claim that had been severely criticised (see p. 97). Obviously sensitive to the criticism, Cobbett retreats in *The English gardener* (para. 142) by noting, "... there is a dwarf sort which will ripen equally well on land 500 miles to the north of the last-mentioned place [Boston, Mass.]. Whether this be the same sort as that which I cultivate, I do not exactly know; but mine never fails to come to perfection in England, be the summer what it may."

Many books on gardening preceded this one by Cobbett. The fact that it went through four editions, spread over a period of nearly two decades, augurs well for Cobbett's business acumen in recognizing a literature void that needed to be filled. Perhaps one reason that it was successful rests with the conditions of that period, when gardening was a craft learned through

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9 Once (para. 28), when explaining grape-vine pruning, he referred to it with, "I have in my book on *American gardening*, given instruction for the performing of this work in the espalier form."
arduous apprenticeship, when the gardener's word was final and the Master could demand only a satisfactory performance and rarely question why or how. Cobbett's book provided clear answers for the "gentlemen of the house" on the why and the how, presented annotated lists of varieties to be grown, and encompassed it all in a little volume that could readily be carried in the pocket. Cobbett's style was readable, free from pedantism and technical terms, and his paragraphs were laced with references to names of persons and places associated with success in the subject discussed; the kind of logical presentation that carried conviction to the erstwhile educated man who had no special competence in this field. Smith vol. 2, p. 232. 1878, commenting on Cobbett's style, wrote, "The peculiar merit of Cobbett's books is their readableness . . . There never lived, probably, a writer equal to Cobbett in rural description; one . . . who could make a mere gardening book entertaining. There is so much lively illustration, that the reader is forced to take an interest in what he is reading." One guesses that this opinion came from a non-gardener, but perhaps it is for that reason more complimentary. At any rate, no gardener will think the less of his information when it is served attractively.

While no contemporary reviews of this book have been located, an unidentified correspondent wrote to John Loudon in 1834 inquiring of the merits of Cobbett's Gardening, observing, "I have reason to believe that Mr. Cobbett's book has been extensively influential among the higher orders of society; and that . . . it has been a means of raising disputes between gardeners and their employers." (Gardener's magazine 10: 181-182, (April) 1834).

3 An epitome of Mr. Forsyth's treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees. . . . Philadelphia, 1803. (For title-page, see Fig. 21.)


Contents: Aiv title, Axiv □; A2v advertisement; Brv-Riv text, account of Forsyth's treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees; R1v □; R2v-Xiv notes on fruits and American gardening; Xiv □; X3v-2Av explanation of the engravings; 2A3v-2A4v index. No running titles. [D.S.K.]

Plates: 15 engravings of garden plants, grafting and inarching, garden tools, and house plans numbered "Plate i-Plate xiv" and Pl. xiv-xv."; plates 1-13 are titled at top in the vernacular (e.g., Plate I. "APRICOT."); and are unsigned; plates 14-15 are untitled and unsigned. Folded plates: 1-14. All are inserted between Z4 and 2A1v. Plate marks are mostly cut off and are mostly inadequate for accurate measurements (Plate vi measures 250 x 191 mm). [D.S.K.]
AN

EPITOME

OF

MR. FORSYTH'S TREATISE

ON THE

CULTURE AND MANAGEMENT

OF

FRUIT-TREES.

ALSO,

NOTES ON AMERICAN GARDENING AND FRUITS:

WITH DESIGNS FOR PROMOTING THE RIPENING OF FRUITS, AND SECURING THEM AS FAMILY COMFORTS:

AND FURTHER,

OF ECONOMICAL PRINCIPLES IN BUILDING FARMERS' HABITATIONS.

BY AN AMERICAN FARMER

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY T. L. FLOWMAN,

FOR JOHN MORGAN, NO. 26, SOUTH THIRD-STREET.

1803.
It is to be noted that plates i-xii are reproductions of those in Forsyth. Each has its own title. Plates xii-xiv are new, are quite different in style and subject, and are untitled. It would appear that they had been selected by Cobbett and perhaps prepared under his direction. [D.S.M.]

**Paper:** page size: 127×208 mm [Hunt Botanical Library copy is cut and trimmed], white, wove. Plates: white, laid, chain lines vertical. No watermarks. [D.S.K.]

**Printer:** T. L. Plowman.

**Publisher:** John Morgan, No. 26 South Third Street, Philadelphia (for note on Morgan, see p. 94).

**Editor’s Note:** the *Epitome of Mr. Forsyth’s treatise* . . . is an anonymous work (see Fig. 21 for title-page). It is included here because Cobbett has been credited by some cataloguers as its author or editor. After a critical study of the volume, together with the works of contemporary botanical and horticultural authors, Ian MacPhail offered the presumption that this book was written by John Beale Bordley (1772-1804), an American lawyer and agriculturist. The following account was prepared by MacPhail for a third volume of the Hunt Catalogue prior to the decision to terminate that work with Volume Two (1961), and, with his permission, is gratefully quoted below.

