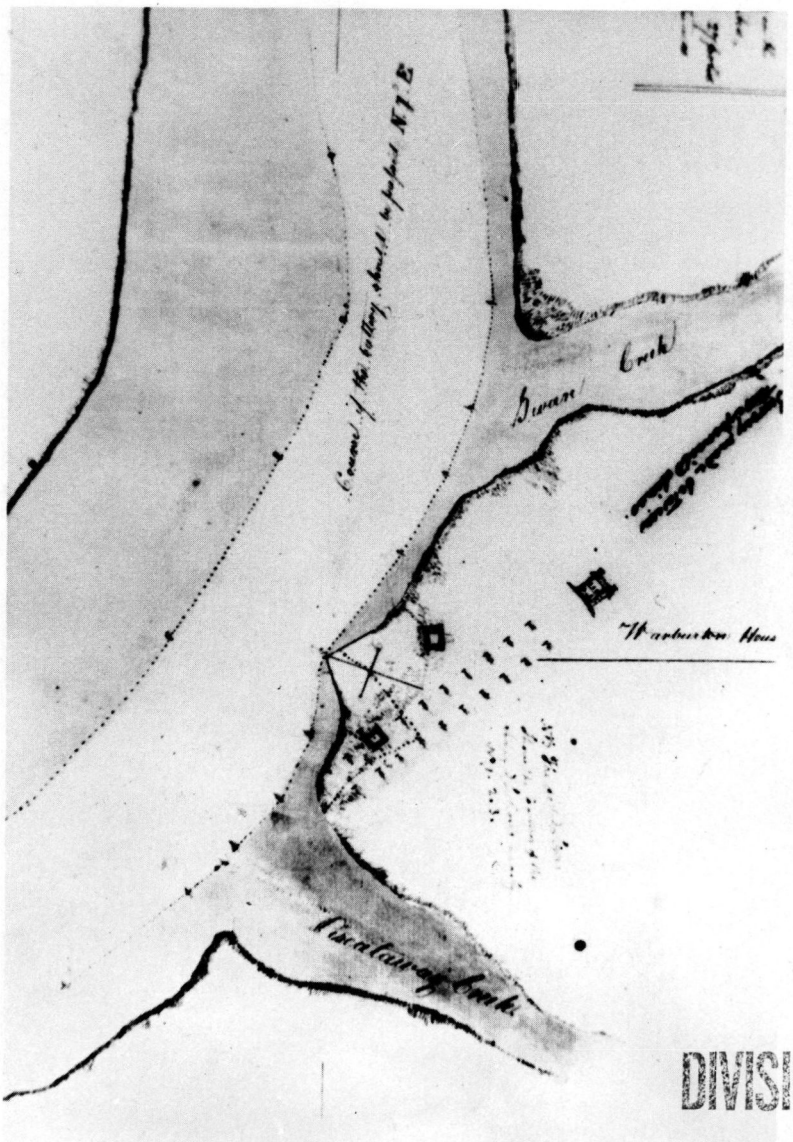
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WARBURTON MANOR

MARYLAND



MARCH 20, 1970

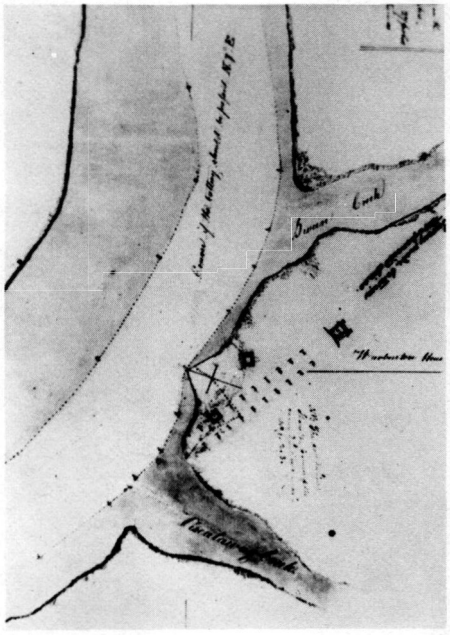
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WARBURTON MANOR
and
THE DIGGES FAMILY OF MARYLAND
HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

EASTERN NATIONAL CAPITAL PARKS
MARYLAND

by

ANNA COXE TOOGOOD



DIVISION OF HISTORY
OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

MARCH 20, 1970

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

FOREWARD

The Historic Structures Report for Warburton Manor (ENCP-H-20) tells more about the prominent Diggeses of Warburton and their relationship with the Washingtons of Mount Vernon than it does about the architecture of the house and its dependencies. The social aspects of the history -- the fat and lean years for the family and estate on the Potomac, and the beginning and end of Warburton as a plantation seat -- constitute the bulk of research for this report. Nearly every effort to uncover reliable and pertinent architectural material on the manor house ended in failure with the exception of the discovery of the Federal Tax Assessment of 1798 which in itself does not do justice to the information needed in a structures report. However, combined with general data provided by the architectural historians on the architecture of the period manor house of Prince George's County, and with the possible uncovering of the floor plan layout by the archeologists, the information from the Tax Assessment may be very instructive.

Considerable research on the history of Warburton Manor, the Diggeses, and Fort Washington had already been compiled into research notes and filed at the Eastern National Capital Parks (ENCP) office. These notes contributed greatly in the completion of this report, as did the ENCP collection of early maps of the fort area (included in illustrations.) My special thanks go to Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Freeman for their cooperation in answering questions, xeroxing materials, and offering information for my research.

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Architectural Data

On October 25, 1717, Charles Digges, son of the prominent Marylander, Colonel William Digges, purchased Warburton Manor, a 1200-odd-acre tract of virgin land bordering on the Potomac River and the Piscataway and Swan Creeks. Charles settled on his land and had constructed a manor house (now referred to as Warburton Manor) by the time of his death in 1744. In a letter dated 1809 Thomas Attwood Digges noted that the old family mansion was eighty years old, which would indicate that the house was erected by 1729.[1]

The effort to turn up pertinent architectural information on Warburton Manor, the house and its dependencies, met with little success. No 18th Century drawings, sketches, paintings, or maps of the estate or structure could be found. Moreover, none of the land titles, land surveys, inventories or wills studied in the family papers and public records gave any facts on the construction of the mansion.[2] In fact, the Federal Tax Assessment of 1798 turned out to be the only credible source for the writing of the architectural section of this report.[3] Although

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1. Digges to Thomas Jefferson, Sept. 11, 1809, V. 188, p. 33474, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See also Historical Section, Chapter II, for the legal papers to Warburton which help piece together the early development of the estate.

2. One exception to this statement: the 1792 inventory of George Digges' estate mentions "a Parcel of Rubish in the Garrett," which certainly indicates that the house had a gabled roof of some sort. Inventory, Orphan's Court, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

3. The Federal Tax Assessment, 1798, Maryland, Prince George's County, Piscataway and Hynson Hundred, is available on microfilm at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, Md.

the Tax Assessment furnishes a description of the size, measurements, construction material for the house and its dependencies, it does not tell us when these structures were built, nor what they looked like. Perhaps with the combined efforts of archeologists and architectural historians, a more complete picture of the house and appendages will be developed.

The heading to the section of the 1798 Federal Tax Assessment which supplied relevant architectural information for Warburton Manor ran as follows:

> PARTICULAR LIST OR DESCRIPTION OF EACH DWELLING-HOUSE, which, with the Out-houses appurtenant thereto, and the Lot on which the Same are erected, not exceeding two Acres, in any case, were owned, possessed, or occupied on the first day of October 1798, within Piscataway and Hynson Hundreds in Prince George's County, Maryland, exceeding in value the sum of One Hundred Dollars.

Under a column for remarks on this chart the surveyor was to define "Situation, dimensions, or area, number of stories, number and dimensions of the windows, and materials of which built, both of dwelling houses and out-houses, also circumstances under which an exemption from valuation is claimed," for each landowner's property. The remarks for the home of "Thomas Diggs" /sic/ were:

> a Brick Dwelling house 2 stories high 48 feet by 35 feet 25 windows 216 Square feet 1 kitchen built with stone adjoining 2 stories high 15 feet by 50 feet----------
> 1 Brick Study 12 feet by 20 feet----------

When compared with the other homes listed for these two hundreds (administrative districts) in Prince George's County, Warburton Manor stands out as one of only a handful of estates of such a substantial construction. In contrast to the Diggeses' two-story brick mansion valued at $1700, most of the neighbors' homes were one-story wooden buildings valued from $100 to $800, more leaning towards the first figure. The family's social status in the community, discussed in the historical section of this report, had its reflection, then, in the architectural components of the estate.

The library or brick study represents an excellent point in fact. While most homes assessed were surrounded by functional, productive farm structures such as meat, corn, "syder" and lumber houses, and dairies, Warburton had no outbuildings listed other than the study, a place set aside for thoughtful, quiet retirement. Such a catering to the mental attributes of man was, of course, an exception in the poor, rural environment of the Piscataway area during the 18th century. In addition, that the construction of the building was in brick, a material clearly considered a luxury for most landowners in the hundred, draws attention again to the uniqueness of the structure as well as of the family.

While the kitchen, a 15 x 50-foot stone wing adjoining the house, lacked uniqueness in function, it made up for it in its

unique dimensions and building materials. In a sampling of measurements for 24 kitchens listed in the Tax Assessment for Piscataway and Hynson Hundreds, only three had walls 30 feet or longer; the majority ranged between 12 and 21 feet in length and width. Although many manor and plantation houses built in tidewater Maryland during the 18th century featured wings either extending to the side or rear of the building -- such as Mount Calvert Manor, Harmony Hall, Bellefield in Prince George's County, and Waverly, Hard Bargain, Rose Hill in Charles County --[4] very few houses had a wing that fit the unusual characteristics combined at Warburton of one made of stone, two stories high, 50 feet long, and 15 feet wide.

A survey of the proposed fort works site area drawn up by George Gilpin for Thomas Digges in July 1807 gives the only possible eyewitness sketch of Warburton Manor. (See Illustration 5.) Although Mr. Gilpin may well have used only a standard cartographic symbol, the architectural features he specified for "Warburton House" conform with those set down in the 1798 Tax Assessment.

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4. For photographic examples of 18th century houses in tidewater Maryland, see Henry Chandley Forman, Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland (Easton, Md. and Haverford, Pa., 1934).

Generally speaking, the large landowners along the Maryland shores of the Potomac laid more emphasis on the site of their home than on its architectural quality.[5] Warburton Manor, according to its dimensions, was not an elaborate, massive structure, but it had one of the finest overlooks in the Piscataway area. Seated on a bluff about one-half a mile from the water's edge, the house faced across the Potomac towards Mount Vernon. The rolling countryside, winding river, and protruding bays, streams, and creeks surrounding Warburton undoubtedly compensated for the compactness of the manor house.

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5. Frederick Albert Gutheim, The Potomac (New York, 1931), pp. 81-82.

Historic Grounds Data

General Vegetation:

As a tidewater plantation, Warburton Manor divided into fields for tobacco, wheat, and corn cultivation, pasture lands for sheep, cattle, and horse grazing, orchards for cider and brandy fermentation, and forests and gardens for the pleasures of wildlife and family.[1]

Three early 19th century Army Engineers' maps of the Fort Washington area -- drawn in 1807, 1816, and 1826 -- help to show how the grounds around the manor house might have stood during the peak years at Warburton prior to the Revolution.[2] The two later maps indicate that a formal garden stretched out from the front of the house towards the Digges Point. The earlier map, however, suggests that an avenue of trees stood in place of the garden. The words of the Secretary of War in 1805 -- "It will also be proper for you to ascend the height directly back of the Point, where there is something of an avenue of locust"[3] -- and those of an army official in 1808 -- "On ascending the first ridge, where there is an avenue of

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1. See Historical Section, Chapter V, for further details.
2. See Illustrations.
3. Letter from Secretary of War to Col. Jonathan Williams, Chief Engineer, January 25, 1805, Buell's Collection, National Archives, as cited on research note at ENCP.

trees in a direction from Mr. Digges' house toward the bluff"[4] -- together lend support to the 1807 map. An avenue of trees, however, would not necessarily have precluded a formal garden. Certainly the boxwood bushes still growing near the archeological remains of the house furnish evidence of a period garden.

Miscellaneous:

Three wells supplied water to the residents of Warburton and Fort Washington in 1820. One well appears on the 1816 Engineers map, and two others -- one at the brickyards and one near the fort, -- Major L'Enfant mentions in his letters to Thomas Digges.[5]

A family cemetery was kept in use at Warburton until the estate was sold in 1836.[6] An 1871 army report citing a 2-acre fenced graveyard "just back of the Post Hospital," generally limits the cemetery's location to an area in the vicinity of the manor house.[7]

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4. Report of Jonathan Williams, Lt. Col., Commandant of the Corps of Engineers, to Henry Dearborn, Sec. of War, Feb. 13, 1808, as cited on research note at ENCP.

5. L'Enfant to Digges, Aug. 25 and 30, 1808, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Collection, Library of Congress.

6. The only specific burial mentioned in the various records was that of Ann Digges, who in her will of 1805 requested that Thomas have her "remains interred in the family cemetery at Warburton." See Historical Section, Chapt. III, "The Fairer Sex."

7. As copied from Record Book of Fort Washington, Fort Washington, for research notes at ENCP. Both the Record Book and the research note are at the park.

Outbuildings:

Farm Structures

Although only the wheat mill is specifically mentioned in the 18th century records, the smithshops, overseer's house, goose stables, cow house, corn house, and four large tobacco houses mentioned in newspaper advertisements between 1818 and 1823 most likely also stood on the grounds during the latter part of the 18th century.[8] Judging from the long list of slaves and livestock on the 1792 inventory of George Digges' real and personal estate, moreover, numerous other farm buildings must have dotted the 1200-acre estate.[9]

The 1816 Engineer's map gives the location of four substantial outbuildings on the peninsula in the general vicinity of the manor house, but it does not indicate what these structures were. The brickyard named and located at the top of the map was probably for the use of the fort works.

Fisheries Structures

Towards the end of the 18th century the Digges wharf became the focus of some active fisheries off the shore of Warburton.

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8. Will of William Digges, 1780, Orphan's Court, Prince George's Co. Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md.; Washington, D. C., Gazette, July 10, 1818, p. 3; National Intelligencer, Sept. 25, 1823, p. 4.

9. For further details, see Historical Section, Chapter V.

An 1808 Engineers map shows three substantial structures at the "Fishing Landing."[10] When Thomas Digges began to rent out the use of the fisheries he offered "the full use of the Warehouse and 3 or 4 other out houses."[11] The warehouse might have been synonymous with "the commodious fish house" which Thomas advertised in 1802 would be completed by the next year.[12]

Religious Structure

William Digges before his death in 1783 erected a chapel where his and the other Roman Catholic families in the area could worship. In 1790, according to the wishes of his father's will, Thomas Attwood Digges sold the Catholic Chapel, which had just been put into good repair by Thomas and other members of the congregation, to the Rt. Rev. John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore in Maryland, for "one dollar and a prayer book." The chapel and two acres of land that went with it were to be "in trust to the full uses and benefits of aforesaid Roman Catholic Congregation of Piscataway and vicinity."

The only reference to the location of the chapel set it

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10. This map, although untitled, must have been made just after the government purchased the first 3 acres of Digges property in 1808; the map shows the survey results. N. King, April 6, 1808. Map Division, National Archives.

11. Alexandria Gazette, August 6, 1810. Copied from research notes at ENCP.

12. Alexandria Daily Advertiser, July 22, 1802, p. 4. For further details on fisheries see Historical Section, Chaps. V and VI.

near to the tenth border stone of Frankland (the adjoining tract to Warburton), and to an old brick barn. This information, of course, is not very helpful today.[13]

13. All the above information on the chapel can be found in Effie Gwynne Bowie, Across the Years in Prince George's County (Richmond, Virginia, 1947), p. 257.

Chapter I

Background
The Cast of the Die

Ancestral Aristocracy

The Diggeses of Warburton Manor in Maryland traced their lineage to the nobility of England. Their distinguished forebear, Sir Dudley Digges (1583-1639), had an impressive public career as diplomat and jurist. In 1618 the Crown sent him as ambassador to Russia, and in 1620 as Special Ambassador to Holland. Sir Dudley sat in Parliament for Tewkesbury and Kent, and in 1630 he received the appointment of Master of the Rolls from Charles I.[1] With a keen interest in mercantile matters, he became acquainted with Henry Hudson whose last voyage in 1610 he helped finance. As a result, Hudson named Cape Digges and Digges Island in his honor. Sir Dudley's appointment as Commissioner for Virginia tobacco in 1634 undoubtedly reflected his own familiarity and success in the tobacco markets.[2]

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1. Alice Norris Parran, Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families March 1634 to March 1935 (Baltimore, 1935), p. 146; William B. Clark, "In Defense of Thomas Digges," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXCII, No. 4 (October, 1953), p. 386; Helen Lee Peabody, "Revolutionary Mail Bag: Governor Thomas Sims Lee's Correspondence, 1779-82," Maryland Historical Magazine, XLIX (March 1954), p. 4.

2. Parran, p. 146. Amy Cheney Clinton laid heavy emphasis on the Diggeses' ancestral tree: "Of the many Maryland families whose lineal descent from some of the most notable houses of Great Britain is positively proven by the records of England and internal evidence in Maryland, none is of more interest than

Perhaps learning some about the colony from his father's business affairs, Edward Digges, Sir Dudley's fourth son, emigrated to Virginia in 1650 to found the Digges line in America. Edward brought with him many of the accoutrements associated with the life of the aristocracy, so the inventory following his death confirms. He and his family lived on his estate, "Bellfield," in luxury and elegance, and twelve of his thirteen children married into nearly all the best-known families of Virginia.[3]

Edward Digges rapidly gained ascendancy in the political arena of Virginia as well. Shortly after his arrival in the colony, he was elected to Governor Richard Bennett's Council. Bennett, as first Governor of Virginia under Cromwell's Commonwealth, was able to bring broad liberties to the colonists, despite strong royalist leanings in the colony. At his retirement in March 1653, the Assembly elected Edward Digges Governor,

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that /of the/ Digges. This ancient name is notable for royal blood which flows in its veins from several reigning kings, including that of the great Conqueror himself." Clinton, "History of Fort Washington," Maryland Hist. Mag., XXXII, No. 3 (Sept., 1937), p. 234. Francis Sims McGrath, in her book, Pillars of Maryland (Richmond, 1950), p. 174, also claims that the line traces back to William the Conqueror.

3. McGrath, pp. 174-5; Bowie, p. 248.

a position he held for three years, in which time he maintained productive relations with the Commonwealth government.[4]

Edward Digges' excellent social connections in England, moreover, prompted the Assembly to call on him again in 1659 to act as the colony's agent to help untangle a long-pending dispute between Virginia and Lord Baltimore of Maryland. Apparently Digges' influence carried some weight in settling the controversy.[5]

Although he held one other public post before his death, that of Auditor-General of Virginia from 1670-1675,[6] Edward Digges concentrated much of his energies in his later life to introducing innovative agricultural methods to his plantation, and, when possible, to the colony. As Governor he sponsored an act to initiate the silk industry in Virginia, while on his own plantation he experimented incessantly to prove that silk manufacturing had its rightful place in the colony.[7]

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4. Margaret Vowell Smith, Virginia 1492-1892 A History of the Executives (Washington, D.C., 1893), pp. 100 and 104; McGrath, p. 174.

