

Old Indian Road

Vol. XV

DECEMBER, 1920

No. 4

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Carroll Co. for  
Chart showing Flower  
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# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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### PRESBYTERIAN BEGINNINGS

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*Historical address by Bernard C. Steiner, Ph. D., on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument at North Point, on October 27, 1920, to commemorate the first services of the Presbyterian Church held within the bounds of the present Presbytery of Baltimore.*

The beginnings of Presbyterianism within the limits of the Province of Maryland are obscure. William Durand seems to have been an elder among the Puritans who came to Maryland in 1649. Rev. Francis Doughty, a brother-in-law of Gov. William Stone, sought refuge from New York within the Province and lived and preached upon the Patuxent River for many years. Rev. Matthew Hill labored in Charles County about the year 1670 and Rev. Charles Nicolet, a third Presbyterian, lived in the Province in 1669. Within the limits of the Synod of Baltimore are three Presbyteries and the origins of each are full of interest. The Presbytery of Washington contains the church of Hyattsville, which claims that it has an historic continuity with the church on the Patuxent, the east branch of the Potomac and Pomonkey, with its meeting-house at Bladensburg, and that this church's existence extends back into the Seventeenth Century. In 1691 a traveller coming thither wrote of an "ancient comely man" who was "an elder among

the Presbyterians" and, in 1704, Col. Ninian Beall, an elder in that church, deeded it land for a meeting-house. The Presbytery of Newcastle proudly claims Francis Makmie as the founder of its churches on the Eastern Shore. The Presbytery of Baltimore, through recent investigations undertaken for genealogical purposes by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants and Mr. William B. Marye, has been able to locate the place where the first regular services were held by a Presbyterian minister within its limits and today dedicates here a memorial to perpetuate the memory of these events.

The first Thomas Todd came to America from Denton in County Durham, England, and was in Gloucester County, Virginia, in 1652. In 1664, he was in Maryland, and in 1669, he bought 300 acres at North Point, a tract of land which has never gone out of the family and has always been owned by Thomas Todd, the present venerable and honored owner having granted the Presbytery of Baltimore a permanent license for the erection of this monument in his family graveyard. The first Thomas Todd is described as a "Merchant of the Patapsco River" and was known as Captain. He died in London, while on a visit to England, in 1676, and his son, the second Thomas Todd, lived at Toddsbury, Mobjack Bay, Gloucester County, Virginia. The third Thomas Todd was not on the list of taxables in Baltimore County in 1707, but, probably, removed to his North Point Plantation about 1710. He married Elizabeth, whose maiden name is not known, and by her was the father of Thomas Todd the fourth.

After the Protestant Revolution in Maryland, the Anglican Church was established in the Province and the Counties were subdivided into parishes. North Point was placed within the limits of St. Paul's Parish, whose church building was erected on Colgate's Creek near Dundalk and remained there until it was removed to Baltimore Town. Some time after it was laid out in 1729, as far as we know, no other place of worship existed for many miles. In the early years of the eighteenth century, the rector of the Parish, who was appointed by the

Provincial authorities, was the Rev. William Tibbs, a man of little spirituality but of a scandalous life. For serious minded, conscientious people there could have been little satisfaction in attending religious services conducted by such a man and we can easily imagine that such persons would welcome a man of consistent faithfulness in his Christian life as a preacher of the Gospel. Obviously, since the Anglican clergyman could not be dislodged by his parishioners, those who wished other preaching must seek a clergyman of another denomination. Yearly, the ships came from Great Britain bringing a great variety of articles needed by the planters and returning with cargoes of tobacco, the staple crop of the Province. Through the Captain of one of these ships, a message was sent about 1713 from Baltimore County to London merchants who traded with Maryland, stating that a Presbyterian congregation was being organized and asking that a minister be sent out for it. These merchants were accustomed to fulfill all sorts of commissions for the planters and so they looked about for a Godfearing clergyman, who was willing to undertake the life of a pioneer. Such a man was Hugh Conn, who was born at Macgilligan, Ireland, about 1685, and was educated at Faughanvale and at the University of Glasgow. He was offered the opportunity to come to Baltimore County and did so, probably, in one of the vessels, which arrived in the Province in 1714. He brought with him letters of recommendation from Rev. Thomas Reynolds of London, a Presbyterian clergyman who was much interested in the American Churches. He could, of course, find no place in which to conduct divine worship except a private house, and Thomas Todd's house at the mouth of the Patapsco was probably the most convenient of any of those scattered along the water front and owned by those who had begun the Presbyterian Congregation. So we find Todd appearing before the Baltimore County Court at Joppa, the County seat, at the March Court in 1714-15 and praying "that his house may be licensed for a Presbyterian minister to preach in," which petition, the records tell us, "the Justices granted, provided said

minister qualified himself by taking the oaths" required by the Provincial Statutes. There can be no doubt but that Conn did so and that the regular services were conducted in Todd's house, which was burned by the British in 1814, and which stood on the site of the present house—a stone's throw from the monument which we dedicate today. The scene has changed very little from that upon which the people looked in 1715 and we may imagine the worshippers coming in row-boats and sail-boats along the shore of the Patapsco, or across this river, and then walking up from the wharf to the house, where they doubtless were instructed in Christianity according to the soundest of Scotch Calvinism.

Todd did not hear the sermons long, for he died, and was probably buried here, prior to June 3, 1715, when his will was presented in Court. Doubtless, Conn preached his funeral sermon and, in the weeks that followed his death, fell in love with Todd's widow. Weeds were not long worn in those days and, after a few months, Mrs. Todd became the wife of Hugh Conn. Some time in 1774, a daughter was born to them and was given the mother's name, but the family was not to be united long; for, before the end of 1717, Mrs. Conn had died, aged 27 years, and with her was buried her infant daughter, barely a year old. Thomas Todd the fourth was left without either parent and Hugh Conn was a widower, after only two years of marriage.<sup>1</sup>

There is a legend, for which I have found no evidence, that Mrs. Conn went to England and that, on the return voyage, both she and her infant daughter fell ill and died when almost in sight of home. They were buried here and the flat slab over their grave antedates by almost a century any other tombstone in the graveyard.