"In the catalogues of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society and the Arnold Arboretum this work is attributed to Benjamin Smith Barton. It is virtually certain that he did not write it, since pp. 155 and 159 contain references to Barton’s work on the natural history of Pennsylvania in terms which even the most self-opinionated author would scarcely use in writing of his own work. The designation on the title-page, ‘An American Farmer,’ is also one that can hardly have been applied to Barton. William Cobbett has been suggested [in Library of Congress Catalog] as another candidate, but this too is unlikely as Cobbett had already contributed an introduction and notes to an American edition of Forsyth’s *Treatise on the culture of fruit trees* published by Morgan in the year previous, and besides, patriotic Englishman that he was, was not the man to refer to himself as an American farmer.

Certain indications in the work point to the true author as being John Beale Bordley, author of *Essays and notes on husbandry and rural affairs*, Philadelphia, 1799, and *Sketches on rotation of crops*, Philadelphia, 1797. Firstly, the preface refers to Bordley’s own work, *Essays and notes on husbandry*, admittedly in the third person, but it is possible to interpret this in terms of the prevailing convention by which an author does so refer to himself. Secondly, he writes on p. 140 of ‘conversations’ with Richard Parkinson, the author of *A tour in America*, London, 1805. Parkinson discloses in that work that one of his chief friends in America was Bordley and he even includes, as an appendix, an extract from the latter’s *Sketches*. Thirdly, in both the present work and the *Sketches* the author uses the word ‘maiz,’ spelling it so in both, in preference to the more usual designation of Indian corn or the spelling of maize. While none of these points are conclusive, in combination they form a reasonable presumption in favour of Bordley’s authorship.

Some explanation remains to be found for the fact that this ‘edition’ and the ‘edition’ of 1804 are identical impressions but printed on different paper, that of 1803 on wove paper and that of 1804 on laid, and for different publishers."
The above quotation of MacPhail’s study provides provocative presumptions. Although his grounds for the rejection of both Barton and of Cobbett as possible authors or editors appears to be well grounded, a stronger case for Bordley is desired. The “Advertisement” in the Epitome reports that the essays and notes were published singly, “... in a pamphlet; and afterwards inserted in the volume of collected essays and notes on husbandry.” As Miss Manks has noted to me (in litt.), if it is shown that this does match the history of Bordley’s book Essays and notes on husbandry (1799), another point in support of Bordley will have been established. One needs to study the writings of Bordley more thoroughly, and to point out—if available—the parallels of basic subject matter or of treatment between those works and this Epitome. When raising this point, Miss Manks observed “... one can identify Forsyth’s thoughts, and even his words, for they come through in unmistakable style, even in the part where one expects the influence of the ‘American farmer’ to appear. The author identifies his own comments on architecture. There seems little left to be credited to the ‘American farmer.’” Of course, this is not of itself the work of the “American farmer,” but his adaptation of a work by Forsyth. The entire volume does not have to be Americanized, but those passages that do present such adaptations should be established to have been written by an American of competence. John Beale Bordley may have been that American. If the answers to Miss Manks’ queries are put forward, and are found to give added support to MacPhail’s presumption, bibliographers and cataloguers must bear the burden of proof and show cause before ascribing the authorship (or editorship) to another person.

Collation: 12°: 1-212; 1-7 8-48. [D.S.K.]

Contents: 11° □; 17° relief cut of water cress; 11° title; 17° certificate of registration “Entered according to Act of Congress, in 1852, by E. Hutchinson.”; 15° index, with heading “AMERICAN GARDENER.”; 47° □; 11°-22° text; a describing account of plants and shrubs for the garden and their respective care and cultivation. Running title: 11°-22° THE AMERICAN GARDENER.” (rectos and versos). [D.S.K.]

Plate: frontispiece, relief cut of water cress, captioned “No. 4. | Nasturtium Officinale | Water Cress.” Signature obscured by plate defacement, but suggests “LINDELEY” (?); plate marks cut off. The plate not reported by Stapf in Index londinensis. Lindley’s figure 120 (p. 140) of water cress (in Lindley, J. Medical and oeeonomical botany, London, 1849) is very similar, but not identical, to this figure in Cobbett and could have served as the prototype. [D.S.K.]

Paper: page size, 110 × 187 mm; wove. No watermarks. The paper of the original wrapper (pale yellow) is different from that for the text. [D.S.K.]

4 Garden flowers; ... New York, 1853. (For title-page, see Fig. 22.)

Collation: 12°: 1-212; 1-7 8-48. [D.S.K.]

Contents: 7° □; 11° relief cut of water cress; 11° title; 17° certificate of registration “Entered according to Act of Congress, in 1852, by E. Hutchinson.”; 15° index, headed “AMERICAN GARDENER.” 11° □; 11°-21° text, a descriptive account of plants and
GARDEN FLOWERS:
CONTAINING
A FULL DESCRIPTION
OF ALL IMPORTANT
PLANTS AND SHRUBS
FOR THE GARDEN.

ALSO, THE
Best Method of Cultivating Flowers and Vegetables,
PREPARING HOT-BEDS, GREEN-HOUSES, &c. &c.

BY WM. COBBITT, M.P.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED AT 123 NASSAU STREET.
1853.

PLATE: One frontispiece relief cut of water cress, captioned "No. 4. Nasturtium Officinale Water Cress" signature, obscured by plate defacement, suggests "LINDLEY." titled in English and with the binomial; plate-marks cut off. The plate is not reported in Index londinensis. [D.S.K.]

PAPER: page size, 110 x 187 mm; wove. No watermarks. The paper of the original yellow wrapper is different from that used for the text. [D.S.K.]

PRINTER: J. J. Reed.