5. Parran, p. 146; McGrath, pp. 112 and 174. This treaty which Digges helped to complete with the Calvert family apparently had its social aftermath: Edward Digges' sister, Jane, soon after married Philip Calvert, and his son, William, married Elizabeth Sewall, the stepdaughter of the third Lord Baltimore. McGrath, p.174.

6. Parran, p. 146.

7. Smith, p. 105; McGrath, p. 174. Edward Digges' tombstone at Bellfield reads: "To the memory of Edward Digges, Esq., a gentleman of most commendable parts and ingenuity and the only introducer and promoter of the silk manufacture in this country." As quoted in McGrath.

The tobacco which he raised on his estate, Bellfield, near Yorktown, won the reputation of the "E.D." tobacco "Which never failed to bring in England 1 shilling when other tobacco would not bring 3 pence."[8] Clearly his ability in the mercantile world matched his father's, and this savoire-faire found its reflection in the affairs of his children.

Edward's eldest son, William Digges, followed in his father's footsteps and early rose to prominence in the official and military affairs of Virginia. In 1671, William held the seat of Justice for York County; in 1674, he was Captain of the Horse; and in 1676 he was active in Bacon's Rebellion, which may have helped to earn him the position of High Sheriff of York County, a position he held in 1679.[9] But as if to emulate his father, William decided not to settle permanently where the Diggeses already had roots, but rather to emigrate to Maryland, where he established for his line of the family all the social, economic, and political prominence which he had left behind him in Virginia.

In Maryland, William became a member of the Governor's Council in February 1780, and when the Governor left for England to defend his rights in a dispute with William Penn in May of 1684,

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8. As quoted in Parran, p. 146.
9. Bowie, p. 248; Clinton, p. 234; Parran, p. 146.

he served as one of five "trusty and beloved" Counsellors of the Province commissioned to act as Deputy Governors in the absence of Governor Calvert. At some point after his arrival in the colony, William converted to Catholicism, the religion of the Calverts and several other ruling families, and during the Protestant Revolution he commanded the Catholic forces at St. Mary's, the capitol of the Province.[10]

From the day of his arrival in 1680 William patented extensive tracts of land in Maryland, which immediately set him among the landed gentry of the colony. Most significant to his social ascendancy, however, was his marriage to the third Lord Baltimore's step-daughter, Elizabeth Sewell (widow of Dr. Jesse Wharton), the consummation of which established him in the highest circle of Maryland's society. William and Elizabeth had nine children, some of whom married into the first families of Maryland -- the Lowes, Rozers, Darnalls, Carrolls, and Neales.[11]

Charles Digges, the eldest of the nine siblings, followed the tradition of his father and grandfather before him and left the family seat to strike out for the frontier. In 1717 he

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10. Bowie, p. 248; Parran, p. 146; Paul Wilstach, Potomac Landings (Garden City, 1921), p. 108. This conversion apparently lost Digges his political influence in the colony.

11. Bowie, p. 249; Clinton, p. 234; McGrath, p. 175; Christopher Johnstone, "Sewall Family," Md. Hist. Mag., IV, No. 3 (Sept. 1909), p. 292; Katharine Kellock, Colonial Piscataway in

purchased about 1200 acres of virgin land just north of Piscataway Creek in Prince George's County, near the fledgling community that soon after grew into Piscataway Town. Charles immediately set out to turn this tract, called Warburton Manor, into a family estate for his descendants.[12]

Landownership of Warburton prior to 1717

In 1655 Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector during the Puritan rule in England, granted to his physician, Luke Barber, 1200 acres of land in Maryland, 200 of which represented payment to Barber for transporting 4 people from London to the colony in July 1654. Barber, apparently a tactful politician during the following year of tension between the Puritan and royalist factions, managed not only to hold this original grant but also to win another of 1000 acres once Lord Baltimore had regained his control over the colony in 1656.[13]

Maryland (Accokeek, Maryland, 1962), p. 17. Further testimony of the social prominence of the Diggeses in early 18th century Maryland comes from the art work of a German painter, Justus Englehardt Kuhn, who lived in the colony during the first part of the century. According to the research of Dieter Cunz, Kuhn's portraits "not only give evidence of his artistic ability, but show that he was the favorite of the highest social stratum of the province, /such as the/ Digges, Darnall, and Carroll families, the best names of the time in Maryland." Cunz, "German Settlers in Early Colonial Maryland," Md. Hist. Mag., XLII (June 1947), p. 104

12. Bowie, p.248; Land Records, Liber F, Folios 62-67, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Maryland. In 1735 Piscataway Town officially became incorporated. Kellock, p. 4.

13. Kellock, p. 15-16; Land Records, op. cit.

For his original 1200-acre grant Luke Barber selected lands lying north of Piscataway Creek and, in 1658, he ordered a survey of the tract. Not until October 1661, however, did he apply for a patent, allowing himself a three-year reprieve on paying the annual quitrents required by law.[14]

Within a year after the patent was granted, Barber had arranged with Luke Gardner (also spelled Gardiner) to exchange his 1200-acre tract, which he called "Barberton" for St. Richard's Manor on the south side of the Patuxent River in St. Mary's County.[15] Evidently Barber had used his grant as a convenient piece of barter and had made no plans to settle on his lands.

Almost no information exists on the use of the tract, if indeed there was any use, prior to its purchase by Charles Digges in 1717. Apparently John Gardner named the property "Warberton Manner" and passed it on in his will (proved August 12, 1674) to his son, Richard. Richard in turn devised the tract to his son, John Gardiner, who, with his brother Luke, sold 327 acres of the manor in 1705 to Colonel John Contee, a merchant of Nottingham. Between 1700 and 1708 John handed over his rights to Warburton to Luke, and Colonel Contee

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14. Kellock, p. 16.

15. Ibid; Donnell MacClure Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," Md. Hist. Mag., XXXIII (Sept. 1938), p. 322.

passed on his 327 acres to his nephew, Alexander Contee. At some point George Barbier apparently also acquired a fraction of the manor lands, for his name appears in some of the land records involving the 1717 transaction.[16]

Charles Digges and Luke Gardiner, however, acted as the primary participants in the land purchase of 1717. Charles not only bought out the Gardiner share of Warburton, but he also acquired the adjoining 800-acre tract called Frankland, which had been granted to John Gardner in October 1668. Subtracting the 327 acres still owned by Alexander Contee, Charles Digges obtained a total of 1573 acres for the sum of £ 706.[17]

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16. Kellock, p. 16; Owings, p. 322; Clinton, p. 233. In the early land records, Warburton Manor is most frequently spelled, "Warberton Manner." Not until the mid-18th Century does it switch to the present day spelling.

17. Land Records, op. cit.

Chapter II

The Formative Years at Warburton Manor 1717-1744

The Indenture of October 25, 1717

When Charles Digges entered into the arrangement to purchase Warburton Manor from Luke Gardiner, the only available survey of the tract, a survey made in 1658 for Luke Barbour, defined the boundaries as follows:

> Beginning at the East side of Piscattaway River and on the north side of a Creek in the said river called Piscataway /sic/ Creek. beginning upon a point at the mouth of the said Creek and running East and by North up the Creeke for breadth six hundred perches to a marked Wallnutt tree, bounding on the East with a line drawn north and by East from the said Wallnutt tree for the length of three hundred and twenty perches to a markt Oake on the north with a line drawn West, and by North unto the said river from the said Oake on the West with the Said River on the south with the said Creeke.[1]

In the sixty-odd years thereafter these manor lands apparently lay untouched and undeveloped so that by 1717 Charles Digges received by his purchase "all woods Underwood and timber trees or other trees now standing growing or being on the same or any part or parcell thereof," instead of, dwelling houses, barns, stables, and the like, mentioned in other land transfer records of the Piscataway area at this time.[2]

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1. Land Records, op. cit.
2. Ibid. For examples of land records for the Piscataway area, see Anna Coxe Toogood, Piscataway Park (Washington, 1969).

Resurvey and Patent of "Warbarton Mannour," June 15, 1725, and October 21, 1733

Both Charles Digges and Alexander Contee resurveyed their tracts in June 1725 to clarify conclusively the boundaries of their portions of "Warbarton Mannour." Apparently John Gardiner before them had realized that the original survey of 1658 did not correspond with the reputed boundaries of the tract nor with the natural boundaries, and he had ordered a survey in November 1706. But Digges and Contee, having compared the 1706 survey with the certificate of the original survey, and having received counsel from "persons skilled in land affairs," came to realize further discrepancies in the boundary definitions which needed correcting.[3]

Thus it was in December 1724 that the two landowners applied for and received a "Special Warrant to Resurvey" in order "to prevent any trouble hereafter," in deciding boundary definitions. In addition, they appealed to Lord Baltimore to grant them both those lands which had been included in the 1706 survey apparently "surplusage" to the original tract and any vacant lands lying contiguous to the respective portions of their tracts. On

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3. "Charles Diggs, his Patent, 'Part of Warbarton Mannour,'" Reservation File, 1800-1950, Maryland: Fort Washington. Record Group 153, National Archives. The spelling of Warburton Manor has changed in this document from "Warberton Manner" of the 1717 land purchase record to "Warbarton Mannour" or "Warburton Mannour."

June 15, 1725, James Stodder, the Prince George's County Deputy Surveyor, completed and recorded his results of the resurvey. When in October 1733 the Governor stamped his seal of patent on the lands claimed by this resurvey, Charles Digges' share of "Warburton Mannour" had increased from 827 acres to 1137, an increase which reflected Digges' purchase of Contee's portion of the manor in March of the same year for the sum of 5 shillings.[4]

In April 1734, at Charles Digges' request, Alexander Contee registered in the Prince George's County records his complete release, as of March 1733, of all "rights title claim demand and interest which.../he/ **had** or now have of in and to eleven hundred and thirty seven acres of land part of Warburton Mannour... together with all buildings improvements and appurtenances to the same." This reference to buildings and appurtenances represents the first indication found in the land records that Digges and/or Contee had settled on their lands and had developed a farm complex of some sort. Probably sometime between 1717 and 1733, then, Charles Digges had constructed the manor house now known as Warburton Manor.[5]

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4. Ibid. Land Records, Liber T, Folio 114. Stodder's resurvey can be found in Land Records, Liber P.L., No. 8, Folio 782. The change of spelling for Warburton Manor reflects the original document cited above.

5. Land Records, op. cit. When Contee sold his portion of the 1137 acres, he also purchased from Digges 425 acres of Warburton Mannour for 2 shillings. Liber T, Folio 115. Most

Will of Charles Digges, Recorded January 28, 1742, and Probated May 28, 1744

The will of Charles Digges, penned in January 1742, helps to piece together the story of Warburton Manor and of Charles Digges. For one, Charles made a definite allusion to his dwelling house at Warburton when he bequeathed to his son, William, "all that my Land, or Mesuage, with the appurtenances Whereon, I now Dwell, Called Warberton /sic/, manner, as also, all that Tract of Land Called Frankland adjoyning thereto."[6] While no exact or even general description of the house appears in this document, the terms "mesuage" and "appurtenances" confirm the existence of a manor house and appendages.

Judging from the subsequent sections of his will, moreover, Charles Digges apparently had definite visions of perpetuating the family line on this estate; his establishment of entail through his sons, grandsons, and their children reflects a strong drive to maintain the estate intact. Had Charles not

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likely the exchange relocated Contee's share for the convenience of both owners.

6. Wills, Liber 23, Folio 505, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. The definition for messuage in The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, 1933), is: "originally, the portion of land intended to be occupied, or actually occupied, as a site for a dwelling-house and its appurtenances." The definition for Appurtenance is: "A thing that belongs to another, a 'belonging'; a minor property; an appendage."

constructed his brick manor house by the time of his will, he might well have planned less carefully for the future of Warburton Manor.[7]

In addition to Warburton Manor and Frankland, Charles Digges bequeathed to his son and heirs "all my other Lands Tenements and Hereditaments Whatsoever, I am now, or Shall die Seized of here in Maryland, or Elsewhere." To his daughter, Mary Hill, he left £250 or "Two Tracts of Land, Called Partnership and Addition to Partnership...the one called Partnership Containing One thousand acres the other...two hundred acres both Lying near Seneca Creek in Prince Georges County." To his daughter Ann Digges, he left £500 sterling or the value thereof in Negroes and stock.

Most evidently Charles Digges not only died a wealthy planter, but an active land speculator as well. His implied list of land purchases both in Maryland and elsewhere, in addition to his apparent expectation of other acquisitions before his death,

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7. Charles will provided that his son, William, possess the estate only for his natural life, and after him, William's first son, Charles, was to inherit it for his lifetime, to be followed by Charles' eldest son, and should he have no sons, then it was to fall to Thomas, the second son of William, and to Thomas' sons for their natural lifetimes, and if there was a default in Thomas' line, it was to pass to George, William's third son, and to his line, etc.

suggest that Charles Digges followed one of the customary paths to riches for the wealthier planters in the Colonial tidewater culture.[8] And in his will Charles undoubtedly hoped to pass not only his wealth but also his aggressive economic ambitions on to his descendants.

Thus by the time of his death in May 1744, Charles Digges had successfully established his family seat at Warburton on the Potomac, planned for the security and continuation of the estate through the entail system, and attained for his descendants sufficient land, wealth, and social connections to firmly esconce the Diggeses among the sparse gentry of colonial Maryland.[9] So closed the formative years of Warburton Manor and opened the aristocratic life of the generations to follow.

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8. Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth Century Chesapeake," Journal of Southern History, XXXIII, No. 4 (Nov. 1967), pp. 469-85. Mr. Land made a careful study of period inventories, accounts, tax lists, and private collections. His research revealed that "perhaps the most spectacular successes of all came to those planters who also became land speculators." (480) Although one cannot judge from Charles Digges' will how extensive his landholdings were, one can readily say that land represented a good percentage of his wealth. Again quoting from Mr. Land's article, and with an eye on Charles Digges' example, "It is fair to say that those who rose to the very top of the economic ladder came up by gains from activities other than planting." (482).

9. To give an indication of the number of gentry in colonial Maryland, Mr. Land quotes the following figures for families considered "great planters," or planters of incomes over £1000: in 1690-99 they formed about 2.5 percent, and around 1750, about 6.5 percent. Land, p. 473.

Chapter III

The Eighteenth Century Diggeses of Warburton Manor

As already implied, Charles Digges either instinctively or dutifully cultivated the highest social circles in colonial Maryland. And by his marriage to Susanna Maria Lowe, youngest daughter of Colonel Henry Lowe, he assured the finest social education for his three surviving children, Ann, Mary, and William.[1]

While nothing appears in the records to reveal how Charles passed his retiring years at Warburton Manor, most likely he lived them out serenely enough, surrounded by family and servants, and the picturesque panorama of countryside and river into which he had set his "handsome seat."[2]

In June 1739, just five years before his death, Charles witnessed the marriage of his son, William, to Ann Attwood, only daughter of George Attwood of Bladensburg. Again, marriage proved to be a social asset, and in this case an economic one as well, for George Attwood bequeathed his estate at Bladensburg and some tracts in Loudoun County, Virginia, to his daughter and

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1. Bowie, p. 255; Anonymous, "Digges Family," a genealogical chart, no date, in research notes at Eastern National Capital Parks. Two sons, Henry and Charles, died young. For an impressive list of public offices held by Henry Lowe, see Md. Hist. Mag., II (June 1907), pp. 180-81.

2. As quoted in Clark, p. 386. Source unknown.

son-in-law, and moved to "the Family Mansion House" at Warburton to live out his last years with his contemporary, Charles, and with the rest of the Digges family.[3]

William Digges (1713-1783)

Setting a new example, William Digges apparently felt content to remain at the home that his father had built, to be a family man, and to conduct his business from the plantation. Twelve children born within fifteen years (1740-55), the first seven falling just one year apart, and the following six separated by two years at most, give testimony that William spent little of his early married life away from home. Moreover, country living certainly must have agreed with William, for he continued on at Warburton until 1783, long enough to see his wife and at least seven of his children buried before him.[4]

Although the records do not make clear the individuals responsible for various changes at Warburton Manor during this mid-century period, there is little question that William took

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3. "Digges Family," genealogical chart, ENCP; "Deposition of Richard Edelen, Aged 82 Years, August 9, 1805, Prince George's County, Piscataway District" /quotations of title are the author's/, Digges Collection, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. The quotations around the Family Mansion House in the text set off the words of Richard Edelen, deponent cited above.

4. "Family Record," Digges Collection, Md. Hist. Soc. In order of birth his children were: Charles, Frances, Thomas Attwood, George, Teresa, Henry, Joseph, Susanah, Ann, Mary, Elizabeth, and Jane.

an active interest in the expansion of his lands and their productivity. In his will, William refers to the plantation's mill on a part of Frankland, the tract adjoining Warburton, a mill which unquestionably became a growing concern as the century wore on.[5] William must have placed an emphasis on his wheat production, for in 1774 Robert Carter of Nomini Hall requested from him 6000 bushels of wheat for his own mill.[6]

Like an astute businessman of the period, William invested his capital in land speculation. At his death he possessed Charles Town on the Wicomico River and other undetermined lands and real estate in Maryland. In addition, he owned three lots in Carrollsburg and three in Alexandria, and 50 acres of Hanson's Rest or Borman's Resurvey.[7] The

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5. Wills, Liber T, No. 1, Folio 166, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md.; Bowie, p. 244. Wheat as a crop came into increasing cultivation at the time of the Revolution when the tobacco trade became a bone of contention with the British. Soil deterioration from the repeated tobacco harvests also influenced the growth of wheat production in the latter part of the century. For a discussion of agriculture in colonial and Revolutionary periods, see Agricultural History, XLIII, No. 3 (January 1969).

6. Kellock, p. 17. Mrs. Kellock unfortunately does not give any citation for her information that the Digges mill stood on Tinkers Branch at Piscataway Creek.

7. Wills, Liber T., No. 1, Folio 166, Pr. Geo's Co. Courthouse; Bowie, p. 255. The three lots William purchased in Carrollsburg cost him 18 lbs. sterling. Land Records, Liber A, No. 2, Folio 443, op. cit. As owner of 3 lots in Alexandria, William probably was a member of the resolute and active board of trustees -- all representative of the best citizenry of the

Debt Books of Prince George's County for 1771 give an even broader picture of his investments: in that year he owned 6,548 acres of land in Prince George's County alone.[8]

The Census of 1776 reveals that William made other wise investments with his money, for in that year he owned 41 slaves at Warburton and 87 at Bladensburg, a total of 128 slaves.[9] Even during the "golden age" of colonial Maryland (c. 1720-75), only the wealthiest planters could afford any appreciable number of slaves. In fact, during the 1760s only 53.2 per cent of the families held slaves, and of those, one third held only a single slave, while another third held between two and four slaves.[10] This helps to give some perspective on the wealth which the Digges family represented during the colonial period.

Potomac -- who supervised the development of Alexandria. Douglas Southall Freeman, George Washington, A Biography; III, Planter and Patriot (New York, 1951), p. 17. William also bought "Addison's Folly," a tract adjoining Warburton, on Jan. 9, 1772. Land Records, Liber AA, No. 2, Folio 465, op. cit. Also see Illustrations.

8. Richard K. McMaster and David C. Skaggs, eds, "The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor, Part II," Md. Hist. Mag., LXI (1966), p. 325.

9. Provincial Census of August 31, 1776, Prince George'e County: St. John's and Prince Georges Parishes," in Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, Maryland Records Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church from Original Sources, Vol. 1 (Baltimore, 1967), n.p.

