

Bartram Broadside



Published by the John Bartram Association for the 'noble & curious friends' of Historic Bartram's Garden, Philadelphia

Preface

This edition of the Bartram Broadside is a special issue devoted to two women of the Bartram family—Ann Mendenhall Bartram and Ann Bartram Carr—both of whom spent most of their lives at Historic Bartram's Garden. Much that has been written on John and William Bartram and on the history of the Bartram botanic garden has overlooked the contributions of these and other exceptional women in the Bartram household. The research for this article by independent scholar, Dr. Merrill D. Smith was undertaken as part of a "Raising Our Sites: Community Histories of Pennsylvania" grant awarded by the Pennsylvania Humanities Council. The issue concludes with Jane Holland's brief biography of her grandmother, Caroline B. Kelley, one of the founding members of the John Bartram Association. Caroline and her husband William D. Kelley were important figures in the fight to preserve Historic Bartram's Garden in the 1880s and 1890s.

Servants were another important part of the wider family that lived and worked at Historic Bartram's Garden, and they too have been largely ignored. An unknown number of servants, hired hands, and gardeners worked at the garden and farm throughout the Bartram tenure. A few appear in census, tax or other official documents, but most remain anonymous. Merrill Smith's article provides a brief introduction to Flora Iris, a young girl raised in the household of John Bartram, Jr. We would know little of Flora except for her testimony during an 1822 lawsuit over the estate of John Bartram, Jr.

A recent survey of runaway servant advertisements has revealed the name of another Bartram servant—Ann Powell.* John Bartram, Jr. advertised for her return in January 1778. This short paragraph is a valuable document, both for the information about Ann Powell and because it illuminates an obscure period at Bartram's Garden. The advertisement appeared four months after the death of John Bartram, Sr., during the British military occupation of Philadelphia.

That an advertisement appeared at all during this period is surprising. Most of the city's many newspapers had ceased publication. The Pennsylvania Evening Post, one of the few remaining papers, was openly Tory and its printer, Benjamin Towne, was later accused of being a "traitor to the Commonwealth." Soldiers were an everyday occurrence in and around Philadelphia, and the Bartrams had witnessed each army march by on several occasions. It is perhaps ironic that John Bartram, Jr.'s advertisement does not specify which army Ann Powell went with.

Joel T. Fry, Curator of Historic Collections

*Sue Huesken and Karen Mullian, "Had on and Took With Her," *Clothing in Female Runaway Servant Advertisements... 1775-1784*. Palmyra, NJ: SK Shortgown Research, 1995, 19-20.

RAN AWAY from her master, living in Kingsessing township, Philadelphia county, a servant girl named ANN POWELL, of tall stature, down look, and swarthy complexion. Took with her when she went away, a green petticoat, striped short gown, a brown cloke with a hood, high black bonnet, and sundry other clothes, &c. It is supposed that she is gone with the army, as she was very fond of soldiers. Whoever takes her up; and brings her to the subscriber, shall have TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE reward, and no charges.

Jan. 15.

JOHN BARTRAM.

John Bartram, Jr.'s advertisement for Ann Powell appeared in The Pennsylvania Evening Post on Thursday, January 15, 1778 and Saturday, January 17, 1778.

The Bartram Women: Farm Wives, Artists, Botanists, and Entrepreneurs

Merril D. Smith

While John, William, and the other men of the Bartram family have been studied extensively by scholars, the women of the Bartram household remain shadowy figures, for the most part ignored or forgotten. Because most of their private papers and belongings have been lost or destroyed, clues about their lives have to be uncovered from sources such as legal papers, travelers' accounts, and the Bartram house itself. The evidence gleaned from these sources suggests that the women of the Bartram family were just as curious about the natural world around them as the men were, and that they assisted in running the family farm and botanic garden.

This article focuses on two of the Bartram women, Ann Mendenhall Bartram and Ann Bartram Carr. These women are of interest to many people because of their connections to John Bartram, "the botanist." Ann Mendenhall was John's second wife. Ann Bartram Carr, John's granddaughter, was both an artist and a botanist who continued the family garden and introduced many plants to the nineteenth century gardening world. In addition, both of these women spent most of their lives in the house built by John Bartram that still stands today. However, these were remarkable women who should be studied and remembered for their own deeds.

Ann Mendenhall Bartram (1703?-1789)

Ann Mendenhall married John Bartram in December 1729 at Concord Meeting, Chester County, when she was twenty-six years old, and he was thirty. She was his second wife. His first marriage to Mary Maris, another Chester County Quaker, ended with her death in 1727, leaving the widower with two sons, Richard (1724-1728) who died soon after his mother, and Isaac (1725-1801). Shortly after John and Ann's wedding, the couple moved to the farm John had purchased in Kingsessing Township, Philadelphia County, on the west side of the Schuylkill River. Along with the large acreage, stood a small house, which was soon enlarged. John constructed a substantial two and a half story hall-parlor house with a gambrel roof, south of an existing one room, one and a half story dwelling. To sanctify this second marriage and signify the completion of the new building, John added a date stone on the south end of the house with "God Save" written in Greek and "IOHN*ANN:BARTRAM:1731" inscribed below.¹



"If you will send any Body to this place to bring a cow for Mrs. Bartram she will oblige me in accepting of her."

Ann gave birth to their first child, James (1730-1824), in August, eight and a half months after their wedding. After that, her pregnancies occurred approximately every two years: Moses (1732-1809), Elizabeth (1734) who died in infancy, Mary (1736-1817), the twins, Elizabeth (1739-1824) and William (1739-1823), Ann (1741-1824), John (1743-1812), and after a five-year gap, Benjamin (1748-1826). Ann would have been forty-five when Benjamin was born. Most probably, Ann nursed each of her babies for one year, weaned them, and then became pregnant again. If she nursed her youngest, Benjamin, for one year, then she spent twenty years—from 1729 to 1749—in an almost continuous cycle of being pregnant, giving birth, and breast feeding, while caring for the other children, and taking care of the house and household. This was not so unusual for eighteenth century Quaker Pennsylvania women who generally gave birth to six to eight children, and whose lives necessarily revolved around their homes. In many ways, then, Ann Mendenhall Bartram was a typical eighteenth century Pennsylvania farm wife.² However, she also ran John's farm and business while he was away, entertained the countless visitors who came to see him, and kept up with his correspondence. Consequently, along with the *normal* duties of a Quaker farm wife, Ann had the additional responsibilities that went with being the spouse of John Bartram, North America's foremost botanist.