Services were not long held alone here at Todd's house, and, for some reason, the congregation determined to build a meet-

<sup>1</sup> The pleasant relations between Rev. Hugh Conn and Thomas Todd the fourth, are shown by a deed in the Records of the Provincial Court in Annapolis (E. 1, No. 3, Deeds, f. 6) conveying a farm entitled "Todd's Industry," from Todd to Conn, his step-father, on Oct. 11, 1737, for "natural love and affection."

ing-house upon the land of John Frizzell, on the South Side of the Patapsco River at the head of Curtis Creek. This house was completed by August, 1715, when at the Court held in that month, upon Conn's petition, this house, "lately built," was recorded for a "Presbyterian Meeting-house." Afterwards services were held alternately on the other side of the Patapsco in all probability.

Shortly after this, on September 20, 1715, Mr. James Gordon presented to the Presbytery of Philadelphia a call to Conn from the people of Baltimore County, and the call was approved. Conn's ordination followed on October 3, at which ceremony he was also installed Pastor of the Congregation of Patapsco, by three Scotchmen: Rev. James Anderson of Newcastle, Rev. George Gillespie of White Clay Creek, and Rev. David McGill of Bladensburg. Where he lived while pastor of the Patapsco Church is unknown. The congregation failed to grow and did not give him adequate support. Consequently, in September, 1719, Presbytery granted him a dismissal from his charge, on account of the "paucity of his flock." Rev. Mr. McGill was no longer pastor at Bladensburg and Conn accepted a call from the church there, continuing as its pastor until his death. Webster in his "History of the Presbyterian Church" wrote of Conn that he "seldom met with Newcastle Presbytery, but attended with creditable regularity on the Synod. He adhered to the old side when the Synod divided."

On June 28, 1752, he was preaching at the funeral of a person who died suddenly and spoke of "the certainty of death, the uncertainty of the time when it might happen, the absolute necessity of being continually prepared for it, the vast danger of delay and trusting to a death-bed repentance." He delivered "this part of his discourse with some elevation of voice" and continued, saying "Death may surprise us the next moment." He had scarcely uttered the last word when "putting one hand to head and one to his side, he fell backward and expired." Rev. Samuel Davies of Princeton was so impressed by this sudden death that he twice referred to it in his sermons.

Rev. Mr. Conn's body was probably interred at Bladensburg, but no record of the burial is found, nor does any monument mark his grave. The memorial which we dedicate today is the only one which commemorates his faithful work.

The little congregation on the Patapsco seems not to have called another pastor, but soon disappeared. Its records have been lost, and the meeting-house on John Frizzell's land has long since gone, leaving no trace behind it. Not until 1761 were Presbyterian services again held on the Patapsco, in which latter year the Presbyterians in Baltimore Town began to worship together.

The facts which have just been narrated were ascertained in the early part of 1917 and it was then determined to place a monument here, but the Great War caused a delay in the project. A few months ago, Rev. John P. Campbell, D. D., the Chairman of the Historical Committee of the Presbytery of Baltimore, took up the matter again and to his energy is due the successful completion of the undertaking.

The little congregation, whose existence we here commemorate, was short lived and, probably, Hugh Conn and Thomas Todd would have been incredulous had they been told that, over two centuries after the services were held, the Presbytery named for a city which had not yet come into existence would think the matter of sufficient importance to raise a memorial stone to commemorate these services. Indeed, in his later Bladensburg years, Conn may well have looked back at his experience here with sorrow. The thoughts of the early death of his friend, Thomas Todd, and of the woman who had been so dear to both men, and of the failure of the little church to continue, must have caused him grief.

Yet we do right to recall the efforts of these early pioneers to secure the preaching of the Gospel of Christ by one consecrated to his service and living so as to be an example to those who listened to his proclamation of the Gospel. Dwelling on the edge of a vast wilderness, with the terror of an Indian attack not yet wholly gone, these early settlers felt the need of



assembling for the common worship of God. They came from distances which were great to them, in their boats or on horseback, so that they might hear the divine will proclaimed. They wished to have that will unfolded to them by a man whom they could respect as a religious leader. Not only because they formed the first Presbyterian congregation within the bounds of this Presbytery; but also because of what that organization signified to them and should symbolize to us, we do well to dedicate this memorial stone. The principles upon which they acted are unchanged, the need for men to obey God's will and to devote their efforts for the advancement of the Kingdom of Heaven is as great in the twentieth as in the eighteenth century. The men in our complex age, no less than those in that far simpler one, must remember to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God. As a testimony that we realize the fact and that we place on the regular religious worship and service of Christ the same importance that this early congregation did, the Presbytery of Baltimore has erected this monument and has invited the Synod of Baltimore to be present at its dedication. Far back in the olden time, we are told that Joshua commanded the Children of Israel to take up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan and lay them down in the place where they had lodged after crossing the river, that "these stones shall be a memorial unto the Children of Israel for ever." In like manner, these stones have been placed here, in order that the passer-by who sees them may have brought to his mind the fact that over two centuries ago in the Province of Maryland, men lived who left a name worthy of remembrance, because they were not so engrossed in things material as to forget things spiritual; because they looked far beyond the clearings around their simple homes to the eternal verities; because they laid a due emphasis in their lives upon the service of God; and because they obeyed with joy the command to assemble themselves together that they might approach their Maker with prayers and praise unto His glorious name.

## SOME EARLY COLONIAL MARYLANDERS

MCHENRY HOWARD.

(Continued from Vol. XV, p. 303.)

## 6. LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN JARBOE.

William Claiborne of Virginia, who had established trading posts on Kent Island and in the upper Chesapeake Bay prior to the grant of the Maryland Charter to Lord Baltimore, was indignant at what he considered an invasion of his rights by the Charter, and for years nourished a spirit of bitter hostility to the development of the Colony under the Calverts. Taking advantage of the unrest in the contest between the King and Parliament, and aided by Captain Richard Ingle, master of an armed vessel which traded between England and Maryland, he in 1645 stirred up what is known in Maryland history as Claiborne and Ingle's Rebellion, in which first Kent Island and then the whole Province were seized and a temporary Government was set up, compelling Governor Leonard Calvert to take refuge in Virginia. But the Governor raised a force there for the restoration of his authority, with which he came up the Bay in the latter part of 1646. In this force John Jarbo, as the name is written in the earlier, and many later, pages of the *Maryland Archives*, enlisted. He was a native of Dijon, France,<sup>1</sup> and according to a deposition made by him 6 August 1657<sup>2</sup> and another made 21 June 1659<sup>3</sup> was born in or about 1619. In a deposition 25 January 1647/8 he says he was with Governor Calvert at Kicotan (Kecoughtan, afterwards Elizabeth City,) and at York, Virginia, when the Gov-

<sup>1</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Provincial Court 1649/50-1657, p. 537.