10. Aubrey C. Land, "The Tobacco Staple and the Planter's Problems: Technology, Labor, and Crops," Agricultural History, XLIII, No. 3 (Jan. 1969), p. 79.

Although he himself apparently had little interest in travel and international experiences, William evidently had ambitions for his three eldest sons, Charles (b.1740), Thomas Attwood (b.1742), and George (b.1743), all three of whom he sent to Europe for an education, ultimately to school them in the area of trade.[11] While family tradition has it that the three boys attended Oxford, research proves that they never were enrolled there. Possibly, because they were Catholics, the young men received private tutoring in England or joined Catholic schools on the Continent.[12]

William's obvious pride in and concern for his family also found expression in the portrait of his bride, Ann Attwood, painted sometime before her death in 1757 by the young American artist, Benjamin West. William most likely also encouraged his sons Thomas and George to commission Sir Joshua Reynolds, a famous period artist in London, to paint their portraits they visited England.[13] It seems that William, gentleman

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11. "Family Tree," ibid.; Clark, p. 386; Kellock, p. 17. Mrs. Kellock's research revealed that Charles, the eldest son, had shown a definite interest in mercantile affairs, for at his return from Europe and before his untimely death in 1769, at the age of 29, he had become a partner of a London merchant, Thomas Philpost, who managed a store in Upper Marlborough.

12. Kellock, p. 17.

13. According to an article in the Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, LVII (March, 1923), pp. 126 & 129, these portraits, along with some family china, are still held by Digges descendants. (See illustrations for portraits

planter and family man, felt satisfied to see the recognition go to others in his immediate family. If so, both Thomas Attwood and George must have greatly gratified their father's sense of pride during his latter years.

Thomas Attwood Digges (1742-1821)

With the tragic death of his brother Charles in 1769, Thomas Attwood became next-in-line to inherit the entailed estate of Warburton Manor. But Thomas early in life had found a fascination for Europe and its high society. By 1760 he had begun his travels in Europe and his residence in London. Well-groomed, well-mannered, and well-cultivated, Thomas rapidly developed a wide circle of friends, among whom were a number of prominent Americans, such as Arthur and William Lee of Virginia; Ralph Izard of South Carolina; Mathew Ridgley, Joshua Johnson, and William Carmichael of Maryland; and Samuel and Joseph Wharton of Pennsylvania.[14] Among his more intimate friends he apparently

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of George and Thomas.) Although today Benjamin West's name is well known, at the time he painted Ann Attwood he probably had scant reputation, for he did not begin portrait painting until 1753 at the young age of 18, when he opened up shop in Philadelphia. However, since portrait art catered to the upper classes, perhaps Benjamin's fame had spread rapidly among families such as the Diggeses who would have been interested in a good portrait painter.

14. Clark, pp. 386 & 388. His London address was 23 Villiers Street, Strand, London, then an area where writers and journalists lived. Kellock, p. 19.

became known as "the handsome American."[15]

Two elegant testimonies to Thomas Digges' popularity, both written about him after his return to American in 1799, but nevertheless pertinent to an understanding of his appeal in English, and later, American high society, read as follows:

> During our Revolutionary struggle, Mr. Digges visited England where he remained during many years, being a welcome guest in the most distinguished circles of society, and maintaining intimate relations especially with the Whigs or Liberals, whose leader, the Prince of Wales, favored the rebels of America. Mr. Digges was a bachelor, a well-bred man, and charming companion, his conversation replete with thrilling memories of the French Revolution, the horrors of which he had witnessed, and sparkling with anecdotes of Fox, Sheridan, and other celebrities of the brilliant and famous Carleton House coterie. He was a man of many eccentricities of habit, but a generous heart withal, capable of many deeds.

and:

> Mr. Thomas Digges...had come to Sheffield on a visit to the Duke of Norfolk. We were delighted with his manners and conversation, frank, manly, and polished, and he opened to us a new view of America giving the first impetus to our feelings respecting the home of our adoption. The casual acquaintance ripened into intimate friendship.

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15. James Dudley Morgan, "Historic Fort Washington on the Potomac," Records of the Columbia Historical Society, VII (1904), p. 7. Bowie, p. 256; Wilstach, p. 108.

The above two quotes both come from Josephine Seaton's biography of her father, William Winston Seaton,[16] who joined in partnership with Joseph Gales Jr. to run a daily newspaper, The National Intelligencer, in Washington, D. C. Miss Seaton in the first citation describes Thomas Digges as she viewed him through the information from the diary of her grandmother Winifred Gales, Mrs. Joseph Gales, Sr., and in the second description, she quotes directly from Mrs. Gales' account of her first acquaintance with Thomas in 1792. Even though these women probably tended to romanticize Thomas, they clearly indicate his broad social appeal.

Business-wise, for some years prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, Thomas served as a London agent for the shipping interests of a British firm. In this capacity he made frequent trips to Bristol and Birmingham, and occasionally his work took him to Lisbon and Balboa.[17]

His contacts and experiences in Lisbon must have taken on a particular significance for Thomas, as he translated them into what has been considered the first American novel, published in 1775, called Adventures of Alonso: Containing Some Striking Anecdotes of the Present Prime Minister of Portugal By a Native

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16. Seaton, William Winston Seaton (Boston, 1871), pp. 128-29, 148.
17. Clark, p. 387.

of Maryland Some Years Resident in Lisbon, Volume I and II, (London, 1775).[18] Although the original title page of this book did not bear Thomas' name, an original edition found in the New York Public Library with "Mr. Digges of Warburton in Maryland" penciled in by hand under the printed title strongly indicates his authorship.[19] Furthermore, Thomas in February 1767 was in New York planning a trip to Lisbon,[20] and in a letter to Benjamin Franklin in 1779, he professed a close familiarity with Portugal and her people.[21] And since the book was published in London sometime in June 1775 when no Digges brothers other than Thomas resided there, the evidence seems to point conclusively to Thomas Digges as the first American novelist.[22]

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18. This book has been reprinted with a foreword and preface as the U.S. Catholic Historical Society Monograph Series XVIII (New York, 1943). All citations hereafter come from this edition.

19. Preface, Adventures of Alonso.

20. Robert Elias, "The First American Novel," American Literature, XII, No. 4 (Jan., 1941), p. 423.

21. Clark, p. 387.

22. According to Mr. Elias, p. 423, Charles and Francis died young, Henry perished at sea, and neither George nor Joseph left America until a few years after Adventures of Alonso was published. Actually, George Digges arrived in London sometime in the early summer of 1775 and spent three years there during the Revolution. (Clark, p. 387.) Still, the book was already in print at the time of his arrival. Mr. Elias, building his argument that Thomas Digges was the author of the novel, pointed out that the book's contents "indicate that the author was a son of respected parents and a Catholic and that he was educated in England near London in order to be taught something about mercantile affairs." These facts of course coincide closely with the available evidence on Thomas' early life. In making

Acclaim, however, has been slow to reach the name of Thomas Digges in American history. Not until 1941 did Mr. Elias finally confirm Thomas' authorship to Adventures of Alonso. Worse still, throughout the 19th and well into the 20th century, historians have inaccurately and unfairly written off Thomas Digges as an embezzler, rogue, and British spy.[23] Although Mr. Elias devoted a large portion of his article to clearing Digges' political reputation, making numerous citations from primary sources, his arguments did not strike home as intended, possibly because the article was published in the American Literature. Then, in 1953, William Bell Clark published his definitive defense of Thomas Digges as an American agent during the Revolution in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, after a lengthy and exhaustive search into all available manuscript sources, some of which he claimed to be the first to employ. Historians

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an evaluation of the novel, the anonymous author of the Foreword to Adventures of Alonso wrote this interesting, although somewhat chauvinistically Catholic, appraisal: "Today, because of its variant title page, this work belongs to rare Americana, but even if this were not so, its Catholic authorship, together with the fact that it is the first novel ever written anywhere by a citizen of the United States as well as the first to be translated into another language, would be claim enough."

23. For Clark's comments on earlier historians who mentioned Thomas Digges, such as Charles Francis Adams, George Bancroft, Edward Everett Hale, and Francis Wharton, see pp. 382-83.

interested in Mr. Digges could more readily take note.

The thoroughness of Elias' and Clark's footnotes and sources strongly suggests their accuracy as historians.[24] Mr. Clark especially takes pains to scrutinize the documentary evidence. His conclusions do not shield Thomas Digges from criticism, but, rather, they weigh his contributions against his faults, to show that although some allegations made against him proved true, Thomas donated valuable services to his country throughout the Revolution and after.

Having heard of the desperate conditions of more than 300 American prisoners confined in Mill Prison at Plymouth and Forton Prison near Gosport, Thomas Digges wrote to Arthur Lee, who had left London to become an American representative to the French court, in November 1777 relating the deplorable situation. By December 1777, Lee had authorized Digges to spend £50 to supply necessities for American prisoners.[25]

From this juncture Thomas Digges' involvement in the American cause spiraled into deeper and more costly commitments. From 1777-1779 Thomas, acting on his own initiative, furnished Arthur and William Lee useful intelligence, administered to the subscriptions raised among both American and British

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24. Clark discusses his sources on p. 385.
25. Clark, p. 389.

sympathisers for the American prisoners, and shipped locks for guns and muskets from England to America via Spain.[26]

In 1779, Thomas Digges acted as mediator for David Hartley, a British M.P. intent on achieving peace with America and struck with the idea that an agreement could be negotiated were it not for the French alliance. Thomas, bearing his letter of introduction from Hartley and Hartley's peace proposal, presented himself to Benjamin Franklin, the American minister plenipotentiary in France, at the end of April. On May 3, 1779, he took the oath of allegiance to the United States, signing it, "Thomas Digges of Wharburton /sic/ in the State of Maryland," and concluding it with, "So help me God." At this point, Thomas officially enrolled his services with the American government.[27]

As an American agent, Thomas provided Franklin with political and military news, and continued, in collaboration with William Hodgson, David Hartley, and Thomas Wren, to arrange for food, money, and clothing for the American prisoners, as well as for their transfer to healthier locations, and for their exchange with English prisoners.[28] Digges also took the initiative

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26. Elias, p. 424; Clark, pp. 390-91.
27. Elias, p. 424; Clark, pp. 394-95.
28. Elias, p. 424.

in the fall of 1779 to organize and get approval from Franklin for a contraband shipload of "Blankets, and Coarse Cloths, and other articles much wanted in a certain Army;...As I know the extreem want our people are in for winter Cloathing."[29] Digges continued to take risks in order to see that other such cargoes, along with musket locks, and sail and tent materials, left port for America.[30]

In his frequent correspondence with Benjamin Franklin throughout the late 1770s, Thomas repeatedly reconfirmed his support for the cause of "American Independency."[31] Yet, it was Franklin who ultimately destroyed Thomas Digges' reputation in American history until of late.

Franklin's correspondence during 1781 -- when he bitterly warned his associates that "/Thomas Digges/ is the greatest villian I ever met with...Beware of him, he is very artful and had cheated many,"[32] and "If such a Fellow is not damn'd, it is not worth while to keep a Devil"[33] -- has been the source for

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29. V. J. Drouillard /Digges/ to Franklin, Sept. 6, 1779, Franklin Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, V, 92, as cited in Clark, p. 403.

30. Elias, p. 426; Clark, pp. 403, 406, and 411.

31. Digges to Franklin, Dec. 19, 1778, Franklin Papers, Historical Soc. of Pa., as cited in Elias, p. 425.

32. Franklin to Conyngham, Feb., 6, 1782, Franklin Papers, as cited in Clark, pp. 381, 430.

33. Franklin to Hodgson, Apr. 1, 1781, Franklin Papers, Library of Congress, 717, as cited in Clark, p. 427. Elias also uses this quote on pp. 425-26.

the accumulated opprobrium associated with Thomas Digges into the 20th century. Franklin definitely had an axe to grind, for, according to his observations, of £495 which he had entrusted to Digges for prisoners in English prisons, only £30 reached their appointed destination.[34] In answering inquiries from Franklin, Digges could give no account for the difference, nor could he examine his record books, as caution had taught him to keep them "in a safe and distant quarter."[35] Franklin, having fully trusted and affectionately befriended Thomas, demonstrated his disappointment and disillusionment by unleashing his caustic pen.[36]

Mr. Clark, however, attempts to analyze Franklin's personal reaction in its proper perspective. He points out that, yes, Digges "did embezzle some of the money intended for prisoners but not to the amount specified by Franklin....Unhappy circumstances," he explains, " -- the cutting off of remittances from home and the failure of escaped prisoners to repay advances he had made to them -- had forced Digges to substitute ingenuity for integrity." But never, Clark writes, "did his impoverished state drive him to act as a British spy."[37]

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34. Clark, p. 384.
35. V. J. Drouillard /Digges/ to Franklin, Sept. 20, 1779, Franklin, HSP, V, 93, as cited in Clark, p. 402; Elias, p. 425.
36. Clark, p. 427.
37. Ibid., p. 384.

William Hodgson, Thomas' cohort in arranging for prisoner relief, offered an understandable explanation: "I apprehend that having lived rather in a genteel Stile & having no fixed Revenue his necessities must have been great and he must have been put to many Shifts."[38] In his own defense, Thomas claimed that more than 160 escapees from British prisons "had thrown themselves on me," a number of whom appealed to him for various sums of money, some as high as 15 guineas.[39]

Even though forced into hiding, Digges continued to demonstrate his interest in the unfortunate American prisoners. Appreciative letters written by prisoners he had aided in 1781-82 today testify to his sincerity.[40] And even after the war had ended, Digges illustrated his allegiance to his country when he risked fine and imprisonment in order to send skilled craftsmen,

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38. Hodgson to Franklin, Mar. 20, 1781, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, XXI, 117, as cited in Clark, p. 427. Herein cited Franklin, APS.

39. Clark, p. 428.

40. A Mr. Manley, writing from Mill Prison in June 1781, remarked, "My good Friend Mr. Diggs has been my only Support" (Manley to Franklin, June 4, 1781, Franklin, APS, XXII, 12, as cited in Clark, p. 428.) In 1782, John Green wrote to George Digges to extend his appreciation for Thomas' assistance: "His part I am sure was always good but the good man had not always the mains /sic/ to Supply our Distress." (Green to Digges, Nov. 7, 1782, John Green Letter Book, Thibault Collection /private/, as cited in Clark, p. 432.)

indentured servants, and machinery from England to America. As late as 1791, he was exporting "valuable artists and machine makers" overseas.[41] In 1793, moreover, Digges furnished Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Pinckney with information concerning attempts to arrange a distribution of counterfeit coins in America, and, in the same year, he assisted Rufus King in preventing the Blount-Chisholm conspiracy.[42]

By the time Thomas Digges returned to his estate on the Potomac in 1798-99, his reputation had been cleared by his

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41. Digges to Alexander Hamilton, Apr. 6, 1792, Hamilton Papers, L.C., as cited in Elias, p. 427, Digges to Thomas Jefferson, Mar. 12, 1788, April 28, 1791, Mar. 10, 1793, Jefferson Papers, L. C.

42. Elias, p. 427. William Blount, appointed by President Washington in 1790 as governor and Indian agent of the Territory south of the Ohio River (1790-96), conspired with J. O. Chisholm to arrange for a British take-over of West Florida with the assistance of the frontiersmen and Indians. When the plot was uncovered in July 1797, Blount, a Senator from Tennessee, was expelled from the Senate. Allen Johnson, ed., Dictionary on Amer. Biography, 11 (N. Y., 1943), p. 390. Herein after cited as DAB. Another service Digges might have done for his country is mentioned by Mrs. Bowie: "he was sent as a confidential representative to the Court of St. James" (p. 256), but she does not give her sources or any dates. Wilstach elaborated on this point somewhat: "When the Continental Congress desired to send a confidential representative to the Court of St. James, Washington backed...Thomas Digges, who received the hazardous but complimentary commission" (p. 108). Again, a lack of sources makes this information difficult to trace. If Thomas did serve in this capacity, however, it was probably between 1794-96 when Anglo-U.S. frictions intensified over the refusal of the British to evacuate the Northwest military forts. Digges then still resided in London and probably was on intimate terms with many of the British officials involved.

contemporaries in the higher political and social circles.[43] George Washington's defense of Digges prevented efforts to confiscate the Manor in 1794.[44] Washington, Jefferson and Madison, to name but a few, sought Digges' company, as well as his political advice, during his retiring years at Warburton (1799-1819), and, finally, at a hotel in Washington, D. C. And when in December 1821 Thomas Digges passed away at the age of 80, he left behind a coterie of devoted friends and admirers who have passed on to us their testimonies to his gracious hospitality, gentility, and good company.[45]

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43. Digges arrived in America sometime between April 1798, when he sent Washington an order of seeds and potatoes from London, and February 1799, when he dined at Mount Vernon. Elias, p. 427.

44. Some individuals, on the basis of the bad reputation Digges had gained from Franklin and Hodgson, attempted to enrich themselves by applying the confiscation law to Warburton. Washington, however, in a letter to John Fitzgerald in April 1794 flatly stated that "I have no hesitation in declaring that the conduct of Mr. Thomas Digges towards the United States during the War (in which they were engaged with Great Britain) and since as far as the same has come to my knowledge, has not been only friendly, but I might add zealous." Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., The Writings of George Washington, Vol. XII (New York, 1891), p. 420. See also Elias, p. 427.

45. Elias points out that "Jefferson maintained a cordial correspondence with him, discussing agriculture, sheep-herding, and political chicanery, and the Madisons regarded him with friendly affection, Indeed until but a few years before his death, he was active in the political circles of Jefferson, Madison, and other leaders, stamping out the remnants of the Tory party." (p. 427) See also, Digges to Jefferson, Jan. 30, 1806, Sept. 25, 1806, Dec. 23, 1806, Aug. 8, 1808, Sept. 20, 1808, Sept. 11, 1809, Mar. 30, 1818, Jefferson Papers, L.C., and Digges to Madison, Nov. 27, 1815, Madison Papers, L.C. Josephine

George Digges (1743-1792)

Although, like Thomas, he was schooled in and familiar with European society, George Digges patterned his life much on his father's example. In fact, until his fortieth birthday, the year William passed away, George resided under his father's roof at Warburton, and here he brought his wife, Catherine Brent, daughter of Robert Brent of Aquia, and Anne Carroll, niece of Archbishop Carroll, and here too were born his two children, Ann and William Dudley Digges.[46]

Because of his preference to remain at the family seat, George's personal accomplishments and ambitions have been somewhat overshadowed by those of his father and older brother, Thomas. Nevertheless, with the few clues that exist, it can

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Seaton wrote that "The hospitalities of this charming seat /Warburton/...were proverbial"(p. 130). The Diary of Mrs. William Thornton, wife of the prominent architect, inventor, and public official who helped design the U. S. Capitol, reflects the close friendship between Digges and the Thorntons. (Diary, Vols. I-III, Thornton Collection, L. C.) See also Seaton, pp. 127 and 139-40, for excerpts from letters written by her mother, Sarah Gales Seaton, in 1815 and 1818, remarking on Thomas' social finesse, polish, and savoire-faire, as well as on his wide circle of associates, both national and international. See Bowie, pp. 256-57 for obituary notice in National Intelligencer, Dec. 11, 1821. See Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Collection, L.C. for letters illustrating the close friendship between Charles L'Enfant and Digges.