As with most rural inhabitants, Ann's life was ruled by daily and seasonal activities. Daily obligations would include such chores as milking the cows, perhaps feeding the poultry, and tending to the kitchen garden during part of the year, as well as cooking, caring for the children, and overseeing the household. Daily chores varied by season. For example, spinning was typically done in the winter, along with carding wool, bleaching and dying fabric, and sewing clothing. Because a spinning wheel is listed in the inventory made of John Bartram's goods after his death in 1777, and sheep are listed on some of the tax lists, it can be assumed that Ann or her daughters did some spinning of either wool or linen.³ John Bartram grew flax in his fields, and pulling flax was considered "women's work." This would have been done in late summer, although some of the processing of the flax was put off till winter.⁴

Ann probably made at least some of the clothing for the family. Among the artifacts in the Bartram house is a shirt, said to have been worn by her infant son, Moses. Ann may have made this shirt (which actually appears to be the unfinished bodice of a baby dress). If Ann did not make the shirt, then almost certainly a female relative did.⁵ The Bartrams

frequently received clothing and fabric from Peter Collinson, John's English correspondent and friend. In January 1734/35, he wrote to John that he had sent "a Callico gown for thy wife." In 1743, John wrote to thank Collinson for another gift, noting "My wife is well pleased with the silk... she is much obliged to thee for thy Care."⁶ The cloth would have been made into clothing. Colonial frugality and the time consuming task of making clothing dictated that garments, especially the unisex gowns worn by infants and young children, would have been handed down from sibling to sibling, and even women's clothing was made so that it could be adjusted to fit during pregnancies.⁷

Unlike sewing, which was done as needed, food production of some sort was a daily activity. Dairying, for example, was generally considered to be women's work, and it probably took much of Ann's time. Tax lists indicate that the Bartrams kept cows. Notably, Ann was given a cow as a present from Sir John St. Clair, who had an estate near Newark, New Jersey. On November 4, 1761, he wrote:

If you will send any Body to this place to bring a cow for Mrs. Bartram she will oblige me in accepting of her. She is of the famous Rhode Island breed and will calve at Christmas; they are of a very large Size, if her Calf is not a Bull I shall rear one of mine for you that you may preserve that valuable breed which cost me a deal of trouble to get.⁸

Most likely, "Mrs. Bartram's Cow" was a short horned variety, white, pied, or brindled, with a large frame, short legs, and a well-shaped, symmetrical udder. She could probably produce large quantities of rich milk, but the quality would depend upon the grass and hay that she ate. Rhode Island cows were famous due to the rich pastures there, which permitted them to produce superior milk.⁹ However, the Bartram cows also received good quality grass and hay. John was a progressive farmer and was conscientious about planting red clover, and irrigating and fertilizing his fields. According to contemporary accounts, his fields produced larger quantities of hay than his neighbors'.¹⁰

Another indication of dairy activities at the Bartram farm is the springhouse that stood near the pond in the lower garden. This springhouse is pictured in a 1758 sketch, the well-known "Draught of John Bartram's House and Garden," drawn by John and Ann's son, William. Traces of an underground spring still exist at this site.¹¹ In the rural areas outside of Philadelphia, springhouses were not very common until after 1760. Thus, the Bartram springhouse may have been another innovation of John's. Springhouses permitted farm wives to process their

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milk at the proper temperature. According to historian Joan Jensen, “milk pans were placed in the water to cool, while wooden or stone shelves and benches lining the walls provided space for tubs, bowls, and other processing equipment. Shelves on the outside provided space for drying containers and churns after they had been cleaned.” Women were most busy with dairying between June and October because cows produced the most milk during those months.¹² Although we do not know if Ann or the other Bartram women were involved in the lucrative butter trade, the nearby river crossing at Gray’s Ferry provided access to the city markets. By the 1770s, few Philadelphia residents made their own butter, so it is possible that Ann or her daughters added to the household income by selling butter.¹³ Even if Ann did not sell butter, she probably made it for her family.

Although generally unknown, an ice pit of stone construction, 12 feet in diameter and almost 17 feet deep, lies beneath one of the rooms of the “Seed House” at Historic Bartram’s Garden. An adjacent cold cellar was added later, ca. 1830-1850. Ice would have been harvested in the winter from either the pond or the Schuylkill and stored between layers of sawdust or straw. This leads further credence to the idea that the Bartram women were involved in extensive dairying and food preservation.¹⁴

Because they lived on a farm, the Bartrams were able to produce much of their food. Poultry was seldom listed in inventories, but hens, ducks, turkeys, and geese were raised in the Philadelphia area, and this was considered to be a woman’s job.¹⁵ These birds would have been valued for their egg production, as well as a source of food for the family. In addition, the inventory of John Bartram’s goods lists two feather beds. It is likely that Ann raised poultry, and that their feathers were used to stuff the mattresses.

As a colonial farm wife Ann would have raised vegetables and herbs in a kitchen garden. Both an upper and lower kitchen garden are pictured in the 1758 sketch, totaling almost half of the garden area. Although John may have experimented here, part if not all of the kitchen garden was probably for Ann’s use and may have been her responsibility to maintain. She would have begun planting in the early spring and continued planting, cultivating, and weeding throughout the growing year. She and her children would pick the items grown there as they ripened through the season.

There were other agricultural chores, as well, for women. There was a cider mill on the Bartram farm. John probably built the cider press himself, although it is largely undocumented and as yet undated. Cider

and apples were an intrinsic part of the daily diet in eighteenth century rural Pennsylvania. In the autumn months, women would have been involved in sorting the apples, taking care of the mash, skimming the cider, and making other apples products, such as dried apples and apple butter.

In addition to their other household chores, women were generally responsible for nursing sick family members, including servants and slaves. It can be taken for granted that Ann knew something about medicinal plants, as did many colonial women, although there is little to document this. Her husband John had a lifelong interest in medicine, and he began his garden in part to cultivate medicinal plants. He published several short pieces on the medicinal uses of plants.¹⁶ John vividly described one instance in 1745 when a horse kicked him, dislocating a rib—“*I could hardly draw breath my wife could hear my rib snap into its place again tho she was several yards off.*” Ann bathed his back with rum and salt for two days and nights, while he treated himself with oil of turpentine and plasters.¹⁷ There were probably many times when Ann nursed sick children, although John recorded relatively infrequent mention of illnesses. One wonders what an account by Ann would have revealed.¹⁸

It is clear, then, that Ann must have been very busy taking care of her house and family and performing farm chores.¹⁹ Some chores such as baking and laundry, may have been done once a week or even every two weeks because they were so time consuming or difficult. Carrying wood and tending fires and stoves in cold weather was probably another major duty. Since food preparation and other chores took so much time, maintaining a clean house in the modern sense was a difficult undertaking, but recent paint analysis suggests the rooms were whitewashed yearly through Ann’s life.²⁰

Like most eighteenth-century Americans, even prosperous ones, the Bartrams did not have much furniture or many decorative items in their houses. This may have reduced the time necessary for housecleaning. Nevertheless, Ann did possess some objects valued for their beauty or decorative purposes. Among the artifacts at Historic Bartram’s Garden is a silver tablespoon with the monogram “A.B.” It is attributed to Ann. In addition, the inventory of household items made after John’s death lists two looking glasses. Although looking glasses were quite common by the mid-eighteenth century and were used to enhance room furnishings, enabling people “within a scene to see it as if they were outside,” perhaps Ann and her daughters stole a peek at themselves when visitors arrived.²¹



“My wife observed two Snakes pretty near together in my Yard, the one a large black Snake, which is the most domestick of all others: as their Bite is not dangerous, they are permitted to harbour about the House...”