PUBLICATION DATE: "Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by E. Hutchinson ..." No contemporary reviews or announcements have been seen.

COMMENTARY

This is a much-condensed version of Cobbett's American gardener. It is reduced to practical instruction, as if designed for quick reference, but it is squeezed dry of the sparkle, charm and wit of the genuine Cobbett. There is an occasional rephrasing of paragraphs. At least a little editorial work was done in addition to the reduction of the text, particularly to include comments on the findings of Liebig. Although Sir Humphrey Davy (1778-1829) was Cobbett's contemporary, Justus von Liebig lived between 1803 and 1873, and hence his scientific career came after William Cobbett's death in 1835.

No editorial introduction is provided, and one is at a loss to account for this book. No review of it seems to have appeared in the standard gardening magazines of its day, and it is not mentioned by any of the biographers or bibliographers of William Cobbett and his works which were consulted in this study. The title is not reported in any of the standard library catalogues and the only known copy is that at the Massachusetts Horticultural Society library, and which served for this study. [Ed.]

5a [Jethro Tull’s] The horse-hoeing husbandry; . . . to which is prefixed, an Introduction, explanatory of some circumstances connected with the history and division of the work; and containing an account of certain experiments of recent date. By William Cobbett. London, John M. Cobbett, 1822.

COLLATION: 8°; xix[i], 332 p.

CONTENTS: The Introduction by Cobbett occupies pp. i-xix.
5b [Same]. London, William Cobbett, 1829.

Collation: 8°; xxiv, 466 p.

Commentary

Jethro Tull (1674-1741), noted English agriculturist, is famous for his invention of the horse-drawn drill for seed planting, and as the chief (but not the first) exponent of growing field crops in rows. His first book on these subjects, *The new horse-houghing husbandry: . . .* (London, 1731) was followed by several successive editions, of which those cited above have significant introductions by Cobbett. While at first Tull’s ideas, revolutionary for his time, were adopted with hesitancy, time has proven the correctness of his thesis and the principle of his invention has yet to be improved.

These two editions by Cobbett, were then, revivals of a book which was to have marked constructive influence in farming practice. As Cobbett explained in his Introduction, Tull’s various attempts at revision were never done in a very orderly way. “He never published a new and complete edition in one volume, but took the several parts, bound them up in one volume, and . . . made continual references to what had gone on before.”

Cobbett brought continuity into the text, inserting Tull’s revisionary notes as footnotes to primary passages. By further editing, “to make a useful, and not a curious, book,” he omitted outdated sections, and included, as his contribution, his results of experimentation on the merits of the “Tullian” system with that of grains grown from broadcast sowing. Statistically, he demonstrated the superiority of Tull’s method.

6 A list of field seeds and garden seeds,...New York, 1819. (For title-page, see Fig. 23.)

Collation: 12°: 1-2; 1-3 4-30. [D.S.K.]

Contents: 11° title; 11° registration certificate dated “the sixth day of April, in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States [1819];” 17°-37° an account of the various seeds, and their sowing, cultivation, and uses; 34° ☐. No running titles. The copy at the American Antiquarian Society has a small errata slip (see Fig. 24) inserted at the end, between 37° and 37°. [D.S.K.]

Paper: page size: 98 × 161 mm (Arnold Arboretum copy), white, wove. That of the second copy located (American Antiquarian Society) is uncut and unbound, with page size 115 × 195 mm. Watermarks (unidentified) are on 21°, 22°, 37°. [D.S.K.]

Printer: “Clayton & Kingsland, No. 15 Cedar Street” [New York].
LIST

Field Seeds and Garden Seeds,
CONTAINED IN ONE OF THE BOOKS;
SOLD FOR FIVE DOLLARS.

ALSO,
HINTS RESPECTING THE SOWING OF EACH SORT
OF SEED, AND THE CULTIVATION
OF THE PLANTS.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

Sold at W. COBBETT'S SEED AND BOOK
STORE, No. 63 FULTON-STREET,
NEW-YORK;
And by Mr. JOHN MORGAN, PHILADELPHIA.

NEW YORK
PRINTED BY CLAYTON & KINGSLAND.
The 20 Beaver-Street.
1819.

Fig. 23. Title-page facsimile, List of field seeds and garden seeds (1819). American Antiquarian Society copy
PUBLISHER: William Cobbett. Sold at W. Cobbett’s Seed and Book Store, No. 63 Fulton Street, New York; and by Mr. John Morgan, Philadelphia.

EDITOR’S NOTE: John Morgan opened a bookstore in 1802 at 26 South Third Street, Philadelphia. Watson (1870, p. 223) reports him to have been an Englishman known to Cobbett during the latter’s first stay in America (1792–1800), and that, in partnership with Cobbett, he later opened a book store in Fall Mall (London) under the name “Crown, Bible, and Mitre.” Neither the date of this reported partnership, nor of Morgan’s return to Philadelphia have been ascertained.

Fig. 24. Errata slip, List of field seeds and garden seeds (1819). American Antiquarian Society copy

COMMENTARY

Here appears another facet of William Cobbett’s surprising personality—the able merchant. According to the “Advertisement,” headed “English seeds for the field and for the garden,” he reports he has introduced to America, in March 1819, a large stock of seeds for field and garden. For customers who wanted an assortment, he made up a standard collection, of fifty kinds, in quantity sufficient for a large garden, plus a small quantity of field seeds for trial.
The 30-page pamphlet of cultural directions was supplied with each box of seeds. On page 6 he wrote, “I call the remarks Hints, and, indeed, they are merely hints. They are, in fact, abridged extracts from a book on Kitchen gardening and Cattle-feeding, which I have partly written; but which I cannot get ready for the press soon enough to be of use during this present spring.”