<sup>3</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (original), Provincial Court Mch. 1658-Nov. 1662, p. 312.

ernor was organizing his expedition.<sup>4</sup> When and under what circumstances he came to Virginia does not appear. On 29 December 1646 Jarbo and others make affidavit as to the terms which Governor Calvert had made with his soldiers, viz. that "if he should find the Inhabitants of St. Maries had accepted his pardon for their former rebellion and weare in obedience to his Lo<sup>RP</sup> the Souldiers weare to expect no pillage there but he would receive the inhabitants in peace and only take aid from them to the reduceing of Kent."<sup>5</sup> He found no opposition in lower Maryland, but had some difficulty in reducing Kent Island—Claiborne's stronghold.

Coming thus into the Province, a soldier and an alien, John Jarbo took the oath of fealty (to the Lord Proprietary) 2 January 1646/7.<sup>6</sup> A suit brought in the Provincial Court 5 January 1647/8 by Jn<sup>o</sup> Garbo (note the indication of the French sound of the J,) against Mrs. Marg. Brent, his Lordship's Attorney, for "sallary this yeare," and settled, was probably for pay as a soldier when or after so coming from Virginia.<sup>7</sup> And he held rank in the military service afterwards. In the organization of the militia of the Province by the Council 3 June 1658 commissions were ordered to Captain William Evans and Lieutenant John Jarbo "of all forces from Poplar Hill inclusively to Wicacomaco River," and Lieutenant Jarbo's commission (which was used as the form for Lieutenants' commissions afterwards,) from Governor Josias Fendall as Captain General was dated 15 June.<sup>8</sup> And on 31 October 1660 Caecilius Lord Baltimore, acting by his (half) brother Governor Philip Calvert, commissioned William Evans Colonel

<sup>4</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Provincial Court 1637-1650, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Assembly 1637/8-1664, p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Provincial Court 1637-1650, pp. 362, 364.

<sup>8</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, pp. 344, 346.

and John Jarbo Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of trained bands in St. Mary's County.<sup>9</sup> He is always afterwards styled in the *Archives* Lieutenant Colonel. On 10 February 1667/8 he was ordered to "press" 23 men out of his Company and conduct them to East St. Mary's, the rendezvous for an expedition against the Nanticoke Indians on the Eastern Shore.<sup>10</sup> Whether he took any further part in the expedition is not known. He probably participated in the conflict at Providence (Annapolis) 25 March 1654/5 between Governor Stone's forces and the government which had been set up under the authority of the English Parliament and the Lord Protector Cromwell for the "reduction" of Maryland, for in October 1655 he was, by the Provincial Court, then a part of that temporary administration, fined 1000 pounds of tobacco for "acting with Capt. William Stone in the late Rebellion against the present government"; the lightness of the penalty is said by the Court to be because of his having been drawn into that engagement not willingly as he pleaded.<sup>11</sup>

He seems to have given offence in some way soon after his coming to Maryland, for on 6 August 1650 Caecilius Lord Baltimore writes to Governor William Stone and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly (with other matter) censuring John Jarbo, "one unto whom We wished well" and "who hath formerly well meritted of us and our deare brother deceased," for some disrespectful conduct to the Governor.<sup>12</sup> But he was evidently soon received into favor again.

By the first "Conditions of Plantations," declared by Lord Baltimore 8 August 1636,<sup>13</sup> the Governor was authorized to grant land, subject to a small quit rent, to every Adventurer

<sup>9</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 392.

<sup>10</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Council 1667-1687/8, pp. 21, 23.

<sup>11</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Provincial Court 1649/50-1657, p. 429.

<sup>12</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Assembly 1637/8-1664, p. 318.

<sup>13</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 47.

into the Colony, but in the second Conditions, 10 November 1641,<sup>14</sup> and the third, 12 August 1648,<sup>15</sup> and the fourth, 2 July 1649,<sup>16</sup> this right of immigrants to take up land was restricted to persons of British or Irish descent—except that in a Commission annexed to the third Conditions Lord Baltimore, reciting that as well divers French men as some people of other nations who were not capable of having any lands in the Province are already seated or may hereafter with permission seat themselves there, authorizes the Governor to grant to such persons of French, Dutch or Italian descent lands on the same terms as if of British or Irish descent. But shortly after coming into the Colony and before Lord Baltimore's above authorization Jarbo and Lieutenant William Evans (under whom he had probably served in the expedition and with whom he was closely associated afterwards,) on 19 November 1647 demanded 200 acres of land for transporting themselves into the Province at their own charges in 1646 and 200 acres "applied to them by the right of Walter Peake, planter"—probably an assignment of Peake's right as an immigrant to take up land—and a warrant was issued to the Surveyor to lay out for them 400 acres in the Isle of Kent "sometime in possession of John Abbotte."<sup>17</sup> And on 28 August 1649 Lord Baltimore writes from London, reciting a letter to him from Jarbo and the warrant to Evans and Jarbo who had rendered faithful service to Governor Leonard Calvert in the late war for the recovery of the Province and who were in danger of the land being taken away from them and directing that a grant of it be passed to them.<sup>18</sup> This land on Kent Island, which Lord Baltimore says in his letter had belonged to John

<sup>14</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 99.

<sup>15</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 221.

<sup>16</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (printed), Proceedings of the Council, 1636-1667, p. 233.

<sup>17</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 6, p. 372; quoting Land Office Records Liber L. O. R., No. 2, p. 99, also recorded Liber A. B. and H., p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 9, p. 294; see also Vol. 3, p. 161.