Because Ann Bartram did not leave a journal and only a few brief letters survive, it is difficult to get a good picture of her personality. Ann must have been healthy and does not appear to have suffered any ill effects from her frequent pregnancies. She seems to have been a sort of “no-nonsense” type of woman, who was comfortable with nature. Early in his scientific correspondence her husband observed her using a pair of tongs to pull a striped snake out of a black snake’s mouth:

My wife observed two Snakes pretty near together in my Yard, the one a large black Snake, which is the most domestick of all others: as their Bite is not dangerous, they are permitted to harbour about the House to destroy Ratts, Mice, Froggs &c. The other was a middle sized striped Snake. The black Snake lay still with his eyes fixed on the striped one, which crept directly into the black Snake’s mouth. My wife seeing this fetch’d the Tongs & pulled very hard to get him out of the black Snake’s mouth for he was near half swallowed down. But the black Snake, far from being scared at such usage, crept about as in search of his Prey, that he had been robbed of, and would not go off [f] the Premises, till a Stick made him run away.²²

This brief anecdote reveals Ann Bartram as a woman who was at ease with the world around her, and one who probably shared her husband and sons’ curiosity about it. Her daughters and granddaughters also showed an interest in the natural world. They would have learned the skills necessary to run their own households from Ann, but it is likely that in this household, their parents and other family members encouraged them to have an interest in botany and the natural sciences, as well. In a 1771 letter to Benjamin Franklin, John Bartram wrote that his daughter, Elizabeth, had “saved several thousand of eggs of silkworms which she expects will hatch in A few days she intends to give them A fair tryal this Spring.”²³ Elizabeth married William Wright in August of that year, which may have put an end to her silk experiment.

Because John was away so frequently, Ann supervised the running of the farm, in addition to her other duties.²⁴ Apparently, she helped with his correspondence and occasional seed shipments as well. Collinson wrote in January 1738/39, “I am much obliged to thy good wife for her kind Letter in thy Absence.” Again in 1763, he wrote, “I thank thy wife for her kind Intelligence of our Fr^d. franklins arrival.” A rare surviving letter of Ann’s is one she wrote in 1761 to her son, William, known as “Billy,” sending her love and asking him to write to her. His letter of 1775 stating “I have not had the favour of a line from my Father

or Mother whom God ever preserve,” suggests Ann undoubtedly wrote many letters that have been lost or destroyed.²⁵

Ann entertained the frequent visitors who came to see John and the garden. She probably had female guests, too. Although Darby Friends Meeting disowned John in 1758, Ann remained a member. Other Quaker women of the Meeting may have called upon her.²⁶ There is evidence the Bartrams were close with the family of Benjamin Franklin, and Ann probably visited Deborah Franklin. A small Chinese porcelain teacup and saucer now at Historic Bartram’s Garden descended in the Bartram family and is thought to remain from a set given by Deborah Franklin to Ann Bartram.²⁷



Chinese porcelain teacup and saucer, ca. 1770 with Sheffield plate sugar spoon, late 18th century. This cup and saucer, preserved by a branch of the Bartram family, is thought to have been a gift of Deborah Franklin to Ann Bartram. (John Bartram Association collections.)

Finally, as we try to reconstruct the daily life of Ann Bartram, can we assume that it included moments of love and tenderness? The forty-two-year marriage of this hardworking Quaker farmwoman appears to have been happy. In a 1765 letter to “My dear Spouse,” John twice called her “dear love.” He took care to make sure she would be cared for after his death, stipulating in his will that, in addition to her living space, money, and goods left to her, she would also have sufficient firewood, a horse and cow with good grass or hay to feed them, a space to plant in the garden, and full access to the well and kitchen.²⁸ Ann outlived her husband, who died September 22, 1777. She died January 29, 1789.

Ann Bartram Carr (1779-1858)

Ann Bartram Carr was born February 15, 1779. She lived almost her entire life at Bartram’s Garden. Her father, John Bartram, Jr. (1743-1812), married his cousin, Elizah Howell (1751-1784) in May 1771. They

“...we then turned to talking about botany, a  field to which she was no stranger, for she knew the names of many plants and could apply the system of Linnaeus.”

moved into the northern part of the newly expanded and renovated Bartram house, while the senior John and Ann claimed the southern half. John turned his business affairs over to John, Jr. that year, due to age and, in part, to his failing eyesight.²⁹

John, Jr. and Elizah Bartram had six children: Mary (1773-1851), Ann Mendenhall (1776, died that same year), Elizabeth (1777, died that same year), Ann Mendenhall (1779-1858), John, III (1781-1804), and James Howell (1783-1818).

Elizah, her mother, died in 1784 when Ann was only five. Perhaps the elder Ann Bartram, John Sr.'s wife, who was still living, took over the care of the children with the help of eleven-year old Mary, known as "Polly." John and Elizah's daughter, Ann, known as "Nancy," later recalled that she did not remember her mother.³⁰

As a young girl, Nancy would have learned the household and farm chores discussed above by watching her older sister and female relatives. In addition, she may have learned to do fancy needlework. Historic Bartram's Garden holds samplers signed by several Bartram women. One is signed, "Elizabeth Bartram wrought in the Year 1791." This was probably fashioned by Ann's cousin Elizabeth (1782-1840), daughter of Moses Bartram. Elizabeth Bartram Kaighn (1810-1870), the daughter of Elizabeth, signed another one, embroidered in 1826. Such samplers were generally crafted in the late eighteenth century by young women who had more leisure time than their counterparts did earlier in the century.³¹

After her sister Mary's marriage to Nathan Jones in September 1794, fifteen-year old Nancy took charge of the household.³² Hipólito José da Costa, a Portuguese traveler, recorded finding her sewing by the stove when she was in her late teens in 1799. As well as performing her household chores, Nancy found time to read and draw. Da Costa found her to be quite knowledgeable about geography and botany. In describing his conversation with Nancy he wrote, "we then turned to talking about botany, a field to which she was no stranger, for she knew the names of many plants and could apply the system of Linnaeus." Later during the evening of this January 1799 visit, John Bartram, Jr. displayed to his guest drawings of plants done by Nancy and her brother, James.³³

Nancy studied drawing and botany with her uncle, William Bartram, who resided in his brother's household. In 1802, Alexander Wilson (1766-1813), a poet, writer, and traveler who had recently emigrated from Scotland, came to teach at a schoolhouse on the Darby Road at the northeast corner of John Bartram, Jr.'s farm. Wilson soon became a close friend of

William Bartram, and he began to study nature with William and Nancy. He particularly wanted to learn about birds and how to draw them. Within a year, Wilson was collecting data on local birds. He soon planned to write and illustrate the first complete work on North American birds, and traveled widely collecting specimens. His *American Ornithology or the Natural History of the Birds of the United States* was published in Philadelphia in nine volumes between 1808-1814. His text remained the definitive work on American birds for many years, although his illustrations were later surpassed by Audubon.