The list shows the twentieth-century reader the types and varieties of vegetables then available for the tables of America, and the field crops being grown.10 Among the latter he listed chicory (Cichorium intybus), white clover (Trifolium repens), cow clover (Trifolium medium), cole seed or rape (Brassica napus), 11 kinds of grass, Hemp (Cannabis indica), lucerne (Medicago sativa), sainfoin (Onobrychis vicifolia), mangel wurzel (Beta vulgaris), trefoil or hop clover (Medicago lupulina). The garden seeds included globe artichoke (Cynara scolymus), three kinds of broccoli, six kinds of cabbage, kale, carrot, cauliflower, celery, charille (Anthriscus cerefolium), corn-salad (Valerianella olitoria), cress called pepper-grass (Lepidium sativum), two kinds of endive (Cichorium endiva), fennel (Foeniculum vulgare), two kinds of leek (Allium porrum), seven kinds of lettuce, white mustard, nasturtium (=present-day water-cress (Roripa nasturtium-aquaticum), Deptford onion (Allium cepa), two kinds of parsley, long white parsnip, five kinds of radish, ruta baga (Brassica napobrassica), rampion (Campanula rapunculus), two kinds of oyster plant (Tragopogon porrifolius), skirret (Sium sisarum), sorrel (Runex acetosa), spinach, three kinds of turnip, red beet. (Cobbett’s spellings are preserved.)

7a A treatise on Cobbett’s corn. London, 1828. (For title-page, see Fig. 25.)

Collation: 12°: A³ B-N¹² O³; 148 leaves (unnumbered). [D.S.K.]

Contents: A¹ title; A³ printer’s imprint; A³⁰ table of contents; B¹-B⁶ text, description and history of corn, its cultivation, care, and Cobbett’s address to the readers of the register; O⁷ printer’s imprint. Running titles: chapter subject headings. Text illustrations: three relief cuts of corn on B⁶ (B⁶ ☐), Fiz² (Fiz² ☐), G⁸ (G⁸ ☐), untitled, unsigned. [D.S.K.]

Paper: page size: 103 × 178 mm [Hunt Botanical Library copy, cut and trimmed], white, wove. No watermarks. [D.S.K.]

Printer: Mills, Jowett, and Mills, at 11 Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.

Publisher: William Cobbett, 183 Fleet Street, London.

10 Modern botanical names for these plants have been added as an aid to identification. (Ed.)
A TREATISE
ON
COBBETT'S CORN,

Containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop;

AND ALSO

An Account of the several Uses to which the Produce is applied, with Minute Directions relative to each Mode of Application.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

"Men of the greatest learning, have spent their time in contriving instruments to measure the immense distance of the stars, and in finding out the dimensions and even the weight of the planets. They think it more eligible to study the art of ploughing the sea with ships, than of tilling the land with ploughs. They boast the almost of their skill, learnedly to pervert the natural use of all the elements, for the destruction of their own species by the bloody art of war; and some waste their whole lives in studying how to turn death with new engines of horror, and inventing an infinite variety of slaughter, but think it beneath men of learning (who only are capable of doing it), to employ their learned labours in the invention of new, or even in improving the old, means for the increasing of bread."—Thal's Husbandry.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM COBBETT, 185, FLEET-STREET.

1828.
7b A treatise on Cobbett’s corn . . . with an addition, containing a statement of the result of experience up to the harvest of 1831 . . . London, W. Cobbett, 1831.

Collation: 12°: vi, 340 p. 190 mm. “Second edition” (p. 3).

Commentary

Cobbett had studied the importance of maize, or Indian corn, in America, and recognized its nutritional value, both as food for man and as fodder for livestock. In his efforts to popularize the plant in England, where for centuries the name corn had designated the cereal grains (wheat, rye, barley), he designated a selected and dwarf early maturing variety of maize as Cobbett’s Corn, observing “... this is not of the same sort as that of any of the corn that I ever saw in America... I have called it dwarf corn; but, that word does not sufficiently designate it [for] there are in America, two or three sorts that are called dwarf; but, that all differ greatly from this...” Cobbett later explains (Chapt. 2, paras. 27-28) that his new variety had been brought to England in 1826 by his son William, from Artois, France. [Ed.]

Melville, in his study of this book (1913, 2: 205) reports,

He [Cobbett] was interested in his seed farm near the High Street, Kensington, and where he endeavoured to grow several plants and trees indigenous to America, and it was in recognition of his introduction of Indian corn that the Society of Arts presented him, in 1833, with its silver medal. When, some years later, Cobbett removed to Barn Elms, in Surrey, he continued his experiments and made strenuous efforts to popularize Cobbett’s Corn.