46. Two family genealogical charts undated and without author or title can be found in the Digges Collection, Md. Hist. Soc. Another found in the files of East National Capital Parks, was probably compiled by a park historian. None of the charts give

be deduced that George, like Thomas, had a social conscience and motivation to contribute to the public well-being.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, George, at 33, had deeply imbibed the world of silks, satins, velvets, powdered wigs, wine and dine, characteristic of the aristocracy in the colonial period around the Chesapeake tidewater. Among his acquaintances, George Washington, Colonel Fairfax, Governor Eden, and Benedict Calvert, were representatives of the cream of Maryland and Virginia's first families.[47] Yet, this elitism on the English order of nobility did not remove George Digges nor the majority of his planter associates from a sympathy with the American cause. George not only swore his oath of Fidelity and Support on August 12, 1778, but he also voted as one of 62 delegates for the State of Maryland on April 28, 1788, at a Conference at Annapolis, to ratify the Constitution of the United States.[48]

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the date of George's marriage to Catherine, but it may well have been after the Revolution. Oddly enough, Catherine is not mentioned once in Washington's Diary. See Fitzpatrick, Diaries I, II, and III.

47. For a sampling of the fineries ordered from his tailor in the years just prior to the Revolution, see: Digges, George, Inventory, 1792, Orphan's Court Records, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md., and Appendix A. A discussion of the social life George pursued follows in the next chapter.

48. Clark, p. 388; Col. Charles Chaillé-Long, "Associations and Associators in the American Revolution," Md. Hist. Mag., VI (Sept., 1911), pp. 251-52. Most all planters along the Potomac,

The fledgling nation needed support during the 1780s, both politically and financially, and George Digges responded. Besides his official capacity on a state level, the Assembly appointed him, along with five other prominent Marylanders, as convassers to raise subscriptions to finance the newly-created state university, St. John's. Moreover, George Digges made a donation of £100 to the school -- a sizeable amount considering that Charles Carroll, then thought to be the richest man in America, made the largest single contribution of £200.[49]

Judging from these two key examples, which most likely give only a hint of his activities following the Revolution, George Digges no doubt maintained the tradition of social commitment reflected in the upper classes of almost every Western society to date.

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sharing in common economic conflict with the British mercantile system, rallied behind the American cause. For a discussion on the planters' politics in the Potomac area prior to and during the Revolution, see Frederick Gutheim, The Potomac (New York, 1949), pp. 136-66, 84.

49. Tench Francis Tilghman, "The Founding of St. John's College, 1784-1789," Md. Hist. Mag., XLIV (March 1949), pp. 79-81. According to Tilghman's research, prior to the Revolution there were only 9 colleges in all the colonies; 4 were established during the war, and 14 more in the years immediately following (p. 77). The organizers of St. John's must have been a far-sighted group of men, for they intended that the college be "founded and maintained forever upon a most liberal plan." (As quoted in Tilghman, p. 79.)

His experiences in travel, trade, politics, and education alone would have made George a cosmopolitian and cultivated gentleman.[50] But one glance at the long list of books included in his inventory suggests that George was a man sensitive to a broad range of human endeavor. Titles spanned history, economics, theology, etiquette, poetry, essays, literary criticism, the Classics, grammar, mathematics, geography, travel, trade, agriculture, education, language, law, and health.[51]

Unlike his older brother, Thomas, George had few opportunities to shower his genteel urbanity on cosmopolitan socialites in England and on the Continent. But because he spent the bulk of his time in the semi-isolated world of Warburton Manor, George gained advantages of another nature, for he won the affection and main inheritance of his father.[52] William Digges apparently

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50. In 1763 George sailed for London bearing with him a letter from George Washington to Robert Carey, his British factor. Kellock, p. 17. In 1775 George arrived again in London, where he joined Thomas and his clique of American and British friends for three years. Probably George was on some type of business trip at the time. Clark, p. 388, and Kellock, pp. 17-18.

51. See Inventory cited in footnote 46, and Appendix.

52. Aside from Thomas, the other four brothers presumably died prior to William: Charles (d.1769), Francis (died young), Henry (died single, at sea returning home, N.d.), and Joseph (who in the 1770s was "Doctor Digges" living in Maryland, but not specified whether at Warburton. He died at Teneri largest of the Canary Islands, around 1776). Genealogical charts and John C. Fitzpatrick, Diaries of George Washington.

had a mind and will of his own concerning the execution of the estate which he had inherited entail. Not only did he dock the entail illegally when he sold a piece of Warburton to George Hawkins in 1769,[53] but he also broke his father's specification that Warburton must pass to the eldest grandson who, in 1783, was Thomas. Instead, William devised all his estate to George who, at his death in 1792, passed it to his son, William Dudley Digges.[54]

So George likely grew old at Warburton enjoying the life of a country gentleman, surrounded by the unobtrusive but omnipresent women of the family.

The Fairer Sex

George grew up and old amidst a bevy of women: his mother, Ann Attwood, lived until his fourteenth birthday, and his six sisters, Teresa (b.1744), Susanah (b.1748), Ann (b.1750), Mary (b.1751), Elizabeth (b.1753), and Jane (b.1755), all were born within those first years of his childhood.[55] The young ladies of the household attracted little attention during their adolescence, as far as the family papers reveal. However, news of tragic occurrences did merit recording: having suffered fits

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53. Handwritten complaint in Digges Collection, Md. Hist. Soc.

54. Wills, Orphan's Court Records, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md.

55. The genealogical charts have conflicting birth dates occasionally, but the differences never amount to more than one year.

from the cradle, Suzannah died young. Mary, after only ten brief years, also died a child.

Once they had begun to blossom into young women, the four other Digges sisters -- familiarly referred to by George Washington in his diary as Teresa (or Tracy), Betsy, Jenny, and Nancy (presumably the latter two refer to Jane and Ann respectively, but particularly Nancy has been a confusing name to pinpoint) -- joined the gay social exchange between Mount Vernon and Warburton, often escorted by their older brother, George. All but Ann, who lived on at Warburton until her death in 1804, married into prominent families. Teresa, the eldest, married Ralph Foster but, probably because she was then 43, they left no issue. Elizabeth wed Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek, and in January 1779, at the age of 24, Jane took her vows with Col. John Fitzgerald of Alexandria, Virginia.[56]

In the years before the girls departed with their husbands, however, the family unit at Warburton had been strongly bound

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56. In the following chapter the information from Washington's diary will be discussed in greater depth. Information on Ann Digges is scarce but inventory of her estate can be found in the Orphan's Court records in the Prince George's County Courthouse in Upper Marlboro. Oddly enough, Washington never names Ann specifically, but on occasion mentions Nancy Digges as one of the sisters; the assuption is they are one and the same. Ann visited Mount Vernon only infrequently and seems to have been perhaps a retiring or shy individual. See genealogical charts and Brumbaugh, p. 110 for information on the marriages.

together. William as the Digges patriarch obviously had grown quite fond of his four daughters. In his will of 1780 he provided that Teresa, Ann, Jean (sic), and Elizabeth inherit all his real estate, lands, and tenements should their brother George die without any kin.[57] But since George's son, William Dudley Digges, was born in 1790, the daughters received no portion of the Warburton lands.[58] Nevertheless, the girls maintained close ties with their ancestral home, and at least two died at Warburton and were probably buried in the family cemetery on the grounds.[59]

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57. For citation on William's will, see footnote 7, this chapter.

58. Genealogical Chart, ENCP, and tombstone inscription as cited in Bowie, p. 265.

59. Both Ann Digges and her sister, Jane Fitzgerald, died at Warburton, in 1804 and 1825 respectively. The notice of Jane's death at Warburton appeared in the National Intelligencer for Sept. 21, 1826. Ann in her will (recorded Oct. 13, 1900; probated Jan. 23, 1805) left her brother Thomas responsible for having her "remains interred in the family cemetery at Warburton." (As quoted in Bowie, p. 258.) As this cemetery is no longer in existence, there is no way to check whether Jane also was put to rest in a family plot at Warburton.

Chapter IV

Highlights on the Diggeses' Social Life

Washington's diaries reveal that a close friendship and frequent exchange developed between the Digges and Washington families during the last half of the 18th century. The physical proximity of their estates of course facilitated the evolving intimacy. Typical of the plantation houses along the Potomac tidewater, both Warburton Manor and Mount Vernon rose on a promontory that commanded a panoramic view up and down the broad, winding river.[1] And both houses faced each other apparently with a beautiful and unobstructed view across the river.[2]

Historians writing on the Digges-Washington friendship have sometimes failed to sift out the diary entries from picturesque stories that have been passed on without documentation. Two such undocumented tales find themselves often repeated in the articles

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1. Gutheim, p. 82; Clark, p. 386; Wilstach, p. 107.

2. All the maps that locate the Digges manor house have it facing southwest towards Mount Vernon. See maps in illustrations. In describing the view between the two estates, Mrs. Clinton cites Dr. Joseph Toner as her source. Clinton, p. 235. Dr. Toner (1825-96) was one of the leading medical practitioners in Washington following his arrival in the capital in 1855. His interest in historical and literary pursuits, however, finally prompted him to quit his practice and involve himself in collecting and writing. While his main thrust fell on medical concerns, Dr. Toner wrote and researched on the career and writing of George Washington. Presumably Mrs. Clinton has extracted her information from a section of these Toner works. DAB, XVIII, pp. 586-87, for Dr. Toner's biography.

that discuss the Diggeses. George Digges and George Washington, for instance, supposedly collaborated on a system of signaling whereby when the latter, standing on the knoll in front of his home, waved a flag to his neighbor, a small boat manned by slaves would embark from the Digges wharf for Mount Vernon to pick up the General.[3] Washington Irving's colorful depiction of Washington crossing the Potomac to the Diggeses' merits quoting in full as it seems to have captured the imagination of several subsequent writers:

> The Potomac, in the palmy days of Virginia, was occasionally the scene of a little aquatic state and ostentation among the rich planters who resided on its banks. They had beautiful barges, which, like their land equipages, were imported from England; and mention is made of a Mr. Digges who always received Washington in his barge, rowed by 6 negroes, arrayed in a kind of uniform of check shirts and black velvet caps.[4]

But Washington only gave cursory note in his diary to his boats -- not barges -- that were awaiting his arrival at the Digges wharf.[5]

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3. Clinton, pp. 234-35. Mrs. Clinton phrases her information in the ambiguous form, "It appears that...," which gives no indication of her sources.

4. Washington Irving, Life of George Washington, I (New York, 1862), p. 106. Use of this passage can be found in Clinton, p. 234; Wilstach, p. 280; Rosamond Randall Beirne, "Portrait of a Colonial Governor: Robert Eden, I, His Entrance," Md. Hist. Mag., XLV (Sept. 1950), p. 163.

5. His entry for Sept. 11, 1772, reads: "Returned home by the way of Mr. William Digges's, where we Dined and Where my Boats met us." Fitzpatrick, Diaries, II, p. 78. This entry

Moreover, he gave no picturesque description of his travel arrangements which might help verify or disprove the above two statements. But the seeming confidence behind Irving's account leaves one to wonder if perhaps his information has some foundation.

Speculation and confusion concerning the nature of the bond between the two families decline however, with Washington's first mention of William Digges in his February 11, 1760, diary entry -- about one-half a year after Washington, with his bride, Martha Custis, and step-son, "Jackie," arrived at Mount Vernon.[6] For 39 years thereafter Washington faithfully and automatically recorded -- albeit unceremoniously -- each social, economic, and agricultural exchange made between the two families. From this skeleton framework, along with assorted family papers, grew up a body of information of the Diggeses' social proclivities throughout the latter part of the 18th century.

In his entries concerning the Diggeses, Washington indicated that the families enjoyed three types of social exchange which

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throws doubt on the signaling procedure, as Washington clearly owned his own vessels and had no need to call on the Diggeses for transport. The barges, although not mentioned specifically, undoubtedly numbered among Washington's fleet, for he arranged several times to have his and his guests' carriages and horses transported over to the Digges wharf ahead of time. Ibid., pp. 77, 383; III, p. 263.

6. Fitzpatrick, I, p. 224; Douglas Southall Freeman, George Washington, A Biography, III, Planter and Patriot (New York, 1951), p. 13.

most likely were typical among the gentry of the tidewater area in general. Most frequently casual invitations passed back and forth between the two families ranging from just dinner, to the whole day and overnight, to several days spent socializing at Mount Vernon or Warburton.[7] Less frequent and more formal were the long weekends planned between Mount Vernon and Warburton with guests from both the Maryland and Virginia aristocracy.[8] Finally, the Diggeses entertained George and Martha Washington and their Mount Vernon guests whenever they crossed over to Maryland en route to visit other homes or to continue north to Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.[9]

Washington's diaries also imply that the early 1770s were the most lavish and elegant years of colonial society. In December 1771 a company of six gentlemen featuring Governor Robert Eden of Maryland gathered at William Digges' and for four days the group crossed back and forth between Warburton and Mount Vernon partaking of the hospitality of both families. The following year in late December the governor once again accepted the invitation to visit the two families, and he with two other

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7. Fitzpatrick, I, pp. 265, 276, 328, 329; II, pp. 25, 76, 108, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 134, 137, 142, 143-44, 147, 148, 156, 157-58, 181, 186.
8. Ibid., II, pp., 43-44, 90, 105, 122, 143-44.
9. Ibid., pp. 34, 72, 78, 147, 383, 215, 263.

guests stayed close to a week. In January 1773 George Washington entertained 13 gentlemen, including four male Diggeses -- presumably William, George, Joseph, and Ignatius[10] -- for dinner and the night. And in March Governor Eden returned to enjoy another round of socializing between Warburton and Mount Vernon. In July and August 1773 the summer clime allowed for several two to three day visits exchanged among the Digges, Washington, and Calvert families. Late August breezes brought the return of Governor Eden with a handful of local gentry and a flutter of skirts from Warburton and Mount Airy.[11] Christmas spirits the same year lingered into the New Year with fox hunting among close friends and several evenings of male companionship at Mount Vernon. The next New Year season brought George Digges and his three sisters, Daniel Carroll, and Nancy Peake across the river for an overnight visit with the Washingtons. Then in February 1775 this grand style of entertainment ended rather abruptly shortly after a four day outing chasing the hounds near Mount Vernon -- a spree which both George Digges and George Washington might have sensed would be their last until the swelling tensions between the colonies and England could be arrested.[12]

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10. Ignatius Digges was the brother of William Digges of Warburton.

11. Mount Airy was the estate of Benedict Calvert; it stood on "The ffreshes of Piscataway." Quoted in Wilstach, p. 109.

12. Fitzpatrick, II, pp. 44, 90, 98, 105, 118-21, 122, 134, 137, 181, 184-5. The marker at the site of Warburton Manor and Mrs. Clinton both point out that George Washington spent his 43rd birthday with the Diggeses at Warburton.

Contemporary sources divulge one other interesting fact: that both George Digges and George Washington fed a strong craving for articles of luxury and elegance during the early 1770s. Both gentlemen reached a peak of self-indulgence in 1772-73, the younger George perhaps following the example of the older in his orders for tailor-made coats, jackets, and breeches of silk, satin, and velvet.[13]

General information on the tidewater gentry during the second half of the 18th century helps to lay some meat on the skeleton of facts exposed by Washington's diaries and the Digges family inventories. Other than the dining and foxhunting that Washington alluded to as social diversions, the Diggeses likely also participated in the current rave for horse racing. In fact there were two tracks operating around Piscataway, Maryland, during the mid-century and the Diggeses kept a large number of horses in their stables at Warburton.[14] Moreover, if Governor Eden in Annapolis found horseracing a stimulating

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13. In the inventory of his estate George Digges left unpaid invoices dating from 1772 for clothes made up by his tailor. Inventory, Orphan's Court, P.G's Co. Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md. According to Mr. Freeman, the invoices of July 1772 were the most expensive in clothing, food, and furnishings that George Washington ever made. All were to be "fashionable," and "of quality." Freeman, p. 294.

14. Kellock, p. 48; George Digges' inventory of 1792 listed at least 18 riding horses at Warburton. The family probably owned and kept more on the estate prior to the Revolution.

distraction from his fall affairs in 1771, it is most likely that his good acquaintance, William Digges, also enjoyed the spectator sport.[15]

The Diggeses surely joined their friends and associates at the fashionable balls and seasonal boat races up and down the Potomac at this time. In addition, fishing, shooting, and riding figured as cornerstones in the sporting world of tidewater planters.[16]

The frequent over-night mens' get-togethers at Mount Vernon and Warburton apparently were quite fashionable during the period. In the evening, usually after a day of riding, hunting, or fishing, the men gathered around a table to gamble at cards. In at least one instance George Washington's diary collaborates with his ledger book to confirm that an over-night visit at the Diggeses in December 1772 won him 18 shillings cash at cards.[17] In addition, released from the immediate responsibility to their womenfolk, and to the genteel manners assumed at mixed affairs, the male guests may well have heavily indulged in food and drink and entertained themselves with occasional cockfights and boxing matches -- all at the time characteristic of male soirées in this social milieu.[18]

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15. Beirne, p. 163.
16. Gutheim, p. 78.
17. Ibid.; Fitzpatrick, Diaries, II, p. 90.
18. Gutheim, p. 78.

For both the large men's social gatherings and the mixed affairs, where for several nights running the Diggeses and Washingtons put up as many as 13 guests at a time in their homes, accommodations followed a most spartan nature. In vivid contrast to the exorbitant collections of china, silverware, and glassware imported for heavy entertainment, the colonial houses usually boasted only three bedrooms at best. When overnight parties were arranged at Warburton, the two or three guest bedrooms undoubtedly turned into male and female barracks at night, each sleeping as many as eight guests.[19]

William Digges, by the 1770s an aging patriarch, probably gradually declined the more spirited of Washington's get-togethers. But George Digges, in his prime of life during the decade preceding the Revolution, took his father's place. In fact, the frequency of George's visits and the similarity of his habits with those of Washington might indicate that George Digges fraternized with George Washington with a touch of hero-worship scattered through. Certainly the latter never once mentioned a visit from the former accompanied by his wife. Indeed Catherine Brent Digges' name did not even appear in the Washington diaries. Nor was there mention of her in the inventory

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19. Ibid., p. 80. See inventory of George Digges' estate to get an idea of the fine dining collection still intact in 1792.

of George Digges' estate; there was mention, however, of a portrait of George Washington.

The Revolution broke off the close communications between the Diggeses and Washingtons for nearly a decade, and when life resumed under the new republic the pattern of social exchange along the Potomac necessarily had altered. No longer could the large plantations produce or sell large tobacco crops to support the open hospitality and lavish living of the colonial period at its zenith. In many areas of the tidewater the soil had thinned from constant planting, and finances were desperately needed to bolster the unsteady first steps of the infant nation.[20]

Washington's diary from 1785-99 reflects a corollary between the economic shift in the planters' world and a noticeable decline in the frequency and elaborateness of the entertainment at Warburton and Mount Vernon. Nonetheless, the tradition of open-handed hospitality fostered among the gentry continued to be exploited by many supposed friends of the planter families in the post-Revolution decades, so that at his retirement, George Washington exclaimed that his house was like "a well resorted tavern."[21]

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20. As quoted in Gutheim, p. 81.
21. As quoted in Gutheim, p. 85.

Gradually as the century wore on the great estates and their owners showed the signs of increasing debt -- Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe all smarted under the embarrassment of financial difficulties.[22] Thomas Digges, having returned to a rapidly deteriorating estate, finally moved to Washington in 1819, after Warburton's state of decay had made living too uncomfortable for the aging gentleman.[23] Thus by 1820 the last vestiges of the once-lavish society of the tidewater area had disappeared, leaving only the planter ideals alive to mold the characteristics of the lower Potomac region for generations to follow.[24]

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22. Gutheim, p. 104.