A friendship, possibly even a romance, developed between Nancy and Alexander. In a letter to William Bartram written March 4, 1803, Wilson wrote, "This Bird I take to be the female Yellow Rump. I suppos'd it on first sight to be some other. If Miss Bartram thinks it worth drawing it is at her service." On November 17 of that same year, he wrote "I have taken the liberty of sending you another Specimen of attempts to imitate your beautiful Engravings,... present my best Compliments to Miss Bartram and prevail with her to select me one more from among the collection." Three days later, "Miss Bartram" had become "Miss Nancy" as Wilson noted in letter to William, "I have attempted two of those prints, which Miss Nancy your niece, has so obligingly, and with so much honour to her own taste, selected for me." Nancy also witnessed scientific experiments that Wilson performed with a daddy long legs.³⁴

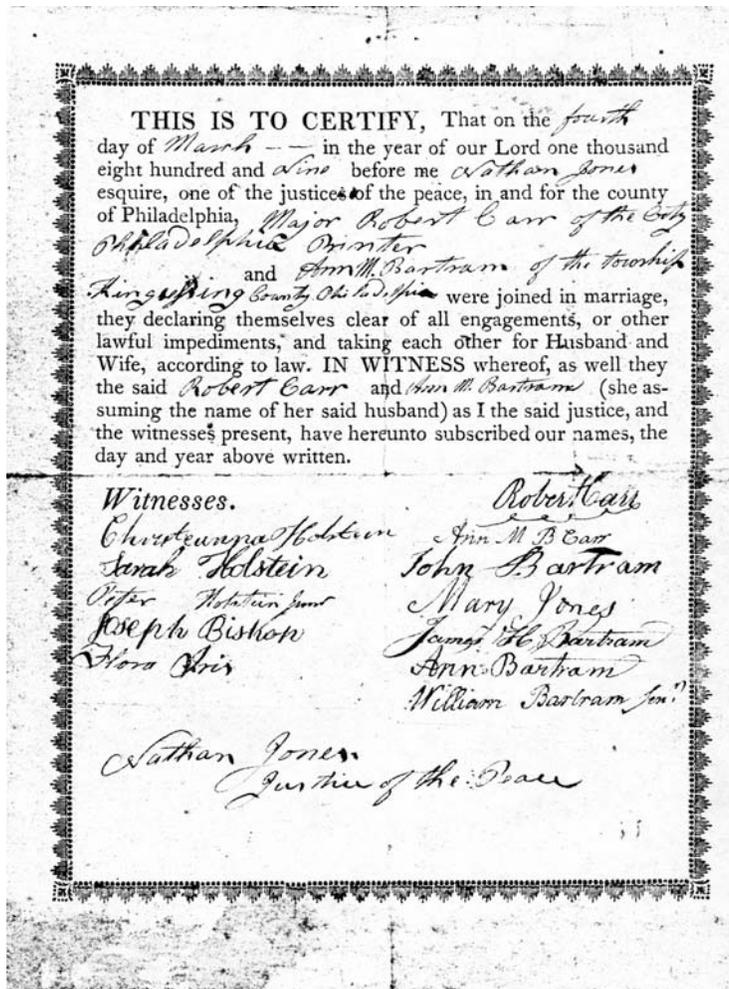
Clearly, Wilson was fond of Nancy, but there is no proof that either of them desired anything more than friendship. Wilson wrote of Nancy in two poems in 1804, "The Beechen Bower" and "A Rural Walk." The second poem, "A Rural Walk," was published in a Philadelphia magazine. It recorded a poetic depiction of the walk from Wilson's schoolhouse to Bartram's Garden. As well as lyrical descriptions of the garden and a word portrait of William it included the following lines:

*But happier he, supremely blest!
Beyond what proudest peers have known,
Who finds a friend in Anna's breast,
and calls that lovely plant his own.*³⁵

In the late nineteenth century, a Philadelphia newspaper published a sensationalized and fictional account of their "romance," and the story has since been repeated as fact.³⁶ In truth, Nancy married Robert Carr, Wilson's printer, on March 4, 1809.³⁷ Carr had met Nancy while his shop produced *American Ornithology*. She helped in coloring the plates for the prospectus and early volumes. Wilson remained friendly with Nancy (now Ann B. Carr) and her husband, and spent summers boarding with them at Bartram's Garden until his untimely death in 1813.



“Father’s Garden was very productive & valuable till the embargo. Afterwards, it was somewhat better, but did not regain its former value.”



Ann and Robert Carr’s marriage certificate, March 4, 1809. The list of witnesses includes the entire family living at the garden. To the left, Peter Holstein and family were tenants operating the Bartram farm, and Joseph Bishop and Flora Iris were servants. To the right, John Bartram, Jr. and his children signed after the couple. The second Ann Bartram was a cousin, daughter of James Bartram. William Bartram and Nathan Jones conclude the list. Following the marriage, Robert Carr became the effective head of the household at the garden. (Private collection.)

Although both her father and grandfather and several of her uncles had been disowned from Darby Meeting, Ann was still a Quaker. When she married Major Carr, who was not a Quaker, she went against the wishes of the Meeting. *“The Committee who had long laboured with Ann Bartram, report that they have had frequent opportunities without the desired affect, she evincing no desire to meet friends at their public meetings for divine worship.”* Accordingly, a testimony against her was drawn up, read and signed by those in the meeting and delivered to Ann.³⁸

Among the artifacts at Historic Bartram’s Garden is a silk gown believed to be Ann Bartram Carr’s wedding gown. If so, she was short in stature and petite. The gown is very simple, gold-colored silk

with green or brownish tones. It is floor length and has puffed sleeves, a high waistline, and a drawstring at the neck. Its style fits the time period for her marriage. With the gown is a square silk shawl, which may have been worn with it.³⁹

After her marriage, Ann continued to live at Bartram’s Garden, along with her husband, who assumed partial management of the house, farm, and botanic garden in 1810. Around the date of her wedding, Ann and her family began to redecorate and improve the house. Recent paint analysis suggests new decorative finishes on the woodwork and walls in many rooms in the early 19th century, probably associated with the new Carr household. Traces of painted wall decoration from this period were exposed in the study during plaster repairs in 1996.⁴⁰ The third floor was finished into rooms with dormer windows. Shed wings were added to the house—a summer kitchen to the north and a conservatory to the south.⁴¹ With her aging Uncle William, Ann became the caretaker of the Bartram botanic collection. The Carrs added to the botanic garden and revitalized the commercial nursery, as well, building at least ten greenhouses.⁴²