Abbot but had been forfeited by rebellion, was sold by Evans and Jarbo 20 November 1660.<sup>19</sup>

But whether because of an insecure possession of their Kent Island tract or of a preference to settle in the more congenial predominant Catholic community of Southern Maryland, Evans and Jarbo had, on 1 December 1648, demanded 100 acres for each for transporting themselves into the Province in 1646, and on the same day a warrant was issued to the Surveyor to lay out 100 acres for (each of?) them on Bretton's Bay (St. Mary's County), which warrant was returned executed 16 March 1648/9 by the laying out of 100(?) acres on the West side of that Bay.<sup>20</sup> And subsequently Jarbo had several warrants for tracts of land for bringing persons into the Colony or acquiring the rights of others, all of which seem to have been located in the lower part of St. Mary's County.<sup>21</sup> And his Will indicates other dealings in lands. As early as 20 October 1648, in the acknowledgment of a Deed of Gift of a cow to a child of Walter Peake to advance her a portion "John Garbo" is said to be of New-Town,<sup>22</sup> and he probably lived in that neighborhood the rest of his life. Newtown, in Newtown Hundred, St. Mary's County, is mentioned in the *Archives* down to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century but is not on Griffith's map of Maryland in 1794. It was on or near Bretton's (now Brittain's) Bay below Leonardtown<sup>23</sup> and the County Court was held there in some years. In November 1661 William Bretton gave 1½ acres for the building of a Catholic Church there or in the vicinity<sup>24</sup> and it is probable that Lieutenant Colonel Jarboe, with other Catholics of the community, is buried there.

<sup>19</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 8, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 7, pp. 194, 311; Land Office Records Liber A. B. and H., pp. 12, 19, and Liber L. O. R., No. 2, pp. 440, 469, 479.

<sup>21</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 3, p. 166, Vol. 7, p. 392, Liber L. O. R., No. 2, p. 543, Liber A. B. and H., pp. 179, 186, 241, 310, 321, and Liber No. 9, p. 262, &c.

<sup>22</sup> *Maryland Archives*, Provincial Court 1637-1650, p. 428.

<sup>23</sup> It may be mentioned incidentally that Leonardtown, formerly Seymour Town, was laid out by Act of Assembly in 1728; *Archives*, Vol. 36, p. 286.

<sup>24</sup> Provincial Court Records Mch. 1658-Nov. 1662 (original), p. 1026.

On 30 July 1661 Lord Baltimore, by Governor Philip Calvert, declared John Jarboe, "subject of the Crowne of france;" to be a "free Dennizen" of Maryland with the same rights as if born in the Province.<sup>25</sup> And this being, perhaps, not sufficient Jarboe, with others, in April or May 1666 petitions Lord Baltimore, reciting the Declaration of 2 July 1649 in favor of persons not of British or Irish descent and praying for an Act of Assembly giving to the Petitioners the same rights as if born in Maryland or of British or Irish descent, which is assented to by the Upper and Lower Houses<sup>26</sup> and either in that shape was treated as an Act of Assembly or if a formal Act was passed it does not appear in the *Archives*—probably because a Private Act. And as some laws were intended to be temporary and others permanent in their operation, in 1675 the "Act of 1666" naturalizing Jarboe and others was ratified and confirmed to stand until amended or repealed;<sup>27</sup> and so again in April 1684.<sup>28</sup>

On 22 March 1663/4 he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace for St. Mary's County and appears so acting afterwards in 1664, 1665 and 1666.<sup>29</sup> The office was an important one in Colonial times. The Justices composed the County Court, a certain number being designated as of the quorum, without the presence of one of whom a sitting of the Court could not be had—unless a Member of the Council was present.

On 24 April 1667 he was, by Caecilius Lord Baltimore, acting by Governor Charles Calvert his son (afterwards 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord), commissioned High Sheriff of St. Mary's County, and was reappointed in 1668.<sup>30</sup> He appears as Sheriff as late as 16 February 1668/9.<sup>31</sup>

On 19 May 1674 or "soon after," he appears as a Delegate

<sup>25</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 431.

<sup>26</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, p. 144.

<sup>27</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, p. 549.

<sup>28</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1684-1692, p. 79.

<sup>29</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1669, pp. 490, 503, 514, 516, 518, 540.

<sup>30</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Council 1667-1687/8, pp. 4, 26.

<sup>31</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, p. 155.

for St. Mary's County to the Lower House of Assembly, having been elected at some time before and he is also present at the next February Session 1674/5.<sup>32</sup> But he died before 19 May 1676.<sup>33</sup>

There is no reasonable doubt that he married Mary Tettershall, probably sister of William Tettershall, both of whom, Catholics, came from Wiltshire, England, in 1648 and took up land in Jarboe's neighborhood.<sup>34</sup> In his Will (Baldwin's *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, Vol. 1, page 54), William Tettershall calls Lieut. Col. John Jarboe his brother, and while it is sometimes difficult to determine from early Maryland Wills which of two brothers in law (often called "brothers"), married the other's sister, it can hardly be supposed that the French adventurer, Jarboe, had a sister in the Colony.

In 1671 he had made a Will in writing. But he had "another Sonne & daughter" born after that, and on 4 March 1674/5, being extremely ill, he was visited by his friend (and compatriot, from Rouen, France,<sup>35</sup>) John Jourdain, who advised him "to settle his affairs." And thereupon Jarboe requested him to send for Mr. Edward Clarke to come the Friday following and draw a new Will, and "in case God Almighty should take him before he could make his Will in writing" he stated to Jourdain what his testamentary intentions were and bade him take notice that such was his Will.<sup>36</sup> On Petition of Chancellor Philip Calvert and John Jourdain, who Jarboe had appointed to manage the estates of his children, this nuncupative<sup>37</sup> Will was sustained and validated by the Assembly.<sup>38</sup> It is set out in full in the reference in note 36

<sup>32</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, pp. 345, 421, 440, 452.

<sup>33</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, p. 481.

<sup>34</sup> "Day Star of American Freedom," by George L. L. Davis, p. 187; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 7, p. 388.

<sup>35</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, p. 205.

<sup>36</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, p. 517.

<sup>37</sup> Not written—by word of mouth.

<sup>38</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, pp. 481, 484. See also Proceedings of the same 1678-1683, p. 85, and 1684-1692, pp. 14, 63, 79.



above and an abstract (with mention of the older written Will) is in Baldwin's *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, Vol. 1, page 89, but the date is there erroneously printed 4 March 1664, which should be 1674, and the statement that 2 sons were born after the earlier Will should be a son and a daughter.