23. Thomas A. Digges to ?, December 29, 1819, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Collection, Library of Congress.

24. Gutheim, p. 73. Gutheim develops a premise that the tobacco civilization stamped and created a type of personality, a distinctive character on the lower Potomac region, which was formed in the mid-18th century and which persists todays. For all the elements of this character type see page cited above.

Chapter V

Warburton as a Working Plantation

The picture of a leisured, country life laced with fox-hunting, riding, fishing, horseraces, and abundant dining invitations only tells part of the story of life at Warburton during the 18th century. The Diggeses, like their neighbor Washington, also gave sober consideration to the complex operation of their plantations, with an eye for bringing innovation and improvement to their crops and stock. As large colonial planters, both William Digges and George Washington could invest capital to expand their land and slave holdings and to experiment in new products sent from Europe. The family cooperation in these business transactions -- as seen in Washington's diaries and writings -- reflects another bond between the Diggeses and Washingtons on the strength of which one can again draw parallels in the lifestyles of the two families. This similarity and intimacy between the two families, moreover, helps to elucidate the narrative of Warburton Manor.

Throughout the colonial period, tobacco as the cash crop commanded the market and profits for Potomac planters. But even as the market reached its peak from 1720 to the Revolution, the soil was gradually being exhausted along the lower Potomac valley. In fact, by the 1780s many of the tobacco regions downriver from the Piscataway area had already turned to wheat

and corn cultivation. Moreover, even before the Revolution, Alexandria and Georgetown -- just upriver from Warburton and Mount Vernon -- had mushroomed into thriving riverports because of the boom in the wheat trade.[1]

But tobacco until the Revolution persevered as the most lucrative cash crop in the American markets. In the tidewater region, the handful of large plantation owners definitely held an advantage over the vast majority of small independent farmers who struggled vainly to harvest a profitable tobacco crop. While almost all planters, rich and poor, stood in debt to the Scottish and British factors who bought their tobacco, the large planters could more easily extend credit. In addition, the huge acreage of the manorial estates made room for extensive stretches of virgin land which could be converted into arable fields when sections of the property had been overfarmed. Moreover, this process of soil rotation proceeded slowly on the grand estates as only a small fraction of the land was ever turned over at one time to tobacco cultivation because of the crop's sensitivity to soil and climate and because of its need for abundant hand labor and constant supervision the year round. And only the wealthy

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1. Gutheim, p. 102.

planters with their exceptionally large numbers of slaves had easy access to abundant hand labor for the tobacco cultivation.[2]

Even with these advantages, however, the large planters anticipated the increasing difficulties with tobacco as a cash crop, and they showed early interest in the development of other resources. In addition, they fostered an economic cooperation within their ranks which allowed a broader base for investment and experimentation. On their estates both William Digges and George Washington operated a mill to grind the plantation wheat into flour.[3] In 1760, shortly after his arrival at Mount Vernon, Washington purchased several thousand pounds of hay from his neighbor Digges, and borrowed £304.15.3 to purchase a choice piece of land adjoining his estate. In addition he made arrangements to receive 43 Maryland Red Strick from Warburton to make

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2. Gutheim explains that on a colonial plantation of 1,000 acres (Warburton had 1137 acres), as few as 30 might actually be under cultivation. But a single worker could only tend about three acres of tobacco. Even today large numbers of workers are needed at each step of tobacco cultivation (pp. 70-72). For a broader understanding of the influence and impact tobacco had in the tidewater area, see Gutheim, pp. 70-104; Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society," pp. 169-85, and "The Tobacco Staple," pp. 69-81; McMaster and Skaggs, "Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Part I, 1774," Md. Hist. Mag., LXI (1966), pp. 146-66, Part II, ibid., LXI (1966), pp. 305-28, Part III, ibid., LXII (1967), pp. 135-69; Arthur Pierce Middleton, Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era (Newport News, 1953).

3. Will of William Digges, Digges Collection, Md. Hist. Soc., Balt.; Fitzpatrick, Diaries, III, p. 420.

graftings with his own plants.[4] William, in turn, borrowed such items as brick, salt, steel, wheat, and sea coal from Washington, and, on one occasion, he paid off part of his balance by sending over to Mount Vernon a quarter-cask of port wine.[5] So the selling and exchanging between the two families continued until the end of the century.

Along with the Washington Diaries and Writings, period maps, and inventories help reveal that William Digges and George Washington shared also an interest in their gardens, orchards, farms, livestock, and fisheries. If the Engineer's map of Warburton in 1816 can speak for the pre- and post-Revolutionary decades, then a formal garden stretched out toward the river from the house.[6] Another map of 1807, however, suggests that two straight rows of fir or locust trees formed a wide avenue from the house to the river.[7] Although records exist to prove

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4. Fitzpatrick, Diaries, I, pp. 127 and 147; Fitzpatrick, Writings, II, p. 349. The author was unable to determine the type of plant the Maryland Red Strick was. Washington undoubtedly bought such large quantities of wheat from William in 1760 because when he first moved to Mount Vernon he found the estate in a sorry condition. Freeman, pp. 17-18.

5. Freeman, p. 65.

6. "Survey of the Grounds, River, and Creeks, in the Vicinity of Fort Washington," Engineer Department, United States Topographical Bureau, December 1817, National Archives. See Illustrations.

7. George Gilpin, surveyor, Survey of Warburton Manor, July 1807, Engineer Department, U. S. Topographical Bureau, National Archives. See Illustrations.

Washington invited gardeners from Europe to come work at Mount Vernon,[8] there is no corresponding information on Warburton Manor from which to draw inferences. Nonetheless, some boxwood gardens undoubtedly stood around the house, if only to satisfy the fashion of the day. The list of gardening tools in George Digges' inventory, as well as a brief stretch of boxwood bush still standing at the site, together add strength to the supposition that the Diggeses did cultivate a garden or gardens.

Orchards in the Colonial and Federal periods had, no doubt, a dual purpose. Besides beautifying the grounds near the house, they supplied the planters with fruit to eat and cider or brandy to drink. Apricot, apple, peach, pear, and persimmon trees of the area made possible a variety of fruit liquors. At George Digges' death in 1792, the family had several casks of cider and some brandy in store at Warburton. The brandy as well as the 8 bottles of sweet wine on the list, however, may well have been imported from Europe for the family, a luxury afforded only among the wealthy.[9]

If Washington's example was shared by the Diggeses, or vice versa, then both Mount Vernon and Warburton Manor were subdivided

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8. T. L. Senn, "Farm and Garden: Landscape Architecture and Horticulture in Eighteenth Century America," Agricultural Hist., XLIII (Jan. 1969), p. 153.

9. As no other information is known on the orchards at Warburton, inferences have been drawn by the author from the Washington Diaries, II -- he frequently mentions his fruit trees --

into separate farms, each supervised from the family seat. Most likely too, tenant farmers planted some sections of Warburton.[10] Slave labor, however, carried the burden of the farming, as well as the carpentry and blacksmith work on the estate.[11] In his library collection, George Digges had several books on farming methods and perhaps, if he read them, he took as avid and persistent interest in the management of Warburton Manor as Washington did of Mount Vernon.[12]

The Diggeses' efforts to diversify the plantation economy seem to have increasingly concentrated on the raising of quality livestock as the century passed into its third quarter. That

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and from general information on the area's agriculture. See Gutheim, pp. 57, 81. Hard Cider was the main alcoholic beverage in the 18th-century because the trees were largely self-sustaining. Much brandy was made from the abundant peach supply. Frank Horsfall, Jr., "Horticulture in 18th-Century America," Agricultural History, XLIII (Jan. 1969), p. 161. During this century, also, the apple and peach crops in America won acclaim as being superior to those in Europe. Conway Zirke, "Plant Hybridization and Plant Breeding in Eighteenth-Century American Agriculture," ibid., p. 32.

10. Washington frequently noted in his diary his visits to the farms or plantations. See Fitzgerald, Diaries, II; Irving, p. 103; Freeman, pp. 24, 42.

11. As mentioned earlier, the 1776 census showed that the Diggeses owned 128 slaves. The 1790 census totaled 105 slaves for George Digges. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790 Maryland (Washington, 1907). The inventory of 1792 listed carpenter and blacksmith tools.

12. See Appendix for list of books in 1792 inventory.

Washington paid close attention to his sheep herds suggests that these animals met a growing demand on the American market.[13] In 1792 the number of sheep grazing on Warburton lands numbered over 150.[14] Horses too were in abundance, but generally they filled social needs, such as riding, hunting, and racing. Often the wealthy families imported the best stock studs from Europe, and took great pains to breed their thoroughbreds.[15] Other livestock enumerated on the 1792 inventory included oxen, bulls, cows, heifers, mules, sows, pigs, and boars. Evidently the Diggeses raised an enviable cattle stock, for Washington, a meticulous farmer, received a bull calf from Warburton in 1788.[16]

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13. Fitzgerald, Writings, III, p. 85. According to a letter Thomas Digges addressed to the editor of the North American in 1808, George Washington had bred his chosen ewes with Mr. Custis' sheep, which had been improved by interbreeding with imported stock. The editor, Jacob Wagner, had apparently written Thomas requesting information on the comparison between American and common run English wool. Thomas sent the editor a $5 note to have an advertisement inserted to publicize "the beneficial production of sheep and wool, and to bring into more general notice the yet infant efforts of my friend & neighbor Mr. Custis towards obtaining a better breed of sheep - thereby to aid our rising manufacturers." Presumably Thomas' interest in the economy of sheep raising followed a family tradition begun with William. Thomas Digges to Jacob Wagner, May 4, 1808, Custis Papers, Virginia Historical Society, copied by M. H. Nelligan, 7/23/49, and filed at ENCP.

14. Inventory of George Digges, 1792.

15. Irving, p. 104.

16. Fitzgerald, Diaries, III, p. 425.

While many acres of Warburton Manor were cultivated with tobacco, wheat, corn, and orchards, and grazed by livestock, many acres still stood wild with woods, streams, inlets, composing a natural haven for the abundant wildlife. The forests sheltered the fox and deer hunted by the planters with their dogs, and supplied the wooden staves for the hogsheads used in packing and shipping tobacco.[17]

As the tobacco market gradually waned, the planters along the Potomac increasingly looked to the rich fish resources of the river to supplement their agricultural income.[18] In 1759 George Washington wrote a glowing picture of the Potomac as "well stocked with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year, and in the spring with shad, herrings, bass, carp, sturgeon, etc., in great abundance. The borders of the estate are washed by more than ten miles of tide water; several valuable fisheries appertain to it: the whole shore, in fact, is one entire fishery."[19] The Diggeses too developed fisheries along the shoreline, although it is not clear when and to what extent. Certainly by the turn of the century the Digges fisheries represented a substantial family investment,

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17. Irving, p. 103; Gutheim, p. 71.
18. Gutheim, p. 159.
19. As quoted in George Washington Parke Custis, Memoirs of Washington (New York, 1859), p. 153.

as the advertisements Thomas Digges placed in the area's newspapers attest. In 1802 Thomas put up his three principal shad and herring landings at Warburton for a three-year lease. He assured any interested party that

> The Point or Warehouse landing (on which are two places for landing the nets on the flood and ebb tides) is not inferior to any landing on Potomack, when properly fished, and there will be a commodious fish house on it before next season: the others at the mouth of Swan Creek and at the Clifft (to) the north of Piscataway Creek, will be let cheaper, and separately if agreeable.[20]

When in 1809 Thomas again advertised his fishing landings for lease, he was able to boast of "the two well known and valuable Seine Landings nearly adjoining Fort Warburton."[21] The next year he gave a more accurate description of the fisheries available for lease: "The two on each side of the Warburton Point, or Fort Wharf, the one nearby adjoining at the meadow barrs; the Piscataway Cliff Landing, and the old Seine Landing near to it." In addition he offered "the full use of the Warehouse and 3 or 4 other out houses, saving to himself the celler /sic/ under the brick dwelling, and the locked up room at the end of the large ware houses and other conditions -- for which house he has been offered, exclusive

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20. Alexandria Daily Advertiser, July 22, 1802, p. 4. Copied from research notes at ENCP.

21. Washington Federalist, Georgetown, D. C. Feb. 11, 1809. Copied from research notes at ENCP.

of the fisheries, 200 per year." He closed his advertisement with the assurance that "the wharf landings, and convenience, clean shores, and use of pasturage, are not equalled by any on the Potomac river."[22]

While the fisheries continued to thrive throughout the first two decades of the 19th century, the first word of their decline began to appear in local newspapers. A National Intelligencer advertisement in 1818 clearly defined the distressing dilemma:

> The only landings now offered on lease are from the north wing of the Warburton wharf, up to the Swan Creek, or Wash. Landing distant about 7 miles south of Alexandria, where but a few years back, there was taken at one haul of the seine three hundred and seventy-two thousand herring! The south, or shad broth, also adjoining the Fort wharf, is from necessity discontinued and believed to be ruined by the envelopment of dry earth and other obstructions consequent to the Fort.[23]

Six months later the Washington Gazette also reported Thomas Digges' plight: "We understand that Mr. Thomas A. Digges' fine shad and herring fishery, on the Potomac at Fort Warburton, which formerly yielded /~?_/ of $1,000, is so much ruined from

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22. Alexandria Gazette, August 6, 1810. Copied from research notes at ENCP.

23. National Intelligencer, Aug. 20, 1818. Copied from research notes at ENCP.

the erection of the fort, that it is entirely unproductive; he intends to petition Congress for remuneration."[24] The ultimate destruction of these fisheries symbolized in a fashion a break with the last vestiges of Warburton Mannor during its peak years. The loss of the fisheries, however, was only one link in a long chain of events bringing the grand old estate to its final downfall.

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24. Washington Gazette, Feb. 11, 1819, p. 3, as copied from research notes at ENCP.

Chapter VI

The Decline of Warburton Manor

The Revolution marked a turning point economically for the Diggeses of Warburton Manor, as it did for most of the substantial landowning families of the Potomac River valley.[1] Once the tobacco market buckled, the unwieldy estates became increasingly difficult to manage with any profit. The list of creditors named in the estate of George Digges in 1792 gives some indication of the sliding financial circumstances in the family. So also do the contrasting bills sent to George from his tailor just before and then after the Revolution: the 1772-3 orders mostly called for the making of elegant silk, velvet, and satin garments, while the work done from 1774-84 concentrated on mending and altering these clothes.[2]

The more serious deterioration of the family fortunes and estate began at the turn of the century. Apparently after George died in 1792, his widow Catherine Brent Digges, built Green Hill, a mansion on a portion of the Chilham Castle Manor estate, traditionally the estate of another branch of the Digges family of Maryland.[3] At what point Catherine left Warburton with her

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1. Gutheim, p. 104.
2. Inventory of George Digges, Orphan's Court, Prince George's County Court House, Upper Marlboro, Md.
3. Family Chart, ENCP research notes; Clinton, p. 233.

two children, Anna Maria and William Dudley Digges, is uncertain, and, after their departure, it is not clear who resided at Warburton. Between 1792 and when Thomas Digges returned from England in 1798, the house probably suffered some neglect, with no male member of the family to see to its upkeep.

At the same time President Washington was seriously considering the defences for the new Federal City. In November 1793 he wrote,

> The channel at Digges Point is not twenty feet from the shore. A Vessel can approach no otherwise than with her bow to a battery at that place from at least three miles; and present her stern unavoidably the same distance when She passes it, and the whole width of the Channel at that place scarcely exceeds 300, I am sure not 400 yards.[4]

In May 1794 he passed his decision onto Henry Knox, Secretary of War:

> The President of the United States, who is well acquainted with the river Potomac, conceives that a certain bluff of land, on the Maryland side, near Mr. Digges's (the point formed by the E. Branch of the Potomac), would be a proper situation for the fortification to be erected.[5]

That Thomas Digges was still residing in England at this time probably slowed down the negotiations to purchase the Digges

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4. Fitzpatrick, Writings, XXXIII, p. 151.
5. American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, p. 93.

point. But other factors likely complicated the issue, too, as the official government acquisition the 3 acres, 127 perches of land for $6,000 did not occur until April 15, 1808 -- ten years after Thomas' return.[6] During the intervening years between the Presidential order and the actual purchase, however, some informal arrangements must have been made, as the government had occupied the land and used it as a depository for a small cache of arms for two years prior to the signing of the land title.[7]

In 1807-08 Congress responded to British naval antagonisms by appropriating one million dollars for the defense of the ports and harbors of the United States. On May 9, 1808, ground breaking for the first fort at Warburton commenced.[8] In August, just three months later, Thomas Digges explained in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, that

> My avocations, and the continued vexations at the Fort/ for I have them dayly, and too often nightly in the Robbery on my garden and of my apple and Pear Trees/ will I fear deprive me the gratification of seeing you at Montecello as I intended.[9]

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6. Land Papers, Liber JRM-12, p. 579. Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md.
7. Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan, A History of the National Capital, I, 1790-1814 (New York, 1914) p. 569.
8. Ibid., p. 569.
9. Digges to Jefferson, Aug. 8, 1808, V. 179, p. 31853, Jefferson Papers, L. C.

The next month Thomas again wrote Jefferson at Montecello and elaborated on the subject: "The Fort progress towards its completion...I have my dayly vexations...which will be removed when a regular soldiery is fixed in it -- It is not the tradesmen workers who do the mischief, but a set of lounging Idlers, watermen, and Labourers that pray upon my green corn, my stock, Hen roosts, all kinds of fruit even to garden vegetables."[10]

At the same time Fort Warburton began to draw a tourist trade. A. Willis announced in the Alexandria Daily Advertiser that he had,

> fitted up, at Fort WARBURTON, handsome place for the accommodation of parties, adjoining an excellent spring, and his PACKET will attend every morning at Richetts and Newton's wharf to convey such as feel a disposition to enjoy a little recreation at one of the handsomest places in this vicinity. Private parties giving him notice the evening before can be accommodated with every thing the season affords, and will spare no pains to give general satisfaction.[11]

Although no complaints survive concerning this first onrush of tourists to the Warburton lands, most likely some trespasses

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10. Digges to Jefferson, Sept. 20, 1808, V. 181, p. 32107, Jefferson Papers, L. C.

11. Alexandria Daily Advertiser, June 23, 1808, p. 1, as copied from research notes at ENCP. The first fort, although officially named Fort Washington, was called Fort Warburton by War Department officials and local citizens alike.

and invasions of privacy grew out of this initial public development of the Digges point.

Digges' expectation that the vexations would end with the completion of the fort works was never satisfied. Even after July 11, 1809, when President Madison, his Secretaries of War and Navy, his Attorney General and several other attendants had inspected the newly completed fort (an enclosed wall of brick and stone with a battery of like material), and had returned to Washington "seemingly much gratified with the public works," and even after a garrison of 120 men was stationed at the fort, Thomas continued to struggle with the maintenance of his home and estate.[12] In September 1809 he wrote Jefferson to again apologize and account for why he had not visited Montecello:

> But to my mind and avocations having demanded more of home /sic/ than I have before experienced. I have nearly brought an old House over my head by attempting to repair a tottering, aged, and eighty years old family mansion and but today only began the shingling. I have yet hoped to get through with it.[13]

Five years later the shadow of the War of 1812 crossed over Warburton Manor and left behind the ashes of the fort. A garrison of only 80 men under the command of Captain Samuel T. Dyson had

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12. Bryan, p. 570; Alexandria Gazette, July 15, 1809, as copied from research notes at ENCP.