Ann and Robert did not have children of their own, but Robert had had a son by his first wife, Rebecca Gale. This son, John Bartram Carr (1804–1839), would have been four or five years old when his father married Ann Bartram. He grew up at Bartram’s Garden, and he became a botanist, learning from his stepmother and her Uncle William. He worked actively at the botanic garden until his death from tuberculosis in 1839.⁴³ The Carrs also raised one of Robert’s nephews, George Gale (born ca. 1816). George’s first child, Anne Bartram Carr Gale, was born at Bartram’s Garden in 1840. Thus, there were children living in the Bartram house during Ann Carr’s time, even though she did not bear any children. More importantly, Ann was able to help pass along her knowledge of botany and science to another generation.⁴⁴

John Bartram, Jr. and his brother William had continued their father’s botanic garden and the international trade in North American seeds and plants. They also transformed part of the family farm into a commercial nursery in the years following the Revolution. John, Jr.’s children helped in the garden, particularly as they came of age. John Bartram III assisted his father in running the botanic garden until his unexpected death in 1804. James H. Bartram left to study medicine in the city in 1801, and went to sea as ships’ surgeon from 1804–1805, but may have worked for a time with his father in the garden on his return.⁴⁵

“Mrs. Carr (daughter of the late John Bartram,) draws elegantly, — and has engaged to execute as many drawings for me as I want.”



By 1799, John Jr. had turned his remaining farm business over to Nathan Jones, his daughter Mary's husband. Jones added housing for tenants, who did most of the farming. Jones, who had been a miller as well as a farmer, turned to a political career in 1809. His management or mis-management of the farm became a point of dispute after John Jr.'s death. In 1810, Carr and James H. Bartram, who had married Mary Ann Joyce in 1810, took over the farm, after signing a five-year agreement with John Jr. The botanic garden appears to have been run by William Bartram, Ann B. Carr, and John Bartram, Jr. during this period. Robert Carr, drawing on his associations with the Philadelphia printing trade and press, began to advertise the Bartram plant and seed business beginning in 1810.⁴⁶

It is clear from the will he drew up in 1809 that John Bartram, Jr. intended for his three surviving children, Mary, Ann, and James, to share his property equally. When he died in 1812, the country was at war, and Robert Carr was involved, first as a Major in the 16th Regiment US Infantry, and then as a Lieutenant Colonel in the 15th Regiment. Carr was named as an executor along with Nathan Jones, and James H. Bartram, but the estate could not be settled



Ann B. Carr's silk wedding dress and shawl. (John Bartram Association)

until he was discharged in 1815. The death of James H. Bartram in 1818, and the fact that his widow remarried further complicated the settling of John Bartram, Jr.'s estate.⁴⁷

During the War of 1812, Robert's brother, William Carr, ran their printing business. The war disrupted trade and commerce, both locally and internationally. It also affected Carr's business. Several publishers who were major clients of Carr's printing business failed, bringing bankruptcy to Carr in 1813. The cost of producing Wilson's *American Ornithology* had placed an additional financial burden on the business.

Thus, Carr turned to a new career at the botanic garden at a time when it was not doing so well financially. Ann noted in an 1822 deposition *“Father's Garden [was] very productive & valuable till the embargo.”* Afterwards, it was somewhat better, *“but did not regain its former value.”*⁴⁸ Although Carr might have wished to sell or lease the garden, his wife Ann desired to maintain it, as did her uncle William Bartram. In 1819, Carr wrote, *“The advanced age of our uncle, Mr. W. B., who resides with us and who could not bear the thought of parting with the garden, forbids the idea of selling during his life.”*⁴⁹

Due to the laws and customs of the time, most of the business affairs and references to the garden were in Robert Carr's name.⁵⁰ However, Ann was more knowledgeable about botany than her husband, and it is likely that she made many of the day-to-day decisions about the business. Several visitors recorded their impressions of her botanical expertise and artistic skill. The botanist and collector William Baldwin requested drawings of several new plants from Ann in 1818:

*Mrs. Carr (daughter of the late John Bartram,) draws elegantly,—and has engaged to execute as many drawings for me as I want.*⁵¹

In 1823, David Douglas, the plant hunter wrote,

*In company with Mr. Nuttall I set out this morning to the residence of the late Mr. Bartram; his niece is a considerable botanist and draws well. Mr. Carr to whom she is married, has but a moderate share of knowledge, this deficiency however, is made up by his pleasing manner.*⁵²

Scottish horticulturalist, Alexander Gordon, praised Ann in his description of Bartram's Garden in 1837:

to speak in just terms respecting her enthusiasm for plants, (which is only equaled by her success in their cultivation,) is a task I am incompetent to perform, for I am not possessed of words which could convey in the most remote degree the passionate fondness with which she toils among the plants, in every



“In company with Mr. Nuttall I set out this morning to the residence of the late Mr. Bartram; his niece is a considerable botanist and draws well.”

department, from the earliest dawn until darkness renders her operations impracticable. Mrs. Carr's botanical acquirements place her in the very first rank among American botanists. Her knowledge of American plants is most extensive, not surpassed, if equaled, by any one in the United States. But, to this lady and her uncle, Mr. Wm. Bartram, the world is under another deep debt of gratitude, for it was to the friendly conversations and instructive communications of the latter that Alexander Wilson, my countryman, first imbibed, or at all events carried his passions to such an extent for the native birds of American. To the former (Mrs. Carr) he was principally indebted for his knowledge of and his proficiency in drawing. To their combined efforts we are indebted for his American Ornithology.⁵³

Amazingly, only one example of Ann B. Carr's art is now known, an engraved illustration of *Certhia americana* or Brown Creeper, a small woodland bird, that accompanied an article on the new species by her Uncle William in 1805.⁵⁴ All her other illustrations are lost or remain undiscovered.

Ann and her brother James probably assisted their Uncle William in the production of the 1807 *Catalogue* of the Bartram collection, which lists over 1500 plant species.⁵⁵ The number of plants and particularly greenhouse plants at Bartram's Garden increased dramatically after 1807. No doubt Ann had some say in, at least, plant cultivation after she and Robert took over the business, as her experience and expertise were far superior to his. Ann had handled her father's accounts. She was well acquainted with business matters and the day-to-day management and decision making of the nursery and garden, as well as the mechanics of botany.

Some evidence of the workforce employed at the garden is available in a letter of Robert Carr to John Claudius Loudon published in *The Gardener's Magazine* in 1831. Carr's letter indicates he employed a foreman (and was looking for a new one) to oversee work in the nursery and greenhouses.

...my American collection is under my own care. I keep from twelve to twenty men and boys nearly all the year.... Some of my workmen have been with me fourteen or fifteen years⁵⁶

Although Carr spoke possessively of the “American collection,” more than likely the family botanic garden was under the control of Ann. Robert probably sought Ann's help, as well as John Bartram Carr's, in propagating new plants and caring for their stock in the botanic garden, nursery and greenhouses.

Under Ann's guidance, the botanic garden grew many varieties of geraniums, camellias, and roses. The Carrs introduced new flower varieties—



Certhia, or brown creeper.