The records of the Society of Arts do not confirm this account of the medal, although their award was given for an equally significant reason: a Connecticut farmer’s daughter sent to the Society a bonnet she had made from a straw, which Cobbett found to be similar to that used in the Italian leghorn hats, and of species which grew in large numbers in England. Accordingly, there appeared in the Society’s Transactions (41: 98-108, 1823) a paper titled “Papers on Manufactures no. I. Fine Plat,” signed W. Cobbett, and dated Kensington, April 14, 1823. Prefacing the lengthy account is the statement,

The Large Silver Medal was this session given to Mr. Cobbett, of Kensington, for the application of native English grasses as the material of fine plat. The following communication on the selection and preparation of the grasses has been received from the candidate, and specimens of them in their unprepared, and prepared, states and manufactured into plat, are placed in the Society’s repository.
To demonstrate the added usefulness of Indian corn, Cobbett used paper made from the husks. In his *Political register* for 27 December 1828 (col. 831), appears the notice: “Corn paper. The Register after the next will be printed upon paper made of the husks of my own corn.” In the issue of 10 January 1829 (col. 36), he reports “the title page and table of contents in my *Treatise on Cobbett’s Corn* were printed on paper made of the husks of that corn.”

Of course, Cobbett’s claim to have introduced corn into England overlooked the detailed reports given by Philip Miller (*The gardener’s dictionary* ed. 8, 1768). The British press of 1829 reported numerous objections to Cobbett’s claim to having introduced the plant into Britain, and to his sponsorship of a crop so dependent on the “angel visits” of the rare season that would be favorable to its maturing before the frosts would kill it (see *Gardening magazine* 5: 106. 1829). One correspondent observed (*op. cit.* pp. 617-619, October, 1829) that “Indian corn, or maize, has been hitherto well known as an ornamental plant, ... but many of its valuable properties have been somewhat exaggerated by a very popular political writer [i.e., Cobbett].”

James Grieg (1830), a Bayswater nurseryman, reported success with seed of Cobbett’s corn, although a contemporary (*op. cit.* pp. 63-64) considered it to be the same as that readily available in the English trade as Nova Scotia corn.

Cobbett recounts in detail his observations in America on all aspects of corn culture, harvest, and use. In doing so, he paints many graphic word-pictures of early 19th-century scenes of American rural life. The book itself seems not to have made any impact on British agrarian life (where Indian corn has never been of economic importance), nor to have been reported or quoted in the American press of its day. Cobbett’s image in America at that time was vividly that of a propagandizing quarrelsome agitator, and hence, perhaps few Americans could conceive of his writing so moderately and objectively, and with obvious sincerity.

8a. *A treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees; ...* by William Forsyth, ... *To which are added, an introduction and notes, ...* by William Cobbett. Philadelphia, 1802. (For title-page, see Fig. 26.)

*Collation: 8°: A¹ B-zH⁴ zL⁴ 2K-2L⁴; i-v vi-viii ix x-xii 1 2-190 191-193 194-204 205-207 208-220 221-223 224-233 234-236 237-239 251 252-259 260 (224 48 “324”). [D.S.K.]*

*11 A correspondent, writing to John Loudon, and reported in *The gardener’s magazine* 5: 111-112, (Feb.) 1829, observed that “Mr. Cobbett has written a most excellent and amusing book on Indian corn, and has explained all the uses to which it can be applied, except making beer and spirits of it.”*
A TREATISE
ON
THE CULTURE AND MANAGEMENT
OF
FRUIT TREES;
IN WHICH
A NEW METHOD OF PRUNING AND TRAINING
IS FULLY DESCRIBED.
TOGETHER WITH
OBSERVATIONS
ON
The Diseases, Defects, and Injuries, in all kinds of Fruit and
Forest Trees;
AS ALSO,
AN ACCOUNT OF A PARTICULAR METHOD OF CURE,
Made public by order of the British Government.

BY WILLIAM FORSYTH, F. A. S. & F. S. A.
Gardener to his Majesty at Kensington and St. James's.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,
ADAPTING THE RULES OF THE TREATISE TO THE
Climates and Seasons of the United States of America.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed for J. Morgan, 31 South Second Street.
1802.
CONTENTS: A1 half title, Aii title, A2r ; A3r introduction addressed to James Paul of Bustleton, Pa., signed "WILLIAM COBBETT."; Bii-B3r preface of the author; Bii-B4r text, description of the culture and management of fruit trees including pathology and proper care of fruit and forest trees, 2Eii-2F4r appendix; 2Gii-2H3r supplement; 2Hii ; 2H4-2K3r explanation of plates; 2K4-2L4r index; 2L4r . Running titles across verso and recto: "Treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees, &c." [D.S.K.]

PLATES: 13 engravings of garden plants, grafting and inarching, and garden tools numbered "Plate i-xiii" titled at top in the vernacular (e.g., Plate I "apricot"), unsigned; inserted between 2H4 and 2K4. Folded plates: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13. Plate marks mostly cut off. Only a few are present and would be inadequate for accurate measurements. [D.S.K.]

PAPER: page size: 121 x 208 mm [Hunt Botanical Library copy, cut and trimmed], white, laid; chain lines vertical. Plates: white, wove; folded plates; white, wove. No watermarks. [D.S.K.]

PRINTER: not identified.

PUBLISHER: John Morgan, 51 South Second Street, Philadelphia (for note on Morgan, see p. 94).

8b A treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees; . . . New York, 1802.