13. Digges to Jefferson, Sept. 11, 1809, V. 188, p. 33474, Jefferson Papers, L. C.

been guarding the fort in anxious expectation of the British invasion. Although his instructions were to blow up the fort if the British threatened by land, Captain Dyson apparently gave the order to dynamite when he spied the British fleet sailing up the Potomac toward the fort. Having met no opposition, the British fleet continued on up the river to Alexandria without stopping.[14]

On August 30, 1814, shortly after the fort's destruction, Thomas informed President Madison that he had been "employed that day taking a list of the ruined contents (of the station)." Obviously concerned about the safety of his home--as he had already "lost everything between the Fort and River shore, and had /had/ the pleasure to see and hear dozens of morters, Rockets, &c. pass the direction very nearly over my house and some not so far from my well" -- Thomas reported that he was entertaining "hopes from the commodores promise on Sunday as by a note of to day from Commandr Gray that my house & property will be Secured." Ironically enough, however, all the damages accrued from the war amounted to nothing, Thomas continued, in comparison with the mischief done by a thunder bolt the Saturday before.[15]

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14. De Bennevill Randolph Keim, A Guide to the Potomac River (Washington, 1881), p. 27; Bryan, p. 630.

15. Digges to Madison, Aug. 30, 1814, Reel 16, Madison Papers, L. C.

To add to his problems, work began that fall of 1814 on the reconstruction of Fort Washington. The citizens of Alexandria and the Federal City had grown alarmed over the defenselessness of the Capital and had contributed money to begin the restoration of the fort works. Major Charles Pierre L'Enfant, appointed Chief Engineer, moved in with Thomas to share the manor house during the fort's rebuilding.[16] Christian Hines, one of three District citizens selected to head up further fund-raising for the fort works, briefly described his visit to Warburton to see Major L'Enfant:

> It was late in the evening when we arrived at the fort, and after landing and securing my men under shelter, I started off the Diggs' (about half a mile from the fort) where I found the house pretty well crowded with gentlemen from the neighborhood. I presented my letter to Mr. L'Enfant, the engineer, conversed with him awhile, took a glass of wine with him and then went back to my men.[17]

Clearly, the war operations and the fort's reconstruction preparations had not interrupted the cordial hospitality extended by Thomas Digges of Warburton. Nonetheless, evidence reveals that the aging bachelor's finances were thinning and that his health was suffering from the strain of the combined aggravations that befell him at Warburton.

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16. Bryan, p. 685.
17. As quoted in John Clagett Proctor, "Marshall Hall and Its Famous Mansion," Evening Star, Jan. 3, 1932, p. 7.

Thomas, for instance, was not among the prominent members of the District and environs who in 1814 purchased shares to form a stock company aimed at restoring the devastated government buildings in the Capital. Thomas' nephew, William Dudley Digges, however, stood among 38 stockholders who financed the erection of a building to seat the Congress. Moreover, even though other in-laws and close associates of the Digges family -- such as Daniel Carroll of Duddington, William Brent, Robert Brent, Charles Carroll of Bellevue, -- all contributed to this important undertaking, Thomas Digges did not.[18] The question arises, did he have the resources to follow his own and family tradition of public-spiritedness?

After a year of remaining incommunicado at Warburton, Thomas wrote the Madisons in November 1815 assuring them that his silence had not meant any loss of his respect, regard, and affection for them. He explained that the incidents of the Autumn and fall of 1814 and his complete preoccupation with the problems of the estate had added to his 76 years the weight of "sickness, Rheumatris, and achs." Moreover, still unused to the isolation of Warburton, which had bothered him as early as 1806, Thomas made a

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18. Bryan, p. 637. The connection between the Carroll, Brent, and Digges families can be seen in the papers of the Digges Collection, Md. Historical Society, Balt., Md.

request familiar to both Jefferson and Madison, for any cast-off British or French newspapers that could be sent to the estate.[19]

Although Thomas began to receive some revenue from the War Department for the hauling of wood cords from the wharf to the garrison at Fort Washington,[20] and for a share of $8,541 paid by the government in August 1815 for 5 acres, 56 perches more of Warburton to enlarge the fort property,[21] he evidently had little money to expend on the maintenance of his home. In 1816 he addressed a lengthy letter to an unknown party who undoubtedly had some pull in high government circles. The bulk of his letter complained of the unjust treatment he had received from the government concerning the three years' rent lost on his fisheries due to the obstructive waste left along the the shores from the fort wharf construction. Not only did he go into careful detail on the injuries to his fisheries, but he assured the official that numerous respectable citizens could testify in his behalf. In addition to his obvious distress over the money lost and the seeming indifference of the War Department, Thomas expressed even

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19. Digges to Madison, Nov. 27, 1815, Reel 17, Madison Papers, L. C. On July 1, 1806 Jefferson wrote Digges, saluting him with friendship and respect, and sending him the newspapers he had requested. V. 159, p. 27983, Jefferson Papers, L. C.

20. "Account No. 1387, Lt. F. Arnsal, 3rd Quarter, 1817, Abstract B." Copied from research notes at ENCP.

21. Deed from Thomas A. Digges, et. al., Aug. 31, 1815, R. G. 153, Reservation file, Maryland, Camp Somerset-Fort Washington, N.A.

greater concern that "this my confortable Farm...I fear I shall soon be obligd to quit from dayly vexations, tresspass, and robberys upon it."[22]

Only one month later Thomas addressed another letter to the War Department admitting his "situation of dire necessity."[23] Perhaps his frustrations and disheartening efforts brought on the 2-year lapse in correspondence and news from Warburton. When word did begin to seep out from the estate once again in 1818, it portended the final destruction of Warburton Manor.

In May 1818 a violent hailstorm ravaged the house. A Mr. Printer from the Washington Gazette gave his account:

> it appears that these two clouds united a little beyond Alexandria, and burst with dreadful havoc at the station of Fort Warburton, entirely destroying the remains of the old shattered and once hospitable mansion on its eastern front, those on the western and north corner having met their share of affliction from former causes, such as lightning, mischief from the fort, and its works, &c. It is stated to have been there far more violent than in the city -- that the lawn before the house was fully covered with hailstones of incredible size, such as to be as large as a three or four pound shot; a great portion of others two inches in diameter -- that it lasted about fifteen minutes -- that several large birds fell killed with it -- fences were leveled --

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22. Digges to ?, October 26, 1816, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Papers, L. C.

23. Digges to War Dept., Nov. 6, 1816, as copied from research notes at ENCP.

> horses and cattle fled for shelter under the thickets of cedars on the hill sides, and the sheep wedged themselves in herds with their noses to the ground for cover for their ears, &c. -- that the boughs of fruit trees in blossom were scattered as feathers before the wind, and destroyed.[24]

The sorry condition of the estate from the storm, trespasses, and fort works, then, had made the news, and Thomas Digges showed his first signs of wanting relief from his duties at Warburton. By early July 1818 he had taken a room at Tennison's Hotel in Washington and had placed an advertisement in the Gazette for an overseer. His notice made quite public the state of affairs at Warburton:

> The Subscriber will engage and give annual wages from October next, to any single man coming properly recommended for sobriety and due attention, and who can overlook his Warburton Farm...which is meant in future (or until the Fort is finished) as a Tobacco plantation chiefly: As from woeful experience for several years past, it is needless to till it in Indian corn, Potatoes, or Turnips, from constant trespasses through the estate and the depredations made upon these productions.[25]

A week later Thomas' bitter disillusionment and wrath reached a crescendo in a letter to Madison:

> am likely to be a longer resident in it /Tennison's Hotel/ from having my old

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24. Mr. Printer, "Further Effects of the Hailstorm," Gazette, May 23, 1818, as copied from research notes ENCP.

25. Gazette, July 10, 1818, p. 3, as copied from research notes at ENCP.

> family mansion nearly ruind by the severe hail storm of 21st May; and the more feeling /sic/ ruin and depredations done and doing the Farm by an ungovernable vile soldiery too close in my vicinity and the nightly plunder of the labouring herd on the Fort works; who not only ravage my outstock and domestic poultry, but hardly leave me any thing of the vegetable productions of the Farm, And, after a fourth or fifth years Trial I am obligd to give up the growth of Indian corn, Potatoes, Turnips &c so very essential to twenty odd field Negroes and a flock of 70 or 80 unprofitable ones. But for the old Major/ a harmless honorable minded man .../ I should have e'er this closed up its doors and used the place only as a Tobacco plantation until the Fort works are completely finished...uneasy thoughts will arise on reflecting as what has been the scenes at Warburton before these aggravations and depredations took place.[26]

Evidently Thomas never made repairs on the house after the damages from the hail storm and vandalism, for in December 1819 he abandoned Warburton once again on account of the discomforts the drafty, cold house caused him. In a letter sent from Washington, Thomas wrote, "I got hither from my tatterd and comfortless home on yesterday with a hope that in a warm room (which I keep in it for going and coming purposes) to attain some amelioration in .../?/ complaints in my ankle joints and Rhuematris in my shoulders & neck joint, afflictingly bad at time altho' internally in good health."[27]

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26. Digges to Madison, July 17, 1818, Reel 18, Madison Papers, L. C.

27. Digges to ?, Dec. 29, 1819, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Collection, L. C.

While he suffered such physical afflictions, Thomas still was able to charm the ladies in the Capital, and he obviously delighted at their response. Mrs. Seaton, wife of Joseph Seaton, Sr., wrote in testimony of her admiration for Thomas' social contacts and finesse:

> Mr. Digges is perfectly at home here, one day dining en famille with the President, spending the next with Mr. Bagot, and frequently alternating between the great folk with us, equally easy and agreeable to all. Mr. Bagot told me that Mr. Digges knew circumstances and people in his (Bagot's) neighborhood better than himself, and there is no port of England, nor few prominent persons there, with whom he is not perfectly acquainted.[28]

As mentioned in his letter to Madison, Thomas left the care of Warburton to his old companion, Charles L'Enfant. Ever since his appointment as Chief Engineer for the fort reconstruction in 1814, L'Enfant had lived at Warburton as Digges' guest. Even after the President had relieved him of his position in September 1815,[29] L'Enfant had continued on at the mansion, although despondent at his dismissal. As Thomas described him in 1816,

> The old major is still an inmate with me quiet, harmless, and unoffending as usual. I fear from symptoms of broken shoes, rent pantaloons, out at elboes

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28. Seaton, Seaton, p. 139. Mr. Bagot's title was Right Honorable Sir Charles Bagot, G.C.B., and Privy Councillor.

29. George Graham, Chief Clerk, Dept. of War, to Major L'Enfant, Sept. 6, 1815, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Coll., L. C.

> &c. &c., that he is not well off -- manifestly disturbed at his getting the go by -- never facing towards the Fort tho' frequently dipping into the eastern ravines & hills of the plantations -- picking up fossils and periwinkles -- early to bed & rising -- working hard with his instrum^{ts} on paper 8 or ten hours every day.[30]

Until his death in 1825 L'Enfant corresponded first with Thomas and then with William Dudley Digges, sending them the news from Warburton. Most of L'Enfant's news from July 1820 to the fall of 1821 was bleak. A fever struck the fort and spread to the slaves at Warburton. Jack, Gusty, Ned, Patience, George Gray, Rachael, and Dominick all had fallen ill in August 1820.[31] In addition, the two wells both were very low, and needed cleaning out. And the river sprout spring used by the household and garrison L'Enfant complained had "a shameful and disgraceful mistake or negligince /sic/ within it."[32]

In March of the next year a snowstorm created havoc with the vegetable plants on the plantation. L'Enfant feared the destruction of the peach crop and grape vineyards.[33] Throughout, every

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30. Digges to ?, Oct. 26, 1816, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Coll., L. C.
31. L'Enfant to Thomas Digges, Aug. 30, 1820, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Coll., L. C.
32. L'Enfant to Thomas Digges, Aug. 25, 1820. Digges-L'Enfant- Morgan Coll., L. C.
33. L'Enfant to Thomas Digges, Mar. 29, 1821, ibid.

available slave struggled to harvest a tobacco crop.[34] But their work was inconvenienced by having only one team of oxen, and by the slowly deteriorating tobacco barns. In the fall of 1821 L'Enfant explained that "what tobacco in the old house at the Brick yard being likely to be very much injured by any Rain as the Singles /sic/ of the roof has been allmost blow /sic/ away by the late gale."[35]

Early December 1821 brought the death of Thomas A. Digges at almost 80 years old.[36] The next Digges heir to the estate, William Dudley Digges, wrote L'Enfant from Washington, D. C., on Christmas eve 1821 to inform him,

> Since the death of my Uncle I have good reasons to believe that I am entitled to the immediate possession of the estates of Warburton Manor and Frankland, and therefore enjoin on you not to give possession of the premises to any person whatever without my authority.[37]

A month later L'Enfant received another letter from William requesting that the articles of his on the list be wrapped up and sent to him. Even furniture was packed up and shipped off right from under L'Enfant.[38]

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34. Every letter cited from L'Enfant to Thomas mentions the progress on the tobacco crop.
35. L'Enfant to Thomas Digges, Oct. 23, 1821, ibid.
36. His obituary notice in the National Intelligencer of December 11, 1821, is quoted in Bowie, p. 257.
37. Digges to L'Enfant, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Coll., L. C.
38. Digges to L'Enfant, Jan. 28, 1822, ibid.

William's next letter to the Major reveals that he, with his sister and brother, visited Warburton and divided up between them the furniture and kitchen utensils. Each presumably followed suit with William, and had their possessions sent to their own residences.[39] In what condition the house was left for L'Enfant after this purge is hard to imagine.

But L'Enfant continued to live at Warburton all the same, and began to send his news letters to William. In April 1822 he reported:

> the house has received such a shock as the lower part of the wall and /~?~/ on the north side absoultly /sic/ gave way and luckily I have had just time to put stress of old timber against it to support and prevent further decay -- which I am confident it will for some while &c.[40]

William Dudley, however, could not be too concerned with the condition of the house since he had to concentrate on pulling himself out of debt. In March 1822 he addressed a long complaint to the Honorable John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, once again making claims for injuries to Warburton. Not only had the fort road been constructed "through the very yard of the proprietor," but also the fort works had brought the ruin of his fisheries, and the erection of garrison buildings on his lands. William demanded

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39. Digges to L'Enfant, Feb. 2, 1822, ibid.
40. L'Enfant to Digges, April 6, 1822, ibid.

reparations for the ruin of and trespass on his property, as well as a share of the original 1806 sale of land, for in 1806 he had had title to the property but had received no money because he had then been a minor.[41]

Probably having little success in collecting damages from the government, and needing the money, William in September 1823 advertised Warburton for rent in the National Intelligencer. In consideration for the old major living at the mansion, he added a clause, "A reserve will be made of the old dwelling house, yard, and garden."[42]

Soon after, however, William began to urge L'Enfant to join his family at Green Hill. By February 1824 William was anticipating L'Enfant's departure from Warburton and the closure of the house. He wrote to the aging gentleman, "I wish you would have all the papers and whatever you may think of any value packed up, so that when you leave Warburton, there will be nothing of importance belonging to me left behind."[43]

In June 1825 L'Enfant died and was buried on William's farm at Green Hill.[44] It is almost certain that he was the last resident of Warburton under the Digges ownership.

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41. Digges to Calhoun, March 25, 1822, RG 77, Land Papers: Maryland, Fort Washington, N. A.

42. National Intelligencer, Sept. 25, 1823, p. 4, as copied from research notes at ENCP.

43. Digges to L'Enfant, Feb. 4, 1824, Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Coll., L. C.

44. Fifth Congress, 3rd Session, House Report No. 4595, "Grave of Major Charles L'Enfant," Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Coll., L. C.

For a long time Warburton had loomed like an albatross over the debt-ridden William Dudley Digges. As early as 1813 William had legally entrusted his estate to Daniel Carroll of Duddington and Daniel Brent of Washington City, giving them the power to sell and dispose of his lands for debts and for the support of his wife and the education of his children.[45] In April 1823 the executors of his estate filed claims for $20,000 in damages in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, but the execution of payment by the government hinged on William's payment of a debt owed the government for $13,369.87 with interest from June 9, 1819.[46] In June 1825 two pressing creditors, Walter Jones and Roger B. Taney, made William agree that if his heirs and executors failed to pay the $1500 he owed them, then they could take possession of Warburton and Frankland.[47]

By 1830, the year of William's death, matters had not changed appreciably.[48] In fact, so indebted was he that the chancery

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45. Chancery Records, B148-326-344, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland; William D. Digges to Daniel Carroll of Duddington and Daniel Brent, Sept. 30, 1813, Reservation File, Maryland, Camp Somerset-Fort Washington, R. F. 153, N. A.

46. W.D.N.A., Chief of Engineers, Land File, Fort Washington, No. 58, as cited on research note at ENCP. (The researcher likely did his work prior to the creation of the record group system.) W.D.N.A. stands for War Department, National Archives.

47. Reservation File, Maryland, Camp Somerset to Fort Washington, R.G. 153, N. A.

48. Genealogical chart, research notes at ENCP.

records detailing his finances run over 100 pages.[49] His wife, Norah Digges, made executrix by his will, finally was forced to sell all of Warburton to satisfy William's creditors. In January 1833, the United States government paid Norah $5.00 in hand for 43 acres, 2 roods, and 1 perch of Warburton to settle William's 11-year debt to the government of $13,369.87, plus interest of $1,203.95, making a total of $24,578.82 paid for the land.[50] the next year the rest of Warburton was surveyed by James Robinson and divided into ten parcels of one, two, and three hundred-acres in order to facilitate its sale.[51] An advertisement in the National Intelligencer describing the enticements of Warburton Manor cast an ironic shadow over the then elusive memory of the Digges estate during its prime in the eighteenth century: as if the years had been rolled back, the notice boasted,

> This valuable estate...contains about eighteen hundred acres. The natural qualities of the soils are of the finest kind, suited to the production of every agricultural commodity that is grown in Maryland. On it there is an abundance of fine oak timber and fire wood, with excellent water, and the situation is considered as healthy as most in Maryland. From the river may be obtained the finest fish and wild fowl in their respective seasons.[52]

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49. See Chancery Records for William D. Digges at Hall of Records in Annapolis.

50. Liber AB, No. 8, Folio 220, Land Records, Prince George's County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro, Md., and note from Land File, N.A. copied for research material at ENCP.

51. Reservation File, 1800-1950, Maryland, Fort Washington, R.G. 153, N. A. See Illustrations for the survey.

52. Daily National Intelligencer, March 15, 1834, The Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Coll., L. C., has a copy of this edition.

Seemingly enraged or dazed by the news that his family's estate for over a century was being auctioned off at a public sale, William's son, George Attwood Digges, made a futile claim to Warburton as heir in tail at the sale in November 1835. He even purchased the peninsular lots (1 and 4), containing the old manor house, but failed to pay for them. Finally, on August 9, 1836, these lots were sold to John Robertson and William Kirby respectively.[53] Thus, in 1836, with tragic overtones, the history of the Digges family of Warburton Manor came to a close.

Tattered as it was, the manor house remained standing for awhile longer. According to the recollection of William Kirby's daughter, Mrs. Hanna Harmon, the Kirby family lived in the house until William had completed a farm house for them. Soon after, the old decaying manor house apparently collapsed and fell.[54] The disappearance of the manor received no more attention than a small x-mark by the house on an 1872 topographical map of Fort Washington, with a note that said, "No longer standing as of 1873."[55]

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53. Reservation File, Md., Camp Somerset-Ft. Washington, R.G. 153, N. A.