The only identified drawing by Ann B. Carr, an illustration of *Certhia americana* or Brown Creeper. Her drawing was engraved for her uncle William's article on the new species. It appeared in Benjamin Smith Barton's Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal in 1805. This single example shows close similarities with William Bartram's illustration technique, particularly in the background elements and posing of the subject.

especially chrysanthemums and dahlias. Bartram's Garden also produced plants that were even more unusual. For example, it was under Ann and Robert Carr that the poinsettia was introduced to the gardening world. It was exhibited at the first Philadelphia Flower Show in June 1829, after Joel Poinsett had sent plants or seeds to the Carrs in 1828.⁵⁷

Even with her involvement in running the business, Ann was still in charge of managing the house and household. In fact, her household chores became part of the court record in the dispute over her father's estate. Robert Carr sued, on behalf of his wife, for her back “wages as a housekeeper for her father, from February 15, 1797 to February 15th 1813.” He calculated that at \$52 dollars per year for 16 years, she should receive \$832.⁵⁸

“...to speak in just terms respecting her enthusiasm  for plants, (which is only equaled by her success in their cultivation,) is a task I am incompetent to perform.”

The court papers also reveal that while she was the mistress of her father's household, she had little help in its daily maintenance. Flora Murray, who came to live with the Bartrams as a young girl, under the name Flora Iris, testified:

Mrs. Carr was a young woman when I went to live with her father. Mrs. Carr was housekeeper when I went there & had the entire superintendance of household, and continued so till her father's death. There was never any other housekeeper but Mrs. Carr. There was no person to work in the family but Mrs. Carr & myself.

She also noted, “Mrs. C. did not keep a great deal of company—but ladies sometimes came to see her.”⁵⁹

Unfortunately, Flora did not elaborate on what tasks her mistress had to do. No doubt she and the others present assumed that everyone would know. Since farm production had shifted to tenants, Ann was not so involved in the some of the more labor intensive agricultural chores that occupied her grandmother. We can assume, however, that she spent some time in food production, sewing, tending the kitchen garden, and other household chores, as well as for a time caring for her elderly father and uncle.⁶⁰ After her marriage, she had the care of her new husband, and stepson and step nephew. And, of course, she helped to run the business and found time to draw.⁶¹

In the 1840s, the botanic garden business began to decline. The death of John Bartram Carr in 1839 may have contributed somewhat to the weakening of the commercial venture, since he must have shouldered many of the day-to-day responsibilities as Ann and Robert got older. Additionally, they faced an increase in business competitors. After selling much of the nursery stock in 1845, the Carrs were forced to see their garden property sold at a sheriff's sale on June 7, 1847. Following successful financial arrangements they were able to remain at the site. Then in 1850, Robert and Ann were again compelled to sell the property at public auction, when Andrew M. Eastwick purchased it. Eastwick already held a \$6000 mortgage on the garden property from 1847. The elderly Carrs had to leave the Bartram home and garden where Ann had lived all her life. They moved first to Powelton, West Philadelphia and in 1857 to Beverly, New Jersey.

Ann died October 30, 1858 and was buried at Woodlands Cemetery in Philadelphia. Robert died in March 1866, and was buried by her side.⁶² After Ann's death, the following obituary appeared in the *Gardener's Monthly*:

We regret to announce the death of Mrs. Ann

Bartram Carr, the last of the distinguished Bartram Botanists. Mrs. Carr inherited the fondness for Botany and Gardening for which her forefathers are so famous. So closely allied are these names with the history of American Botany and Horticulture, that a memoir of the lady will be read with much interest by our readers.⁶³

Because she was a woman who lived in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Ann Bartram Carr was denied many of the rights that a man of her class would have had. Yet despite her gender, the writer of this obituary, who obviously held her in the highest esteem, linked her and her endeavors to her well-known male ancestors *and theirs*. I would like to suggest that her less well-known female relatives may have contributed to the remarkable abilities of this woman, as well, and that they and she should be remembered for their accomplishments as farm women, artists, botanists, and entrepreneurs.⁶⁴

Endnotes:

¹ Joel T. Fry, “Phase I Archaeological Survey of the Proposed Wetland Restoration Site: Historic Bartram's Garden,” Prepared for the John Bartram Association, Philadelphia, October 18, 1996, 120. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *The Life and Travels of John Bartram for Lake Ontario to the River St. John*. Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1982, 10-11.

² Robert V. Wells, “Quaker Marriage Patterns in a Colonial Perspective,” in Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck, eds., *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979, 99-102. Joan Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986, 10-11, 18-21, 27-29.

³ Will of John Bartram, d. September 22, 1777, Philadelphia County Will #222, Inventory 1779. Transcribed copy, Historic Bartram's Garden.

⁴ Berkeley and Berkeley, *Life and Travels*, 11. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, 37.

⁵ See description of artifacts, Historic Bartram's Garden, 2nd Floor, NW Room, Access No. T.94.07. Maybe this unfinished garment was actually made for the baby Elizabeth, who died in infancy.

⁶ Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, eds., *The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734-1777*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992, 3, 215.

⁷ Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, 11. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Northern New England, 1650-1750*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, 29. Even at a later date, it was not uncommon for women to bequeath dresses to other women. For example, in her 1850 will, Mary Bartram Jones bequeathed “a camel dress, a French merino dress, a silk and worsted dress, a lustre dress” along with other personal items to her sister, Ann Bartram Carr.



“Mrs. Carr was a young woman when I went to live with her father. Mrs. Carr was housekeeper when I went there & had the entire superintendance of household, and continued so till her father’s death.”

⁸Berkeley and Berkeley, *Life and Travels*, 194. Berkeley and Berkeley, *Correspondence*, 540. Earlier in the letter, St. Clair mentioned that he was sure John would find everything in order at home due to “Mrs. Bartrams great care.”

⁹Personal correspondence with Pamela J. Snow, November 1998.

¹⁰Berkeley and Berkeley, *The Life and Travels of*, 11. Fry, “Phase I Archaeological Survey,” 122. Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, [J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur], *Letters From An American Farmer*.... London: Printed for Thomas Davies, 1782, 178, 182-184. Large areas of marsh in Kingsessing were drained and maintained as extremely lush grazing lands. The communal diking and draining of these wet meadows had a long history probably extending back into the 17th century.

¹¹Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Natures of John and William Bartram*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996, 35.

¹²Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, 98-99.

¹³Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, 82-82.

¹⁴Joel T. Fry, “The ‘Seed House’ At Bartram’s Garden: An Archaeological Analysis 1989-1990,” Prepared for The John Bartram Association, Philadelphia, PA, June 1991.

¹⁵Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, 48-49. For some examples of poultry ownership see, Elaine Forman Crane, ed., *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*. 3 vols. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991, 163, 1759, 1769.