He left surviving him his Wife, Mary, 3 sons, John, Peter and Henry, and a daughter, Mary. To John he devised the "Seate of land where he then lived," subject to the right of his Wife to live there, and also his right to 150 acres of the mill land; to Peter he gave 300 acres by St. Laurence Creeke in Brittain's Bay; and to Henry he gave 500 acres on the branches of the same Creek. He devised no real estate to his daughter Mary, because "she had some land to be made good to her by Marke Cordea and Walter Hall, gentlemen." The Will of John Jarbo (Junior), dated 14 October 1704 and proved 16 May 1705, will be found abstracted in Baldwin's *Calendar*, Vol. 3, page 60; the Will of Peter Jarboe, dated 3 March 1697/8 and proved 7 April 1698, is in Vol. 2, page 137, and the Will of Henry Jarboe, dated 18 March 1708/9 and proved 18 April 1709, is in Vol. 3, page 133. Mary Jarboe, the daughter, probably married first Major William Boarman and second John Sanders—see under Major William Boarman.

#### 7. MAJOR WILLIAM BOARMAN.

The earliest appearance of William Boarman (often written Boreman) in the printed *Maryland Archives* is on 13 June 1649 when he is witness to a Deed or Will, and he is a witness also on 19 November and 25 February (Old Style) of the same year.<sup>39</sup> Whence, when or how he came into the Colony does not appear. In a deposition made by him 28 May 1650 he is said to be then "aged about 20<sup>ty</sup> years" and he says that about 1645 in the war raised by Richard Ingle against the Government of the Province<sup>40</sup> he, with others, was taken prisoner by an adherent of Ingle "at the taking and plunder-

<sup>39</sup> *Archives*, Provincial Court 1637-1650, pp. 519, 532, 548.

<sup>40</sup> For Claiborne and Ingle's Rebellion see under Jarboe above.

ing of Mr. Copleyes House at Portoback and brought downe to St. Maries." <sup>41</sup> And in a deposition made by him on 4 February 1651/2 he seems to have been not long before that on Kent Island—probably only temporarily.<sup>42</sup>

On 5 October 1655 in the Provincial Court "William Boreman confesseth that he is a Roman Catholic and that he was borne and bred So," and the Court—then a part of the administration of the government temporarily set up by Commissioners appointed by the Puritan Commonwealth in England—convicted him of "compliance with Capt. William Stone in the last Rebellion," <sup>43</sup> but on his submitting himself to the mercy of the Court, "remitted the public offence and only amerced him to pay 1000 pounds of tobacco towards the damage Sustained by the said Rebellion." <sup>44</sup> He was probably in the conflict between the forces of Governor Stone and those of this temporary government at Providence (Annapolis) on 25 March 1654/5.

A Commission as Captain was ordered by the Council to be issued to William Boreman on 12 October 1661,<sup>45</sup> but "Captain William Boreman" had on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April before been ordered to press 4 men of his Company for service in Indian troubles at the head of the Bay.<sup>46</sup> And on 10 January 1667 he was directed to raise 20 men out of his Company to take part in an expedition against hostile Indians.<sup>47</sup> A petition on 12 September 1666 of "divers inhabitants and Souldiers of Charles County that the Governor would displace Capt. W<sup>m</sup> Boreman whom was lately constituted Capt. of the militia," had a rough reception in the Council and the 5 first named petitioners were cited to appear at the next meeting of the Provincial Court and answer for contempt.<sup>48</sup> The Government

<sup>41</sup> *Archives*, Provincial Court 1649/50-1657, p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> *Archives*, Provincial Court 1649/50-1657, p. 150.

<sup>43</sup> See under Jarboe.

<sup>44</sup> *Archives*, Provincial Court 1649/50-1657, pp. 426, 427.

<sup>45</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 435.

<sup>46</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 411.

<sup>47</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1667-1687/8, p. 22.

<sup>48</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 556.

often resented any criticism of exercise of its prerogative. He is called Captain until 1676 when and always afterwards he is styled Major.<sup>49</sup> On 17 August 1676 Major Boarman was ordered to divide his Company into 2 equal parts, he to retain command of one part and Captain Doyne to have the other.<sup>50</sup> He was still in command of his Company 14 March 1681/2.<sup>51</sup>

On 22 March 1663/4 the County Court of St. Mary's County "humbly requested" the appointment of Capt. W<sup>m</sup> Boareman and 5 others to be additional Justices of the Peace for St. Mary's County and Commissions were so ordered by the Council.<sup>52</sup> He was re-commissioned on 5 September 1664,<sup>53</sup> and appears sitting in the County Court in March 1664/5;<sup>54</sup> he was again appointed on 27 July 1666,<sup>55</sup> and also on 2 March 1675 (to be of the quorum,) on 30 April 1677,<sup>56</sup> on 8 March 1678,<sup>57</sup> and probably on 30 May 1685.<sup>58</sup> And on 13 October 1671 he was commissioned by Governor Charles Calvert (afterwards 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord Baltimore) a Coroner for the upper parts of St. Mary's County.<sup>59</sup>

On 27 March 1671 Captain William Boarman appears as a Delegate for St. Mary's County to the Lower House of Assembly and at the succeeding Sessions in October of the same year and May 1674 and February 1674/5.<sup>60</sup>

On 10 March 1678/9 Major William Boareman was appointed by the Governor and Council Sheriff of St. Mary's County and he appears so acting as High Sheriff in June, July,

<sup>49</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1671-1681, p. 78, &c.

<sup>50</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1671-1681, p. 124.

<sup>51</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1681-1685/6, p. 88.

<sup>52</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 490.

<sup>53</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 503.

<sup>54</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 514.

<sup>55</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 553.

<sup>56</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1671-1681, pp. 66, 153.

<sup>57</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1671-1681, p. 224.

<sup>58</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1681-1685/6, p. 379.

<sup>59</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1667-1687/8, p. 97.

<sup>60</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, pp. 239, 311, 345, 421 and other pages.