54. Record Book of Fort Washington, Fort Washington, Md., kept at ENCP.

55. "Topographical Map of Fort Washington & Vicinity, Oct. 8, 1872," Land Papers, Box 33, Maryland, Fort Washington, R.G. 77, N. A.

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Appendix A

Sample Bills Received by George Digges from his Tailor, Adam Craig Before, During, and After the Revolution

Inventory of George Digges, 1792, Orphan's Court
Prince George's County Courthouse,
Upper Marlboro, Maryland

Mr George Digges in Account th. [illegible] Court

	15	To making a Coat & Jacket		18	
	26	To mending a Coat		1	6
	17	To making a pair white Jeans Breeches		5	
	1	To making a Holland Jacket		5	
	20	To mending a Dublin Coat		3	
	25	To making a pair of white Jeans Breeches		5	
	4	To mending a pair of Dublin Breeches		2	6
	7	To making a Sleeved Coat		12	6
	16	To altering a Coat & 2 p. lining a Coat & Jacket 20	1	1	6
Dec	22	To making a Jacket & Breeches broad Cloath		12	
			4	6	0

Prince Georges County Dec. 24. 1772

I Hon. Comm. Adam Craig Esqr. one of his Lordships Justices of the Peace, and made oath on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, that all the accounts in this book, from folio. one, to folio. One Hundred & three are just & true, as they stand stated, & that to the best of his knowledge he has not received any part or parcel thereof, nor any security or satisfaction for the same more than credit as given, except as [illegible]

Sworn before me
Chas Lowndes

		To Balance brought down	4	6	0
1773 Feb	2	To altering & lining a pair of velvet Breeches		3	9
Mar	18	To mending a pair of Buckskin Breeches		2	
	22	To lining a pr of velvet Breeches		2	
	15	To mending & lining a Jacket		3	9
May	11	To making a pr of Trowsers		2	
June	5	To making a pr of Trowsers		2	
July	6	To making a broad Cloath Coat		15	
	17	To making a silk Jacket		6	6
		To Ditto, making two Holland Jackets		13	
Aug	26	To making a pr of white ribbed Breeches		5	
	29	To making a pr of silk breeches		7	6
	31	To [illegible] a Silk Jacket		1	6
Sept	1	To turning a Coat & Jacket per Cousin		17	6
	17	To altering a Jacket & set of buttons put on		3	
		To Ditto, a set of buttons, put on a pr of Breeches		3	
Oct	2	To making a pr of gauze breeches		4	
		To ditto, repairing & cleaning a Coat		3	

Mr George Digges in Account with Adam Craig

			£	s	d
		To Balance brought up —	£12	8	3
1775 Jan	6	To making a pr Silk Mitt Breeches		7	6
May	9	To altering & Stockets to the Fashions & lengthened		2	6
		To Ditto, to mending a pr Corderoy Breeches —		1	6
	20	To making a Scarlet regimtal Coat — —		15	
Jun	1	To ditto, & Holland Sucker, breeches, & Thread		11	
"	7	To ditto a Holland Sacket & cord Thread 6		5	6
"	14	To Ditto, a pr of Trowsers & Thread — — —		2	6
			14	13	9
1776 Jan	6	Cr			
	11	By Cash recd of Mr Bryan Daley for you £2.11.6 Continental — — — — — — — — —			
Jun	22	By Cash Continental £8.2.3 — — — —	4	5	6
"			10	8	3

Prince Georges County January the 1776

Then came Adam Craig before me one of his Lordships Justices of the Peace, and made oath on the holy Evangelist of Almighty God that the accounts in this book, from folio One to Folio 7 inclusive, are just & true, as they stand stated, and that to the best of his knowledge, he has not received any part or parcel thereof in money security, or satisfaction, more than Credits are given, except the accounts unsettled —

Sworn before me
Christ Lowndes

			£	s	d
		To balance brought down — — —	£10	8	
1779 Oct	3	To mending a pair of breeches 2/ old rate —		1	2
Dec	4	To mending a pr of black velvet breeches silk found —		3	6
			£10	13	

Prince Georges County Feby 9. 1780.

Then came Adam Craig before me one of his Lordships Justices of the Peace, and made oath on the holy Evangelist of Almighty God that all the accounts in this Book, from folio One to folio one hundred and twenty, are just & true as they stand stated and that to the best of his knowledge, he has not received any part, or parcel thereof, nor security or satisfaction for the same only what Credits are given Excepting unsettled accounts

Sworn before me Christ Lowndes

17		To Balance brought forward	10	13	9
Jan	6	To making a Coat & Jacket for boy		13	
		To Ditto, to one dozen large Coat & 8 dozen small		1	6
	9	To mending a Coat & a set of buttons put on		2	6
		To Ditto, a Jacket mended & a set of buttons put on		1	6
Feb	19	To Cash 300 Continental Dollars exchange		18	9
Jun	2	To mending a Coat 1/6, 15 to sealing & mending a pr of silk breeches		3	9
	15	To Ditto, mending a Green Coat, silk & Thread		3	9
	19	To mending & altering a black silk Jacket		2	
		To cutting a Coat & Breeches for Negro boy		2	6
July	9	To cutting a Coat for Negro Boy		2	
	30	To cutting a Coat for Negro Boy		1	5
Sep	28	To making a Coat & Jacket for boy & Casamire		3	9
Nov	20	To mending a pr of velvet breeches		1	
Dec	5	To a set of buttons put on a Coat			
	18	To sealing & a set of buttons put on a pr of breeches & silk found		4	6
		To Cash found to 11 Cords in the years 1780, 1781 at 2/6 pr Cord	£ 14	10	1
		Brance Georges County Feb 26. 1782	£ 1	18	9
			£ 12	11	5

Then Came Adam Craig before one of his Lordships Justices of the Peace and made oath on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, that all the accounts in this Book, from folio One, to Folio One Hundred & thirty nine, are just & true, as they stand stated & that to the best of his knowledge, he has not received any part or parcel thereof, or other security or satisfaction for the same Excepting such like Accounts —

Sworn before me

Chas Lowndes —

To Balance brought down — £ 12 10 4

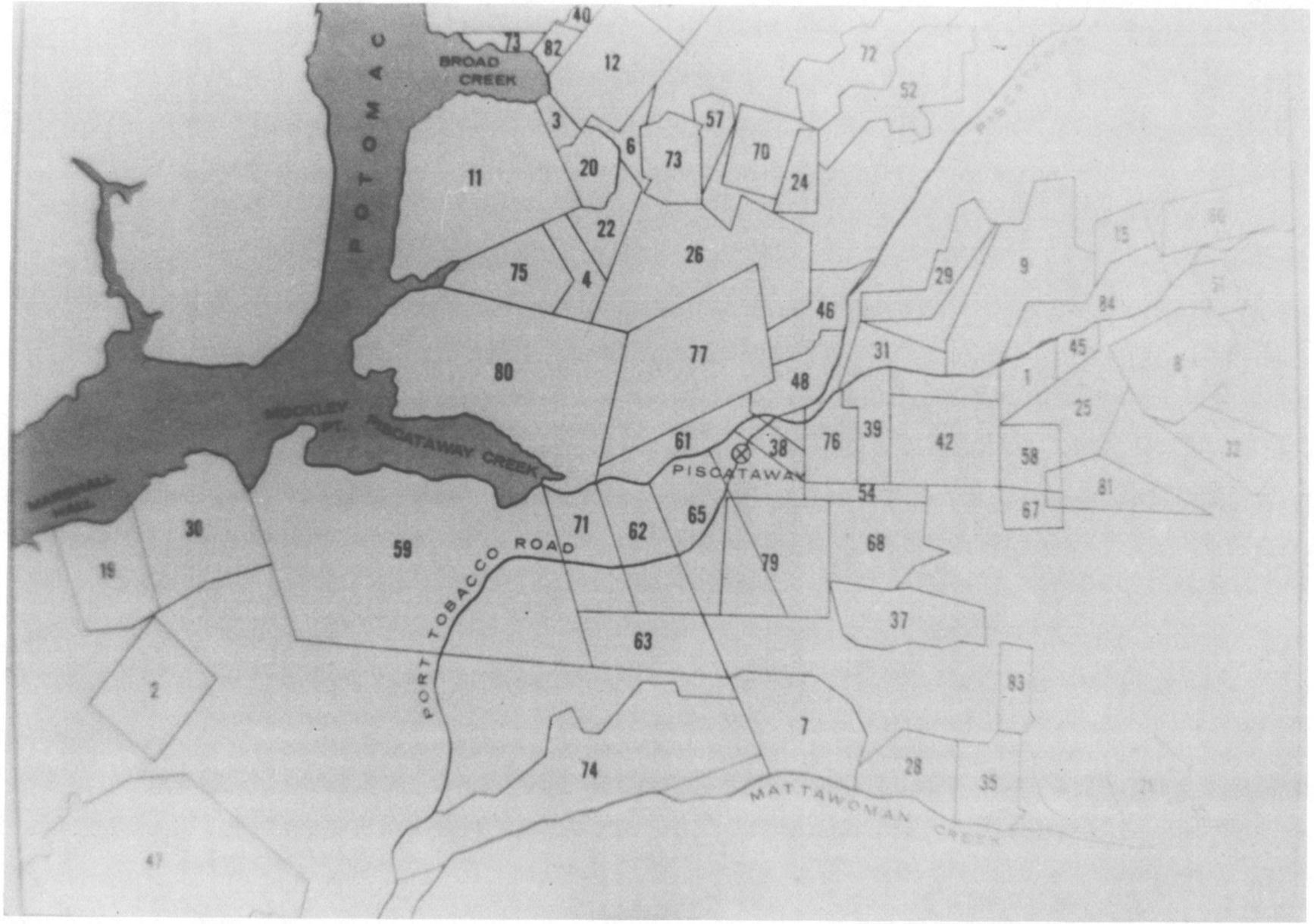
Appendix B

PARTIAL LIST OF BOOKS INCLUDED IN INVENTORY FOR GEORGE DIGGES, 1792

Bayles C. Dictionary, 9 Volumes
Elements of Criticism, 2 V.
Locks Essays, 3 V.
Spirit of Laws, 2 V.
Preceptor, 2 Vol.
Durhams Phos & Theology
Mabley Remarks
Humes essays 2 V.
Humes enquiry 1 V.
Passendalf
Humes Tudor 2 V.
ditto Stuart 2 V.
Robertsons Charles the 5th 3 V:
Voltairs History of Europe 3 V:
Dalymples Memorirs 1 V.
History of England 2 V.
ditto 1 V.
Spectator 8 V.
Smiths Works 13 V.
Popes Works 8 V:
Thompsons Works 4 V:
Addisons Poems 1 V:
Churchills ditto 3 V:
Buckinghams Poems 1 V:
Drydens 8 Letters
Drydens Virgil 1 V:
Otmays Works 2 V.
Gregorys Legacy 1 V:
Telemagne 2 V:
Telemagne Vol 2d & 4th
Coquete
Rinary 2 V.
Effusions of Fancy 2 V.
Poregrine Pickle 1 V.
6 Dickinson agricult
Farming Improved 2 V.
Country Gentlemans Companion 2 V.
Thompsons Work 1 V.
The North Briton 1 V.
6 Eur Magazine
Johnsons Dictionary 2 V.
Letters to a Young Nobleman 1. V.
Attorneys Pocket Book 2 Vol.
Thernins Fables 1 V.
Mariners Guide 1 V.
Court Calender 4 V.
Treatise on health
Constitution of the U States of America
Cicero's Offices
Bible of Death of Abu
Roads in Britain
Debates of Virg Cons
Instruction to Mathematics
Barry on Degestion
Lacombs Grammer
Geographic De Grosat
History of the Bible
Voyage Round the World
Laws of Vir
Ovids Epistles
Roman History 3 Vols
American Pocket Atlas
Letters of the Antcents
Listes des ports de France
Child on Trade
The shortest Way to end disputes about Rel:
British Compendium
Malcolms Rudiments
? Treatise on Education
Latin Dictionary
? Dictionary 2 V.
Eng. Dic
Traders Comp
Shakespeares Works 1st & 4th

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Tracts laid out in Lower Piscataway Hundred Before April 23, 1696. Number 80 represents Warburton Manor; Number 26 is Frankland. Katharine Kellock, Colonial Piscataway.


POTOMAC
BROAD CREEK
MOCKLEY PT.
PISCATAWAY CREEK
PISCATAWAY
PORT TOBACCO ROAD
MATTAWOMAN CREEK
40
73
82
12
72
52
3
57
6
73
70
24
11
20
22
26
75
4
46
29
9
15
84
31
45
1
25
80
77
48
61
38
76
39
42
58
54
67
81
30
59
71
62
65
79
68
19
63
37
2
83
7
74
28
35
47

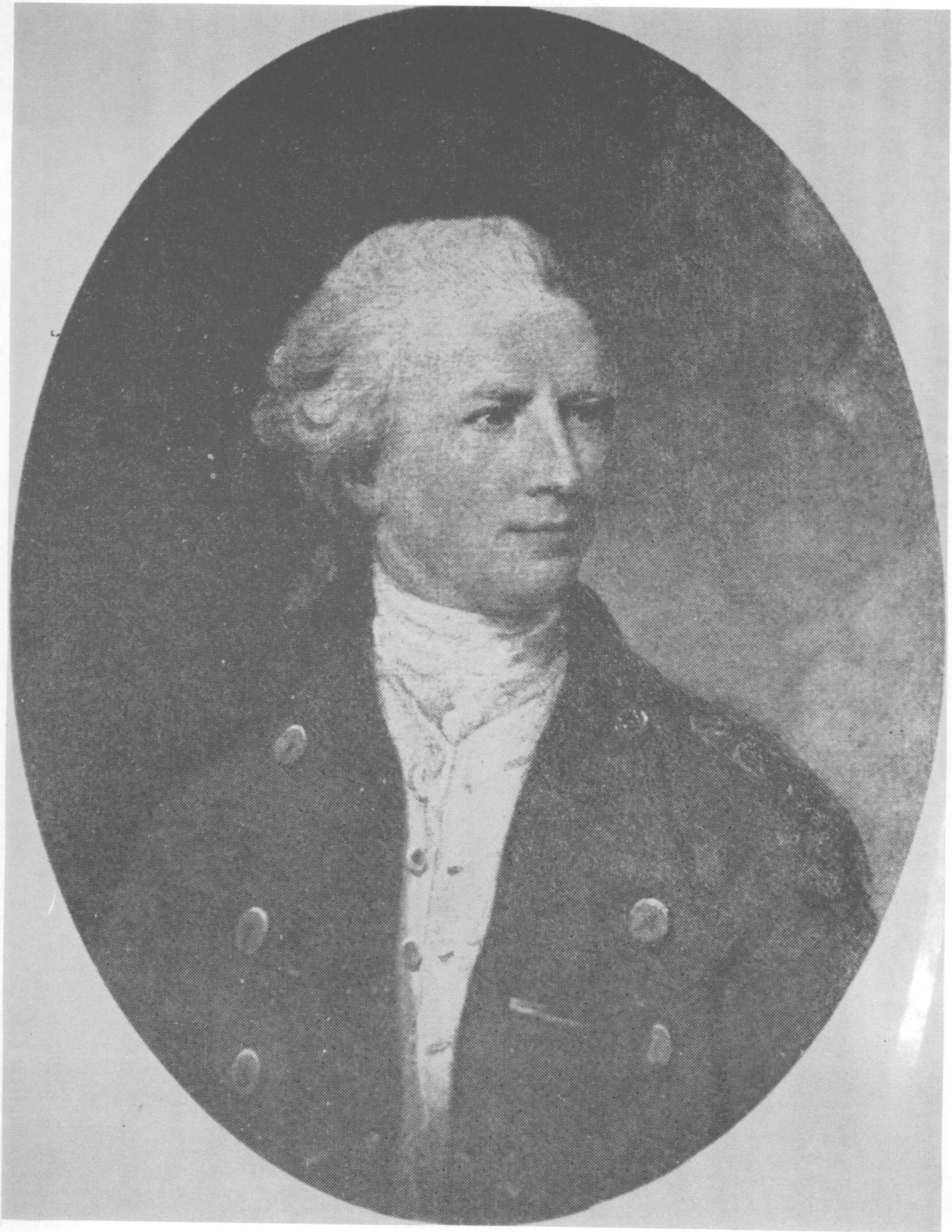
2. Thomas Attwood Digges, A Portrait by Joshua Reynolds. Records of The Columbia Historical Society, vol. 7, opp. p. 12.



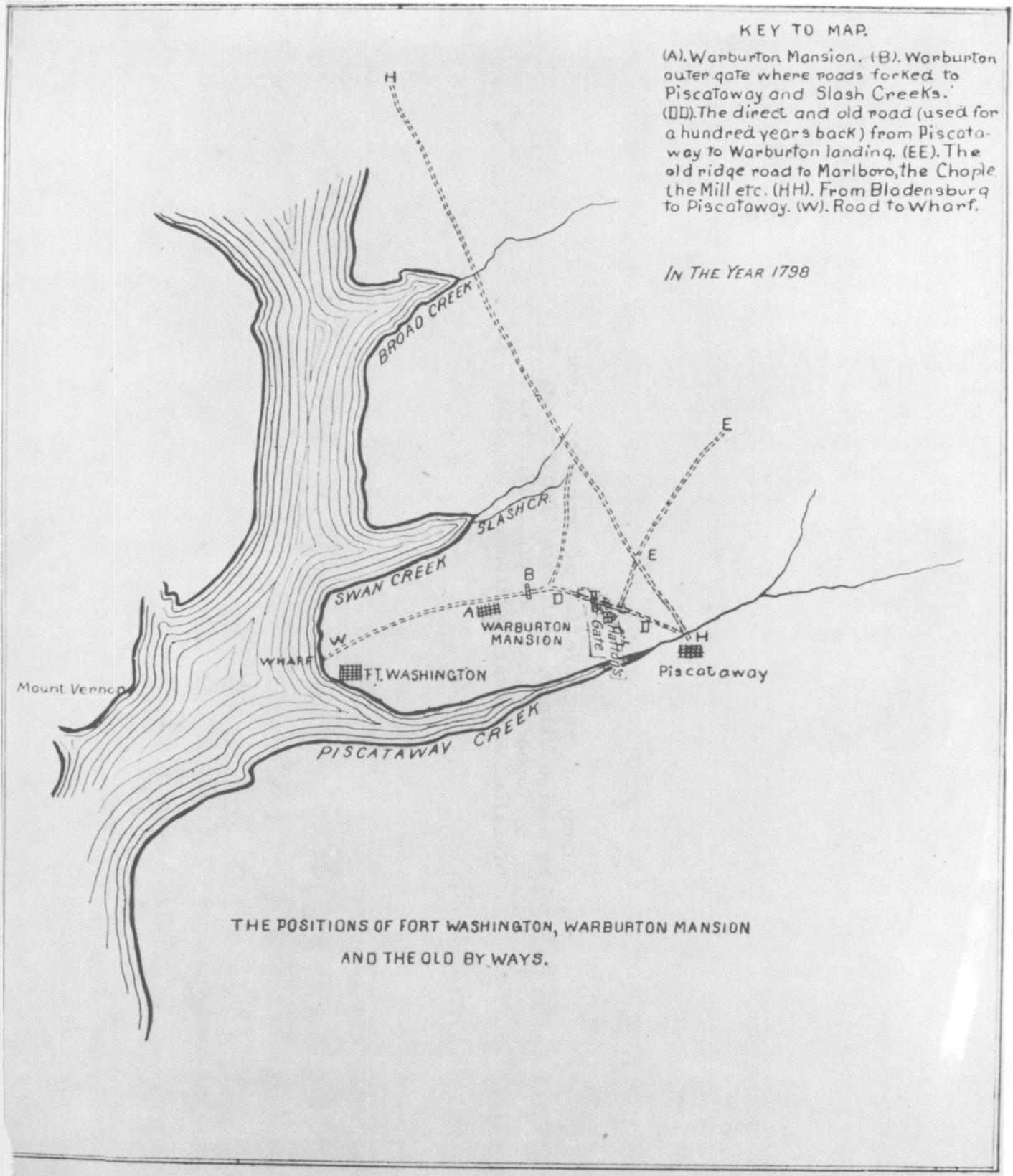
THOMAS DIGGES, OF "WARBURTON MANOR."

From portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in possession of Mrs. Ella Morgan Speer.

3. George Digges, A Portrait by Joshua Reynolds. Daughters of The American Revolution Magazine, LVII, p. 126.

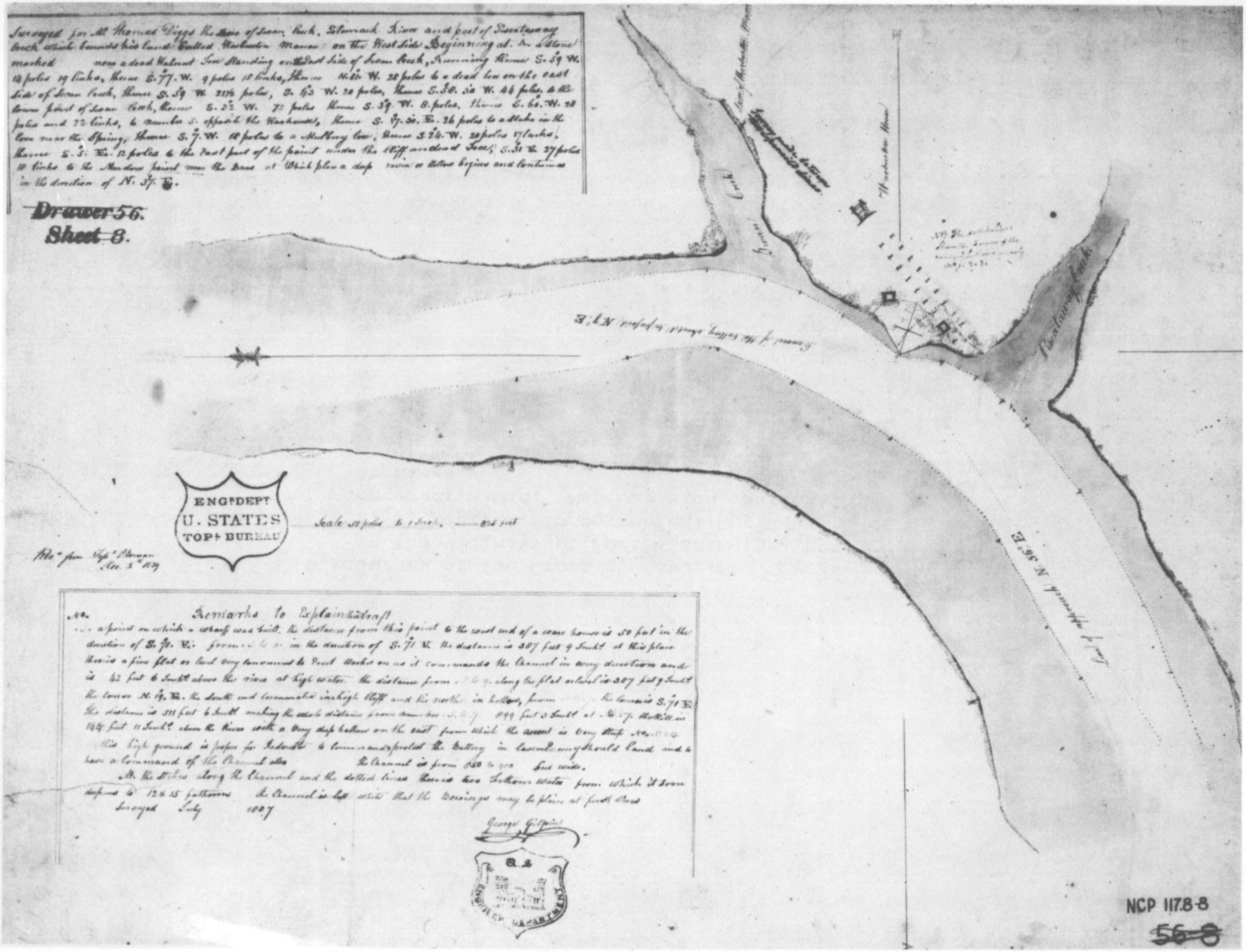


4. James Dudley Morgan, A Descendant of the Diggeses of Warburton Manor, Provided This Map of The 1798 Byways crossing the estate. Morgan, "Historic Fort Washington on The Potomac," Records of The Columbia Hist. Soc., vol 7, opp. p. 12.

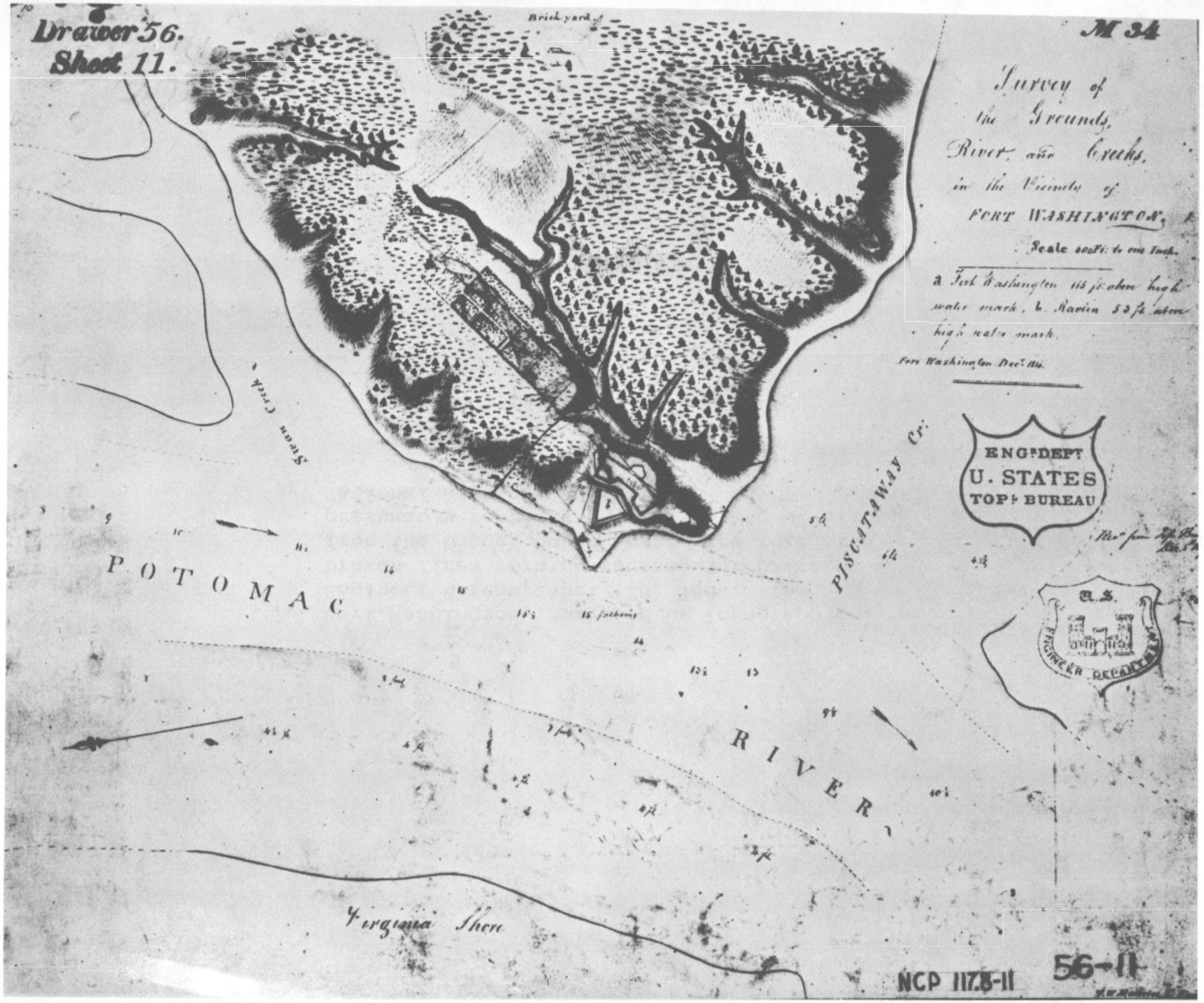


WARBURTON MANSION AND THE OLD BY-WAYS IN 1798.

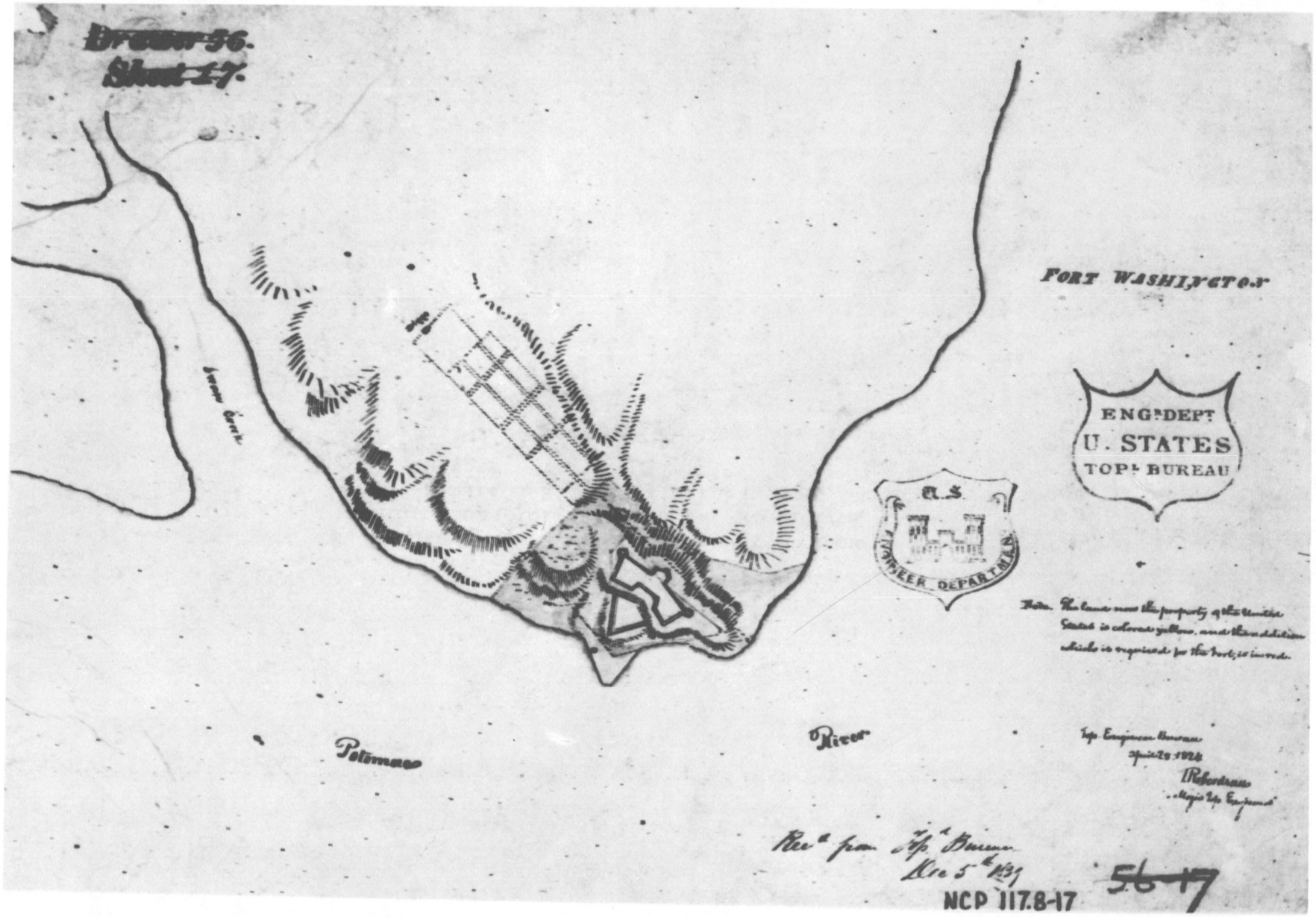
5. Survey of the Shoreline of Warburton Manor by George Gilpin, Engineers' Department, U. S. Topographical Bureau, 1807. Map Division, National Archives.


Surveyed for Mr Thomas Diggs the Shore of Swan Creek, Potomack River and part of Piscataway Creek which bounds his land Called Warburton Manor on the West Side Beginning at
Drawer 56.
Sheet 8.
Swan Creek
Piscataway Creek
Line of approach N 36° E
ENGR DEPT
U. STATES
TOPL BUREAU
Scale 50 poles to 1 Inch.
Remarks to Explain the draft
Surveyed July 1807
George Gilpin
U.S.
ENGINEER DEPARTMENT
NCP 117.8-8
56-8

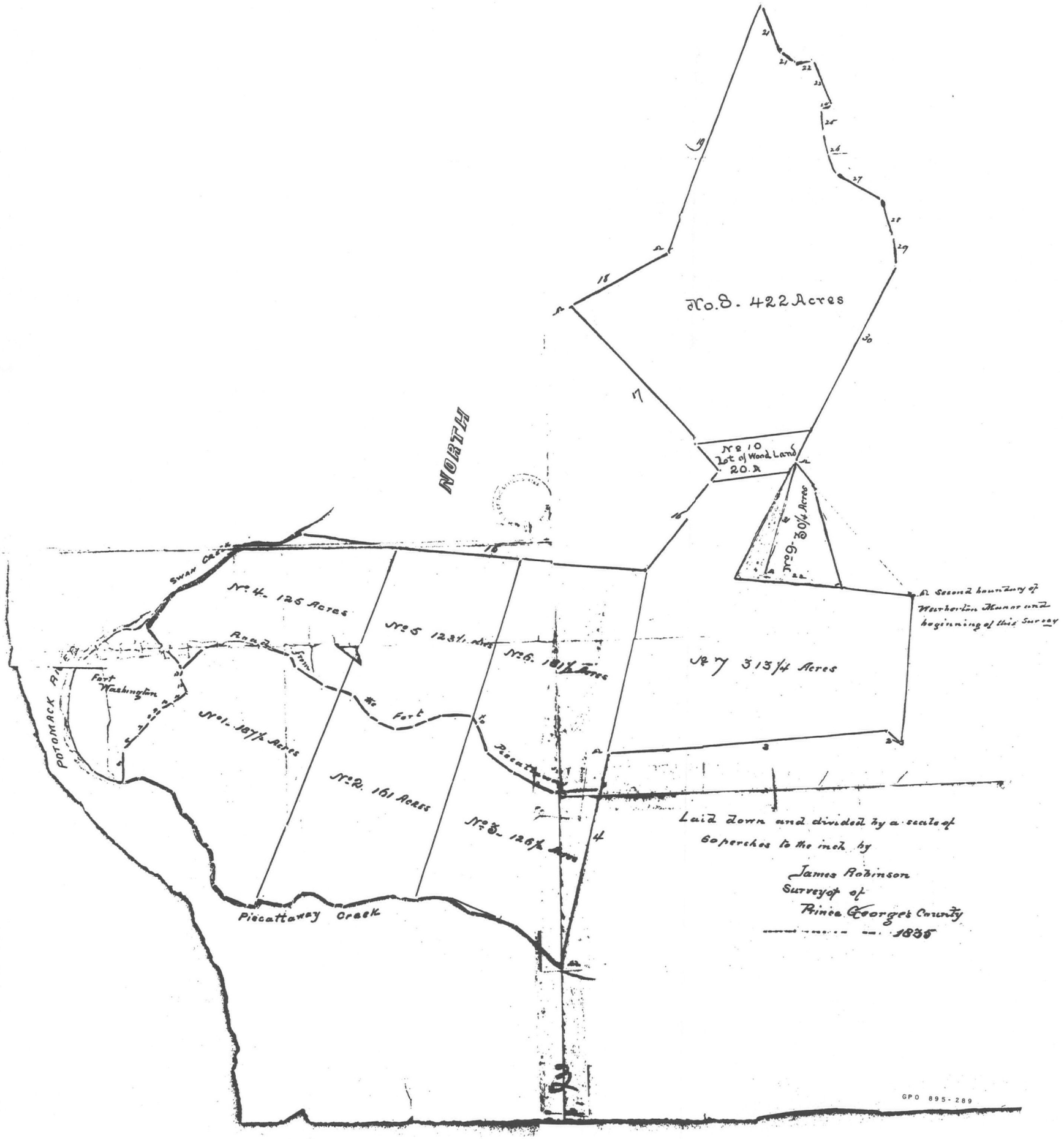
6. Survey of The Grounds, River and Creeks in The Vicinity of Fort Washington, by T. W. Maurice, Topographical Engineer, December, 1816. Map Division, National Archives.


Drawer 56.
Sheet 11.
M 34
Survey of
the Grounds,
River and Creeks,
in the Vicinity of
FORT WASHINGTON,
Scale 600 ft. to one Inch.
a Fort Washington 115 ft. above high water mark, b. Marlin 53 ft. above high water mark.
Fort Washington Dec. 1814.
Brick yard
Piscataway Cr.
ENG. DEPT
U. STATES
TOPL BUREAU
POTOMAC
RIVER
15 fathoms
Virginia Shore
U.S.
ENGINEER DEPARTMENT
NCP 117.8-11
56-11

7. Fort Washington, Surveyed by Topographical Engineer Bureau, April 28, 1824. The broken lines forming rectangular patterns from the Digges house toward the fort area presumably represent gardens. Map Division, National Archives.


Drawer 56.
Sheet 17.
FORT WASHINGTON
ENG! DEPT
U. STATES
TOP! BUREAU
U.S.
ENGINEER DEPARTMENT
Potomac
River
Rec'd from Top! Bureau
Dec 5th 1917
NCP 117.8-17
5617

8. Survey and Division of Warburton Manor into lots for sale, 1835. R. G. 153, Reservation File, Fort Washington, National Archives.


No. 8. 422 Acres
No 10 Lot of Wood Land 20. A
No 9. 30¼ Acres
NORTH
No 4. 125 Acres
No 5 123½ Acres
No 6. 161¼ Acres
No 7 313¼ Acres
No 1. 167½ Acres
No 2. 161 Acres
No 3. 126¼ Acres
SWAN CREEK
POTOMACK R
Fort Washington
Road
Ferry
Fort
Piscataway
Piscattaway Creek
A Second boundary of Weatherlin Manor and beginning of this Survey
Laid down and divided by a scale of 60 perches to the inch by
James Robinson
Surveyor of
Prince Georges County
1835
GPO 895-289