¹⁶Christopher Hobbs, “The Medical Botany of John Bartram,” *Pharmacy in History*, vol. 33, no. 4 (1991), 181-189. John Bartram wrote an introduction and appendix to a British herbal, Thomas Short’s *Medicina Britannica*, detailing 21 North American plants with medical properties. This Philadelphia edition of Short was printed by Franklin and Hall in 1751.

¹⁷Berkeley and Berkeley, *Correspondence*, 258-259.

¹⁸He does mention a time in 1738 when he delayed a trip to the Jerseys because his wife and children had the measles, and in 1745 he wrote Cadwallader Colden he could not leave his “family of little helpless children... in so sickly A time.” Compare this to the frequent accounts of illness in Elizabeth Drinker’s diary, Crane, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*. Also see, Elaine Forman Crane, “‘I Have Suffer’d Much Today,’ the Defining Force of Pain in Early America,” in Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Frerika J. Teute, eds., *Through a Glass Darkly; Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1997, 370-403.

¹⁹We know that the Bartrams had servants and one freed slave, but this is an area that needs to be studied more extensively. Their labor could have been more used for agricultural work, although Ann may have had help with such chores as spinning.

²⁰Inventory of John Bartram, 1779. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, 50-51. Also consider both the differences in the labor demands of cleaning then and now, and the differences in the standards of cleanliness then and now. Richard C. Wolbers, “Comprehensive Conservation Study for the John Bartram House, vol. V, Architectural Paint Survey,” September 14, 1999.

²¹Description of artifacts, 2nd Floor, NW Room, Access. No. 86.01. Will of John Bartram, Inventory, 1779, Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, 50.

²²Berkeley and Berkeley, *Correspondence*, 40.

²³Berkeley and Berkeley, *Correspondence*, 739. Following the 1765 Philadelphia Non-importation Agreement, the American Philosophical Society, at the urging of Benjamin Franklin and Dr. John Fothergill, established a cooperative silk filature or spinning house in Philadelphia to encourage domestic production of silk. Isaac and Moses Bartram, Elizabeth’s brothers, were among the organizers of this project. In November 1771, around 155 pounds of raw silk was sent to London from this collective effort. After several years experiment the silk industry failed in Pennsylvania.

²⁴Family tradition records that John Bartram’s freed slave Harvey served as steward, supervising the farm in John’s absence. Virtually no documents survive to reconstruct Harvey’s life at the garden.

²⁵Berkeley and Berkeley, *Correspondence*, 107, 586, 535, 770. In December 1738 John wrote Collinson “When I was down in Virginia my wife sent A box of all spice berries which I had with some expense of time Colected...,” 105.

²⁶Slaughter, *The Natures of John and William Bartram*, 33.

²⁷Description of artifacts, 2nd Floor, NW Room, Access Nos. 82.15, 82.16, 82.17, Historic Bartram’s Garden. In a January 1765 letter to her husband Benjamin, Deborah Franklin reported “our mr Bartram was to see us and asked us to celebrate his Birthday and his Dafters marag.... We did not go. The wather was so sharpe.” Sometime in the spring of 1765 Ann Bartram was among the “good Ladies” with “friendly Wishes” for Franklin named in a letter by Deborah, Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 12, 15-16, 168. On November 29, 1769 John Bartram wrote Franklin “Yesterday I had the pleasure of takeing Mrs. Franklin by the hand in her own house as allso thy daughter and grandson A fine boy. Likewise thy sister from Boston all whome I expect at my house according to promise.” Berkeley and Berkeley, *Correspondence*, 726.

²⁸Berkeley and Berkeley, *Correspondence*, 653-654. Will of John Bartram.

²⁹Fry, “Phase I Archaeological Survey,” 124. Berkeley and Berkeley, *Correspondence*, 739, 742.

³⁰Testimony of Mrs. Ann B. Carr, July 30, 1822. John Bartram, Jr. Estate, Mary Ann Holland, Guardian of the Heirs of James H. Bartram vs. Nathan Jones and Robert Carr, Executors. Hearing of Case, May 13-September 7, 1822, John Kintzing Kane Legal Papers, American Philosophical Society, B.K13.

³¹Description of artifacts, 2nd floor, NW Room, Access Nos. 82.09, 82.10. Among the artifacts, there is also a needlework said to belong to Elizabeth Bartram Kaighn, Access No. T.59.07. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds*, 50.

³²Testimony of Mrs. Ann B. Carr, July 30, 1822, John Bartram, Jr. Estate, J. K. Kane Papers, APS.

³³Robert C. Smith, “A Portuguese Naturalist in Philadelphia, 1799,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 78 (January 1954), 82-83.

³⁴Clark Hunter, *The Life and Letters of Alexander Wilson* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983, 202,

“We regret to announce the death of Mrs. Ann 
Bartram Carr, the last of the distinguished Bartram Botanists. Mrs. Carr
inherited the fondness for Botany and Gardening for which her forefathers are so famous.”

204, 205, 272-273.

³⁵ Hunter, 217-218; Alexander Wilson, “A Rural Walk,” *Literary Magazine and American Register*, vol. 2, no. 11 (August 1804), 377-379.

³⁶ “A Romance of Bartram’s Garden,” *The Philadelphia Press*, May 3, 1896.

³⁷ Robert Carr (1778-1866) had been apprenticed to Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, and learned printing at Franklin Court, working on Bache’s newspaper the *Aurora*. He went into business on his own as a fine printer in 1801. Carr was active in the Philadelphia militia with the rank of major at the time of his marriage to Ann M. Bartram.

³⁸ Darby Monthly Meeting, 1809, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

³⁹ Description of artifacts, 2nd Floor, Porch Bedroom, Access. Nos. T.83.01 and T.83.02.

⁴⁰ Wolbers, “Architectural Paint Survey.”

⁴¹ See Nathan Jones accounts (1796-1811) from the estate of John Bartram, Jr., J. K. Kane Papers, APS. These accounts list building materials such as March 25, 1809, “350 ft. boards for garret.”

⁴² Alexander Gordon, “Bartram Botanic Garden,” *The Gene-see Farmer*, vol. 7, no. 28 (July 15, 1837), 220.

⁴³ Joel T. Fry, “John Bartram Carr, The Unknown Bartram,” *Bartram Broadside* (Fall 1994), 1-9.

⁴⁴ Communications from Gale descendant, Susan Rodriguey, July 1997, Historic Bartram’s Garden Archives, Box 7.

⁴⁵ James H. Bartram, “Remarks and Observations on a Passage to the C. of Good H. Batavia, Madras, Calcutta, &c. &c., 1804-1805.” MS journal, Historic Bartram’s Garden Archives.

⁴⁶ Fry, “Phase I Archaeological Survey,” 128-132; 131. John Bartram Jr. Estate, J. K. Kane Papers, APS.