August, October 1681 and March 1681/2.<sup>61</sup> On 2 May 1682 his successor is appointed.<sup>62</sup>

By Act of Assembly passed at the October-November Session 1683 he was appointed one of Commissioners to lay out Towns, Ports and places in St. Mary's County.<sup>63</sup>

But Major Boarman's activities in the community were more particularly in connection with Indian affairs. As early as 1638 the Assembly had passed an Act reciting that the licensing trade with the Indians was a prerogative of the Lord Proprietary and imposing a penalty on any one who should so trade without such license.<sup>64</sup> On 24 January 1661/2 Captain William Boreman had from Caecilius Lord Baltimore a Commission or License for one year, he paying to the Lord Proprietary one tenth in weight or value of all commodities so traded for.<sup>65</sup> And a like License was given to "Capt. W<sup>m</sup> Boareman Gent<sup>n</sup>" on 25 March 1663/4, on which day he filed his bond to comply with the provisions of the license.<sup>66</sup> In 1682 an Act was proposed allowing free trading without a license at certain places of which Major Boarman's house in St. Mary's County was one, but it was probably not acceptable to Lord Baltimore.<sup>67</sup> Major Boarman's services were very frequently availed of by the Government in its relations and dealings with the Indians. On 15 December 1668 he was appointed by the Council to assist in laying out lands to be set apart for the sole and separate occupation of certain tribes.<sup>68</sup> He seems to have been the regular Indian Interpreter for the Government ("the only Interpreter we have had to rely upon and accordingly sent for on all occasions")<sup>69</sup> and its agent for

<sup>61</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1671-1681, pp. 232, 356, 388, 401, 402, 404, 419, and Proceedings of same 1681-1685/6, pp. 47, 67, 82, 87.

<sup>62</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1681-1685/6, p. 93.

<sup>63</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1678-1683, p. 610.

<sup>64</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1637/8-1664, p. 42.

<sup>65</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 446.

<sup>66</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1636-1667, p. 472.

<sup>67</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1678-1683, pp. 382, 431.

<sup>68</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1667-1687/8, p. 35.

<sup>69</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1678-1683, p. 158.

conducting parties of them to the seat of Government for treaty making and on other business. For his activities, mostly in Indian matters; see other references in the note below.<sup>70</sup>

But in May 1704 when it was proposed in the Lower House of Assembly to use his services in ascertaining and laying out the bounds of the lands of the Piscataway Indians, it was objected that he was "a deafe old man" whose recollection could not be trusted.<sup>71</sup>

There was a William Boarman Jr. whom it is sometimes difficult to distinguish from Major Boarman in the records; he was probably not a son but a near kinsman.

Major Boarman's public offices were, as shown above for St. Mary's County, but he seems to have removed at some time to Charles County.

He probably — almost certainly — married Mary Jarboe, daughter of Lieutenant Colonel John Jarboe.

His Will, dated 16 May 1708, with a Codicil 17 January 1708/9, came up from Charles County to Annapolis and is recorded in the Prerogative Office Records (now in the Land Office), in Liber I C-W B No. 2, page 108; an abstract is in Baldwin's *Calendar*, Vol. 3, page 140. He devised lands to his Wife Mary for life and to his six children, Benedict, Baptist, Francis Ignatius, Mary and Clare Boarman and Ann Brooke. The devise of the dwelling plantation, "Boarman's Rest," to his son Benedict was on condition that he keep in repair the Chapel standing on it, and "to the intent that his soul be remembered after his decease at the most holy sacrifice of the altar," he gave to the Church 1000 pounds of tobacco—the usual substitute for Maryland currency at a certain valuation. His widow, Mary, married 2<sup>nd</sup> John Sanders and her Will, dated 12 March 1733/4, proved 17 December 1739 and re-

<sup>70</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1666-1676, pp. 505, 508, 514; 1678-1683, pp. 102, 163, 227; *Archives*, Proceedings of the Council 1667-1687/8, p. 493; 1671-1681, pp. 78, 92, 99, 126, 179, 185, 188, 218, 221, 232, 234, 330, 356, 359, 377, 380, 417; 1687/8-1693, pp. 77, 85, 88, 90, 224; 1681-1685/6, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> *Archives*, Proceedings of the Assembly 1700-1704, pp. 30, 31, 73, 79, 86.

corded Liber D. D. No. 1, page 119, mentions her same Boarman sons and daughters, Mary Slye<sup>72</sup> and Clare Shirbin, omitting Ann Brooke and adding another daughter, Elizabeth Hamozly—probably by her 2<sup>nd</sup> husband.

Dr. Christopher Johnston's article on the Brooke family in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 1, pages 184, 185, 284, 287, shows several Boarman and Brooke marriages. See also Vol. 5, page 195.

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## THE LIFE OF THOMAS JOHNSON

EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE

PART SEVENTH

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### CHAPTER XI

FOUNDER OF A NEW RÉGIME

The Second Continental Congress was still in session when one of the members, after bidding good-bye to his associates at the State House, set out from Philadelphia. Down through dense forests and over roads almost impassable, he pushes his way toward the South. His stature is a trifle under normal size. On his cheeks a color glows, matching his hair of reddish brown. He is as active as a man of 21, but in reality he is twice that age. Solemn of countenance but sanguine in spirit, he is overflowing with Rooseveltian energy and enthusiasm. Six weeks ago we saw him on the floor of the Congress, with Rutledge, Jay, Wilson and Lee, urging the House to advise the Convention of Massachusetts Bay to assume the functions of Government. He is now approaching Annapolis as fast as his horse can bring him, fired with zeal to inspire the Maryland

<sup>72</sup> Mary Boarman md. 1st John Gardiner, 2nd Gerard Slye of Bushwood, St. Mary's County.

Convention immediately to follow the same advice. No one hoped more ardently for peace than Delegate Thomas Johnson; but the general course of events was against reconciliation upon a firm basis of constitutional freedom. And so, Johnson was eager to teach the people of his own Colony the gospel of Opposition by force of arms to the British Crown.

Mr. Johnson had been away from home the greater part of three months. Arriving in Annapolis July 26, 1775, he beheld the capital throbbing with bustle and excitement. The Maryland Convention was ready to convene the same day, and deputies were arriving from all sections of the Province to attend the momentous session.

As the Provincial Convention opened, Thomas Johnson, by this time regarded as one of the most influential statesmen in all the United Colonies, took his seat as a Deputy from Anne Arundel County. It is natural to suppose that on the first day of the session, devoted mainly to preliminaries of organization, Mr. Johnson and his colleagues from Philadelphia were heralded with hearty cheers and sought for information and advice.