DATE OF PUBLICATION: 1802. No evidence has been found to establish priority of the Philadelphia edition (no. 8a) over this one. However, it is known that John Morgan, the Philadelphia publisher, was a friend of Cobbett's and later returned to London to be his partner, and it is reasonable to assume that Cobbett, then in England, would have sent Morgan the manuscript for publication. Hence the New York edition is placed after that of Philadelphia. [Ed.]

8c A treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees. Albany, 1803.

Contents: A1" half title, A1v "; A2v title, A2r "; A3r-A4r introduction to James Paul is signed “WILLIAM COBBETT.”; Br-B2v preface of the author By-C4r text, description of the culture and management of fruit trees including pathology and proper care of fruit and forest trees; 2E1r-2F4v appendix; 2G1r-2H3r supplement; 2H3v "; 2H4r-2K3r explanation of plates; 2K4r-2L4r index; 2L4v "; 2M1v-2M4r letter by Peter W. Yates to Daniel and Samuel Whiting on Forsyth’s treatise signed “PETER W. YATES.” and dated “Albany, September, 1803.” Running titles: book title. [D.S.K.]

Plates: identical in every respect to those accounted in no. 17 above.

Paper: page size: 121 × 208 mm [Hunt Botanical Library copy, cut and trimmed], white, laid; the chain lines vertical. Plates: white, laid; the chain lines vertical. Folded plates: white, laid; the chain lines horizontal on plates 6-9, but vertical on plates 1-5 and 10-13. The plate paper is much heavier than the text paper, with the exception of that for “Plate xii” which resembled the text paper. Hunt Botanical Library copy 2 has all of its plates on white, laid paper with vertical chain lines. No watermarks in any of the papers. [D.S.K.]

Printer: not identified.


Note: This is a completely reset and new edition from those of 1802, but differs in content only by the addition of the “Communication” (pp. 273-280) by Peter W. Yates. This addition, perhaps one of the more valuable contributions of the book, is a well-written and informative promotion piece arranged for by the publishers and to whom Yates addressed it, to win confidence of prospective purchasers in the rich Hudson River Valley fruit belt. Peter Waldron Yates (1747-1816), of Albany and former member of Congress (1785-1789), was then a highly respected lawyer and gentleman farmer widely known throughout the region. [Ed.]

Date of publication: 1803, after 1 September, the date of Yates’ “Communication.”

Commentary

Cobbett’s “Introduction” gives a valuable opinion on Forsyth’s own work by an equally expert gardener. In the summer of 1801 Cobbett visited William Forsyth (1737-1804), in Kensington, outside London, and was shown the orchards and the manuscript of the book. The perfection of the orchard management was outstanding. Forsyth’s written account, and especially the illustrations, were clear and precise. Cobbett knew at once that he would like to make Forsyth’s book available to Americans.
In preparing the American edition, he made no changes in the original text. Instead, he added comments in brief footnotes, to explain differences between the practices suitable for English and those for American conditions. He directed attention especially to the chapters on apple and peach orchards, and on propagation. Since Forsyth used footnotes, too, a reader must sometimes judge the authorship of each by the sense of the individual comment.

To a twentieth-century reader, the instruction seems inadequate for it assumed a good deal more knowledge than many contemporary horticulturists and farmers might have. Yet the book is a landmark in the evolution of American horticultural literature. Expert opinions vary on its contemporary usefulness. Wilhelm Miller, in Bailey’s *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture* (p. 1568-1569), called it one of the most influential books on fruit growing in the period. Hedrick’s comment (1960, p. 473) was less enthusiastic. To his eye Cobbett’s attempts to adapt the Forsyth text offered only “... plain directions for planting, pruning, and harvesting fruits, with some consideration of the diseases of fruit trees—wide of the mark—with notes on gardening, on the planting and care of forest trees—(these of small importance in a land still covered with forests)—and a number of pages on the building of farm habitations.”

9 The Woodlands: ... London, 1825 [1826-1828]. (For title-page, see Fig. 27.)

Collation: 8º: A³ B-X³ Y⁴; 172 unnumbered leaves (the paragraphs numbered consecutively 1-601, from A6° to Y3°). [D.S.K.]

Contents: A1° title, A1° ; A2° dedication “to William Budd, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for the County of Berks.” signed “Wm. COBBETT.” and dated “Kensington, 1st December, 1825.”; A2° ; A3°-A5° preface signed “Wm. COBBETT,” and dated “Kensington, 1st December, 1825.”; A6°-Y2° text, description of the cultivation and care of trees including a list of trees from both America and England; Y5° index to trees; Y3° ; Y4° list of American tree and shrub seeds for sale by Cobbett; Y4° list of Cobbett’s publications for sale. Running titles: subject headings. Text illustrations: one relief cut of shoots of an apple tree on D4°, untitled, unsigned. [D.S.K.]

Paper: page size, 131, 212 mm (Hunt Botanical Library copy, cut and trimmed; watermarks “M [script]” ; 1822 on A3, B3, C2, D2, E4, F2; “1827 [circle]” on G4, I4, K1, L4, M1, O2, P2, Q1, R1, S3, T3, U2, X4, Y1. [D.S.K.]

Publication dates: 1826-1828. For details on its publication in parts, see Commentary below.
THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin name being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

BY WILLIAM COBETT.

LONDON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM COBETT,
No. 15, FLEET-STREET.