⁴⁷ Fry, “Phase I Archaeological Survey,” 133. John Bartram Jr. Estate, J. K. Kane Papers, APS. In 1822 Mary Ann Holland, the widow of James H. Bartram brought suit against Nathan Jones and Robert Carr the surviving executors of John Bartram, Jr’s estate. This suit, possibly instigated by Robert Carr, attempted to collect debts and back rent Jones owed the estate for the period 1797-1809. The estate accounts and testimony from this case, adjudicated by John K. Kane, preserve a significant glimpse of daily life at the Bartram farm in these years.

⁴⁸ Testimony of Mrs. Ann B. Carr, July 30, 1822, John Bartram, Jr. Estate, J. K. Kane Papers, APS.

⁴⁹ Fry, “Phase I Archaeological Survey,” 134; Robert Carr, “Journal and Letter Book,” Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵⁰ A married woman was known as *feme covert*. In general, her wages and property belonged to her husband, and she had limited rights.

⁵¹ William Darlington, ed., *Reliquae Baldwinianae: Selections From the Correspondence of the Late William Baldwin, M.D.* Philadelphia: 1843, 277-278.

⁵² David Douglas, *Journal Kept By David Douglas During His Travels in North America 1823-1827*. London: Royal Horticultural Society, 25-26.

⁵³ Alexander Gordon, “Bartram Botanic Garden.”

⁵⁴ William Bartram. “Description of an American species of *Certhia*, or Creeper,” *Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal*, vol. II, part 1 (1805), 103-106 and plate.

⁵⁵ William Bartram, *A Catalogue of Trees, Shrubs, and Herbaceous Plants, Indigenous to the United States of America; cultivated and disposed of by John Bartram & Son, at their Botanical Garden, Kingsess, near Philadelphia: to which is added a Catalogue of Foreign Plants collected from various parts of the globe*. Philadelphia: Bartram and Reynolds, 1807.

⁵⁶ Robert Carr, “Letter from R. C. Near Philadelphia, July 10, 1831.” *The Gardener’s Magazine*, vol. 7, 666-668.

⁵⁷ Joel T. Fry, “Plants for Winter’s Diversion:” *Greenhouse History and Greenhouse Plants at Historic Bartram’s Garden*. Philadelphia: The John Bartram Association, 1995, 10. Joel T. Fry, “The Introduction of the Poinsettia at Bartram’s Garden,” *Bartram Broadside*, (Winter 1994-95), 3-7. Poinsett served as the first United States minister to the new Republic of Mexico from 1824-1830. He also sent a large collection of Mexican cactus to the Carrs.

⁵⁸ John Bartram, Jr. Estate, J. K. Kane Papers, APS.

⁵⁹ Testimony of Flora Murray, August 30, 1822, John Bartram, Jr. Estate, J. K. Kane Papers, APS. Although there is little information on who Flora was, “Flora Iris” sounds like a name coined by the Bartrams for an orphan or foundling. Robert Carr estimated her age at 38 in 1822, suggesting she was born around 1784. She lived at Bartram’s Garden from ca. 1798 to at least 1813. Flora Iris signed the Carrs’ 1809 marriage certificate.

⁶⁰ Nathan Jones’ accounts list 30 weeks of pasture for “Carr’s cow” in 1809, so Ann Carr may have been involved in some dairying, at least for a time. John Bartram, Jr. Estate, J. K. Kane Papers, APS.

⁶¹ The US censuses of 1820, 1830 and 1840, indicate a free black family was resident in the Bartram household throughout this period, probably working as servants and also gardeners.

⁶² Fry, “Phase I Archaeological Report,” 138-139.

“Biographical Sketch of Colonel Robert Carr,” November 1866, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Only Robert Carr’s grave is currently marked in the family plot at Woodlands Cemetery. Mary and Nathan Jones and Robert Carr’s children are also buried there.

⁶³ Thomas Meehan, *The Gardener’s Monthly*, vol. 1 (January 1859), 11. Unfortunately the memoir of Ann B. Carr never appeared.

⁶⁴ Her sister Mary’s will of 1850 indicates that she, too, had an interest in plants. Mary left her greenhouse plants to Ann, along with other personal belongings, such as clothing, furniture, and books. Mary Jones was also aware of the financial difficulties that Ann faced, and had knowledge of the legal status of married women. Her will instructed that the rents and profits from her farm land and buildings be held in trust for Ann, “so that the said rents issues and profits or any part thereof shall not be in the power or control, or be in any way or manner whatever subject to or liable for any of the contracts, debts or engagements of her present or future husband.”

Caroline Kelley: A Political Wife, A Victorian Life

Jane Holland

Caroline Bartram Bonsall Kelley, great, great granddaughter of John Bartram, was born in 1829. She was orphaned at the age of nine and brought up by adoptive parents Isaac and Elizabeth Pugh, and Isaac's unmarried sister, Sarah Pugh. Living in Germantown, the Pughs were tied to Quakerism and Unitarianism, and were vigorous abolitionists. Well within Quaker tradition, they also fervently supported an active role for women in community affairs. Although gender determined the shape of women's activities—voluntary, rather than in the official sphere of public life—public they certainly were, in regard to slavery, temperance, working conditions, and more. "Aunt Sarah" Pugh, great friend of Lucretia Mott, dedicated much of her energy to women's rights. While loyal and responsible wives and mothers, women of this stamp were far more than "the angel in the house."

In 1854, Caroline married William Darrah Kelley, a Philadelphia judge and a Unitarian with a deep commitment to abolition. In the years between their marriage and 1860, when Kelley was elected to Congress and the Civil War began, Kelley's courtroom was the scene of many legal struggles over the fate of escaped slaves, with the abolitionist women often present in considerable strength. "The growing power of antislavery women combined with that of antislavery men to achieve what neither could have accomplished separately. Such results became dramatically evident in William Kelley's courtroom in the mid-

1850s." (Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, 23).

Caroline's personal life included a great personal sorrow. She and William Kelley had eight children, but five of them died all in one winter, of some communicable—and in today's world probably preventable—disease. The three who survived were William Jr. and Florence, the oldest two, and Albert Bartram, my father, the "baby." Florence's parents encouraged her in precocious intellectuality, sent her to Cornell, and sent her to Zurich (accompanied by her mother and little brother) to study law, when she could not gain admittance—on account of her gender—to an American law school. Here we see "the hand that rocks the cradle"—and considerably more. Although modest and "behind the scenes" as befitted a woman of her times, Caroline was a deeply committed social activist. In her publicly quiet way, she strongly supported her daughter Florence in that crusader's personally and politically daring work for child labor reform. In her sixties—in 1893—Caroline wrote a lengthy biography/memorial of John Bartram for the first reunion of the Bartram family at Historic Bartram's Garden. Her son Albert, then 23, read the address aloud to the assembly of Bartram descendants, June 8th, 1893.

Bartram Broadside is edited by Joel T. Fry, Curator of Historic Collections, Historic Bartram's Garden. Ideas and contributions on the Bartram connections to history, exploration, horticulture, botany, and other natural sciences are encouraged.

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Historic Bartram's Garden
The Pre-Revolutionary Home of John Bartram
Naturalist ♦ Botanist ♦ Explorer
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