On the second day, the Convention proceeded without delay to business and appointed a committee "to consider of the ways and means to put this Province into the best state of defence." Johnson and his colleagues—Tilghman, Paca, Chase, Goldsborough and Stone—were placed on this important committee together with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Carroll, barrister, and James Hollyday—men equally signalized for their influence, general ability and devotion to the common cause.

To the general subject of preparation for war the committee devoted two weeks of careful thought and discussion. The members often assembled at daybreak, Mr. Johnson says, and continued work until darkness brought out their candles. Finally, on the 9th of August, they reached a decision. The Convention accepting their report, passed the following flaming resolutions:

“The long premeditated, and now avowed, design of the British Government to raise a revenue from the property of the Colonists without their consent, on the gift, grant and disposition of the Commons of Great Britain; the arbitrary and vindictive statutes passed under color of punishing a riot, to subdue by military force and by famine the Massachusetts Bay; the unlimited power assumed by Parliament to alter the Charter of that Province and the Constitution of all the Colonies, thereby destroying the essential securities of the lives, liberties and properties of the Colonists; the commencement of hostilities by the ministerial forces and the cruel prosecution of the War against the people of the Massachusetts Bay, followed by General Gage’s Proclamation declaring almost the whole of the inhabitants of the United Colonies, by name or description, *rebels* and *traitors*—are sufficient causes to arm a free people in defence of their liberty and to justify resistance, no longer dictated by prudence merely, but by necessity, and leave no alternative but base submission or manly opposition to uncontrollable tyranny. The Congress chose the latter, and for the express purpose of securing and defending the United Colonies and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the above-mentioned acts into execution by force of arms,

“*Resolved*, That the said Colonies be immediately put into a state of defence and now supports, at the joint expence, an Army to restrain the further violence and repel the future attacks of a disappointed and exasperated Enemy.

“We, therefore, inhabitants of the Province of Maryland, firmly persuaded that it is necessary and justifiable to repel force by force, do approve of the Opposition by Arms to the British troops, employed to enforce obedience to the late acts and statutes of the British Parliament, for raising a revenue in America, and altering and changing the Charter and Constitution of the Massachusetts Bay, and for destroying the essential securities for the lives, liberties and properties of the subjects in the United Colonies.

“And we do unite and associate, as one band, and firmly and



solemnly engage and pledge ourselves to each other, and to America, that we will, to the utmost of our power, promote and support the present Opposition, carrying on, as well by Arms as by the Continental Association, restraining our commerce.

“And as in these times of public danger and until a reconciliation with Great Britain on constitutional principles is effected (an event we most ardently wish may soon take place) the energy of government may be greatly impaired, so that even zeal unrestrained may be productive of anarchy and confusion; we do in like manner unite, associate and solemnly engage in maintenance of good order and the public peace to support the civil power in the due execution of the laws, so far as may be consistent with the present plan of Opposition, and to defend with our utmost power all persons from every species of outrage to ourselves or their property, and to prevent any punishment from being inflicted on any offenders other than such as shall be adjudged by the civil magistrate, Continental Congress, our Convention, Council of Safety, or Committees of Observation.”

This *Association of the Freemen of Maryland*, as it was called, was a Declaration of Rights for a new régime. It was signed by the deputies in Convention assembled on Monday, August 14, 1775, after which it was distributed throughout the Colony to be signed as a pledge of loyalty to the patriot cause. On the same day, just before adjournment, sixteen members of a Council of Safety were chosen to carry on the government until the close of the next succeeding Convention. The provisional machinery was now complete and, as we shall see, was soon to be put in motion.

A few days later Mr. Johnson sent off to Major-General Horatio Gates a lengthy letter in which, after stating his views concerning the Petition to George III, he explained how there was no longer any “real force or efficacy” in the Proprietary Government of Maryland for the reason that during the recess of the Convention the Council of Safety was to have the “supreme direction.” As Mr. Johnson was one of the leading figures in the Convention and was selected one of the members

of the Council of Safety, let us secure first-hand information of the condition of affairs existing in Maryland at that time by reading Johnson's own words. This is what he writes to the Major-General under date of August 18, 1775:

[*Johnson to Major-General Gates*]

“I shall be very unhappy that petitioning the King, to which measure I was a friend, should give you or any one else attached to the cause of America and liberty the least uneasiness. You and I, and America in general, may almost universally wish in the first place to establish our liberties; our second wish is a reunion with Great Britain; so may we preserve the empire entire, and the constitutional liberty, founded in whiggish principles handed down to us by our ancestors. In order to strengthen ourselves to accomplish these great ends, we ought, in my opinion, to conduct ourselves so as to unite America and divide Britain; this, as it appears to me, may most likely be effected by doing rather more than less in the peaceable line, than would be required if our petition is rejected with contempt, which I think most likely. Will not our friends in England be still more exasperated against the Court? And will not our very moderate men on this side of the water be compelled to own the necessity of opposing force to force? The rejection of the New York petition was very serviceable to America. If our petition should be granted, the troops will be recalled, the obnoxious acts repealed, and we restored to the footing of 1763. If the petition should not be granted, but so far attended to as to lay the ground-work of a negotiation, Britain must, I think, be ruined by the delay; if she subdues us at all, it must be by a violent and sudden exertion of her force; and if we can keep up a strong party in England, headed by such characters as Lord Chatham and the others in the present opposition, Bute, Mansfield and North, and a corrupt majority cannot draw the British force fully into action against us. Our friends will certainly continue such as long as they see we do not desire to break from a reasonable and beneficial

connection with the mother country; but if, unhappily for the whole Empire, they should once be convinced by our conduct that we design to break from that connection, I am apprehensive they will thenceforth become our most dangerous enemies—the greatest and first law of self-preservation will justify, nay compel it. The cunning Scotchman and Lord North fully feel the force of this reasoning; hence their industry to make it believed in England that we have a scheme of Independence, a general term they equivocally use, to signify to the friends of liberty a breaking off of all connection, and to Tories that we dispute the supremacy of Parliament. In the Declaratory Act is the power of binding us by its acts, in all cases whatever—the latter we do most certainly dispute, and I trust shall successfully fight against with the approbation of every honest Englishman. Lord North's proposition, and consequent resolution of Parliament, were insidiously devised to wear the face of peace, and embarrass us in the choice of evils—either to accept and be slaves, or reject and increase the number and power of our enemies. I flatter myself that your petition will present to him only a choice of means injurious to his villainous schemes.