1825.
COMMENTARY

The title-page of *The Woodlands* is dated 1825, but the work was published in parts, with the last part issued in 1828. The publication history of the work is recorded in Cobbett’s *Political register*. Part 1 was advertised in the *Register* of 3 December 1825 (cols. 638-639), for release on 10 December, the whole to be published “in about 8 or 10 numbers, each 48 pages.” The first number included the Preface and the material through the section on age and size of plants and pruning of roots for planting. Part 2, announced on 9 December 1826 (cols. 689-693), was published on 1 January 1827, and included the section “Of the method of performing the work of planting.” He added, “I think, that after the next number, I shall publish the whole remainder of the work, in a month or two.”

There was delay, however, and in the *Register* of 28 July 1827 (cols. 300-301), he reported, “These experiments have made me rejoice, that I did not, last year, proceed with my work, *The Woodlands*, of which only about a 12th part has been published.” The experiments were those on raising trees from seed. Again, on 10 November 1827 (col. 410), he reported, “I did not bring out my work called the *Woodlands* last year, because the truth was, that I felt that I still wanted a good deal of experience in the rearing of trees from seed.” Finally, in the issue of 29 March 1828 (cols. 413-414), he reported, “This work is now finished, consisting of seven numbers... or the whole, neatly bound in boards, forming one octavo volume of about three hundred and forty pages.”

There are, throughout the text, numerous references to dates of events that fit the publication chronology. Furthermore, the signatures or gatherings were printed on different weights and quality of paper, and with variable watermarks (some of them dated).

More than any of Cobbett’s other non-political books, *The Woodlands* was written to meet a specific need: forest conservation, through the seed propagation and replanting of cut-over areas. Cobbett provided for every kind of arboricultural problem, from choice of site to the harvesting of mature trees for timber. In contrast to his policy in *The English gardener*, he featured many introductions from America, the length of the accounts
varying with the importance of the genus. After listing Latin, English, and French names, he provided a semi-technical botanical description, accounts of individual species and varieties, uses of both live plantings and of the wood, directions for the harvesting, storing, and planting of seed, and the care of young plants in the nursery. It is doubtful if any single twentieth-century volume on forestry is so comprehensive. Certainly, for general information on the subject, this one continues to be worth reading.

10a A year's residence in the United States of America. London, 1818-1819. (For title-page, Fig. 28.)


Contents: A1* title for part 1; A1* certificate of registration at Stationers' Hall [undated in Hunt copy], and printer's imprint; A2* contents for part 1; A2* [ ]; Br*-B4* general preface to the three parts signed "WM. COBBETT." dated "North Hempsted [sic], Long Island, 21st April, 1818."; By*-Ot* text for part 1, description of the country; its climate, seasons, and soil; an account of the cultivation of rutabaga; Ot* printer's imprint; χ1-χ2 publisher's advertisement dated 1 March 1818; Pt* title for part 2 [dated 1819]; Pt* certificate of registration at Stationers' Hall, and printer's imprint; Pt* contents for part 2, Pt* [ ]; Qt*-Q2* dedication "To Mr. RICHARD HINXMAN OF CHILLING IN HAMPSHIRE," signed "WM. COBBETT." and dated "North Hempstead, Long Island, 15th Nov. 1818."; Qt* [ ]; Qt*-Qt* preface to part 2 signed "WM. COBBETT." and dated "North Hempstead, Long Island, 15th November, 1818."; Qt* [ ]; Qt*-2H2* text for part 2, description on the cultivation of various vegetables; manners, customs, and character of the people along with other pertinent matter related to nineteenth century American living; 2H2* printer's imprint; χ1-χ8 publisher's advertisement dated 1 March 1818; 2I* title for part 3; 2I* certificate of registration at Stationers' Hall and printer's imprint; 2I* contents for part 3; 2I* [ ]; 2I* dedication "To TIMOTHY BROWN, Esq. of Peckham Lodge, SURREY," signed "WM. COBBETT." and dated "North Hempstead, Long Island, 10 Dec. 1818."; 2I* preface to part 3 signed "WM. COBBETT," and dated "North Hempstead, 10th December, 1818." 2Kt*-2Ot* text for part 3, an account of Hulme's tour in America and his visit to Birkbeck's settlement [at English Prairie, Illinois Territory]; 2Ot*-2T4* letter from Cobbett to Birkbeck; 2T4*-2T6* postscript on rutabaga; 2T6*-2U* second postscript on Fearon's falsehoods; 2U* contents for part 3, index to part 1; 2U* printer's imprint; χ1-χ4 publisher's advertisement dated 1 March 1818. Running titles: chapter headings. [D.S.K.]

Paper: page size: 132 x 203 mm [Hunt Botanical Library copy, cut and trimmed], white, wove. Watermarks "1816" D3, Fr; "1817" T2, U1, Y3, Z3, a1, b1, b3, d3, e2, f2, g3, k2, l3; "1818" 2N4, 2O2, 2Q1, 2S3, 2T4. [D.S.K.]

Printer: J. McCreery, Black-Horse-Court, London.
A YEAR'S RESIDENCE,
IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Treating of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Soil, the Products, the Mode of Cultivating the Land, the Prices of Land, of Labour, of Food, of Raiment; of the Expenses of House-keeping, and of the usual manner of Living; of the Manners and Customs of the People; and of the Institutions of the Country, Civil, Political, and Religious.

IN THREE PARTS.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

PART I.

Containing.—I. A Description of the Face of the Country, the Climate, the Seasons, and the Soil, the facts being taken from the Author's daily notes during a whole year.—II. An Account of the Author’s agricultural experiments in the Cultivation of the Rata Bago, or Russia, or Swedish Turnip, which afford proof of what the climate and soil are.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, NEELY, AND JONES,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1818.

Fig. 28. Title-page facsimile (reduced), A year's residence in the United States . . . (1818-1819).
Hunt Botanical Library copy
Manks: Horticultural writers

Note: Here, Cobbett has selected London's leading publisher of that time of horticultural, botanical, and agricultural books and journals. The Hunt Botanical Library copy of this work contains many leaves of their advertisements and announcements—all dated "March 1, 1818." [Ed.]

Publication dates: Part 1: 1818 (after 1 March); parts 2, 3: 1819 [para. 1066 of the Second Postscript, a letter by Mary Ann Churcher, is dated "8th January, 1819"]). The work was published separately in London and New York (see no. 22), and the later imprint reports the book to have first been published in London. Cobbett sent the manuscripts of each part home to his sons in separate lots, and may well have received proofs in return which served for the printing of the American edition.¹²


Collation: [5 parts in 1 volume, 432 pp., continuous pagination].


Publisher: "printed for the author." Cobbett was residing on Long Island during the period this book was produced and is presumed to have been his own publisher.

Dates of publication: Part One was published separately, after 6 June 1818, the Certificate of Registration Date. Parts Two and Three appear to have been published together, after 4 February 1819, also the Certificate of Registration date (see also under no. 21, above).

¹² Cobbett reports in his List of field seeds (1819, p. 3) "N.B. William Cobbett's Store will be opened, summer and winter, at sun-rise, and shut at sun-set. Boxes of seeds, as above described will be ready for sale on Monday, the fifth of April [1819]. The Third Part of Cobbett's Year's Residence will be published, at the above Store on the same day."
10c *A year's residence in the United States of America.* Ed. 2. London, Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1819 [Not seen].

10d *A year's residence in the United States of America.* Ed. 3. London, printed by B. Bensley, 1828 [Not seen].

COMMENTARY

In all of Cobbett's books considered here, one quality stands out as distinctly his own—a concern for people, an inner commitment to bettering their lot. It is particularly strong in *A year's residence in the United States of America.* Here he was offering to the impoverished farmers of England a possible escape from steadily worsening conditions. Contrasting the pauperism they knew with the independence of American farmers, he wrote, "Here Governors, Legislators, Presidents, all are farmers," and he pointed out that in the United States any man might go as far as his own industry and ambition would take him. This must have seemed to his English readers too good to be true.

The subtitle of the book defines the comprehensive range of Cobbett's observations; here one will find a combination of travel and farming, vivid descriptions of places and people, comments on life and customs, and discussions of farm life and farming practices. In Part III, to supplement his own experience, he included a "Journal of the travels in the western countries" (Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana) written by the English traveller Thomas Hulme.

It is important to remember that in Cobbett's time the United States was a thin ribbon of established settlement between the Atlantic seaboard and the Appalachian Mountains. Even on the eastern side of the mountain slopes, settlements became sparse and living conditions primitive. Beyond the mountains was true wilderness, dotted here and there with isolated cabins or rough frontier settlements.

Cobbett had been doing experimental work on his own farm in England hence was interested in new ideas gleaned in America. For example, Chapter 2 of Part I of this book was headed "Ruta Baga. Culture, mode of preserving, and uses of ruta baga, sometimes called the Russia, and sometimes the Swedish turnip." In America this was used extensively as winter feed for
sheep, and he gave detailed information hoping to introduce it as a novelty to English sheep raisers.\textsuperscript{13}

He reported at length on an experiment he made in the cultivation of Indian corn. Though it was normally planted in "hills" (several seeds to a hole) and cultivated at intervals all summer, he proposed an elaborate routine for transplanting the seedlings. This did save labor in the sense of postponing the work to a slack season, yet one wonders how whole fields of little corn plants might survive unskilled handling.

The book marks an important phase in Cobbett's own development. Up to this time he had been chiefly a political journalist and pamphleteer, involved in social movements. When he revisited America in 1817 he settled down quietly on Long Island to enjoy farming for itself, and to write on this, his favorite theme. So we find his style coming to its best, his observations of people and his philosophy giving lively and witty touches. The book provides a brilliant picture of the United States of that time.

REFERENCES


Coles, George Douglas Howard——The life of William Cobbett, with a chapter on "Rural rides" by the late F. E. Green; . . . third edition revised. London, Home and Van Thal, 1947. (Includes extensive bibliographies of Cobbett's writings.)


Grieg, James——"Notice of the culture and produce of a patch of maize, or Cobbett's Corn." The gardener's magazine 6: 60-62. 1830. (With 5 text figures.)


\textsuperscript{13}In this connection, Watson (1876, p. 306) observed, "He [Cobbett] lauds himself greatly for having taken with him, on his second voyage to America, ten pounds of Swedish turnip-seed which introduced that vegetable into the New World." Watson's attempt to credit the introduction to Cobbett is incorrect, for Bernard McMahon described the plant and its culture as early as 1806 (McMahon, The American gardener's calendar, . . . Phila., 1806, p. 569), and Sturtevant (1913) reported an acre of the plants grown in Illinois in 1817 (Notes on edible plants, p. 104).