“Our Convention met the very day of my getting home; the meeting was very full; we sat close many days, by six o'clock in the morning, and by candle light in the evening. Our people were very prompt to do everything desired; they have appropriated £100,000 for the defence of this Province, a great part of it to be laid out in the military line immediately, part contingently, and the rest for establishing manufactories of salt, saltpetre, and gunpowder.

“We have an association, ascertaining the necessity and justifiableness of repelling force by force, to be universally signed; and strict resolutions with regard to our militia, which is to be as comprehensive here as perhaps in any country in the world, when called into action. We are to be subject to the Congressional rules and regulations for the army. A Committee of Safety, composed of sixteen, is, in the recess of the Convention, to have the supreme direction. We yet retain the

forms of our Government, but there is no real force or efficacy in it; if the intelligence we have from England looks towards war, I dare say this Province will not hesitate to discharge all officers, and go boldly into it at once.

“ I have not lately heard anything particular from Virginia that can be depended on; their convention has had a long setting, and I have no doubt but spirited measures, becoming themselves, and adequate to their circumstances, are adopted. We have the pleasure, now and then, to hear of your successful skirmishes. I long to hear that you have all your riflemen, and am particularly anxious as to their conduct. The spirit has run through our young men so much, that if the business proceeds, notwithstanding the scarcity of men in this and the other Southern Provinces, I believe we must furnish you with a battalion or two; if, as I hope, those who are gone acquire reputation, many of our youth will be on fire. The difficulty now is to regulate and direct the spirit of the people at large; and I verily believe that, instead of their being discouraged by a check on our military achievements, a sore rub would inflame them nearly to madness and desperation. I have already solicited your notice of several young gentlemen from Maryland: Lieut. Griffith and Daniel Dorsey, volunteers with Captain Price's, and Frederick Ridgely with Capt. Cresap's company, are all young men of connection with us; their fathers, with whom I have an intimacy and friendship, are ambitious that they should be regarded by you, and desire I should make a favorable mention of them with that view. You must not be surprised, the rank you hold in the opinion of my countrymen must make you the military father of the Maryland youth; I have not a personal acquaintance with these three young gentlemen, but their passion for the service is a powerful recommendation.”

Horatio Gates, like Generals Lee, Conway and Montgomery, was a native of England and had fought under the British flag. Fame came to him later on the capture of Burgoyne, but his laurels were undeserved, for he never stirred from camp dur-

ing the two bloody battles from which he won renown. General Gates goes down in American history as a selfish, small-souled and conceited man. If Thomas Johnson saw with prophetic vision the future career of Charles Lee, albeit he failed absolutely to gauge the character of Horatio Gates. Mr. Johnson would never have characterized General Gates, as he did, "the military father of the Maryland youth" had he known that Gates was destined later to conspire with General Lee to oust his beloved friend, Washington, from his high command at the head of the American forces. As it was, Horatio Gates, in his despicable effort to undermine General Washington, lighted a fuse to a bomb which, had it not been extinguished, would have shivered the United Colonies into fragments.

Whether by design or accident, the personal communication which Mr. Johnson forwarded to Major-General Gates met with wide publicity. "The letter" (from Johnson to General Gates), says Scharf,<sup>27</sup> "created a considerable stir in the Colonies at the time, and in England it was published in nearly all the papers of the day." All of which seems to indicate not only the lack of censorship in "the times that tried men's souls," but also the high regard in which were held the opinions of Thomas Johnson, Jr., on both sides of the Atlantic.

On Tuesday, August 29, 1775, when the Council of Safety assembled for the first time under the new régime, Mr. Johnson appeared as one of the members from the Western Shore. Each shore of Maryland had been given eight members on the Council. The Western Shore representatives, in addition to Mr. Johnson, were Chase, Paca, Alexander and Stone, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Carroll of Carrollton, and Carroll, barrister. The Eastern Shoremen on the Council were Tilghman, Goldsborough, James Hollyday, Henry Hooper, John Beale Bordley, Thomas Smyth, and Edward and Richard Lloyd. From the Western Shore, on the day of organization, came Johnson, Chase, Paca, Alexander, Jenifer and the Car-

<sup>27</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, Vol. II, 186.

rolls. James Hollyday and Edward Lloyd, from the peninsula, made up the quorum. All of the nine took the oath prescribed by the Convention. The absence of Mr. Bordley was explained by a letter in which he promised to exert every effort as a private individual in the interest of his country but declined his appointment to the Council of Safety for the reason that he felt unable to measure up to the expectations of the Convention in the discharge of the duties of the office.

There lay before Mr. Johnson a mass of work to be done on the Council of Safety. On the last day of August, for example, he was authorized to purchase "stocks, steel ramrods, bayonets, double screws, priming wires, and brushes, and brass mounting for 500 musquets." And on the first day of September he was authorized to contract for the manufacture of not more than 1000 "good substantial proved musquets."

But at the time of his appointment to the Council of Safety, Mr. Johnson was also reappointed to the Continental Congress. The time soon arrived when the work on the Council must be assigned to his colleagues. The Treasurer of the Western Shore had been ordered to pay 500 pounds common money to Johnson, Chase, Paca, Stone and Hall and the Treasurer of the Eastern Shore 200 pounds to Tilghman and Goldsborough in order to defray their expenses in attending the approaching session. "Any three or more of them," the Convention decreed, "have full and ample power to consent and agree to all measures, which such Congress shall deem necessary and effectual to obtain a redress of American grievances."

Feeling relieved that the important task of organizing the provisional régime had been accomplished, Mr. Johnson left Annapolis early in September and once more started on his way to Philadelphia.

## CHAPTER XII

### A DEBATER IN CONGRESS

The successful effort made by Delegate Thomas Johnson to win for Washington the appointment of Commander-in-Chief

during the Revolution will no doubt be regarded forever by the American people as the chief claim to renown of the first Governor of Maryland. Nevertheless there were many other outstanding features of Johnson's career in the Continental Congress which justly entitle him to National distinction. During the First and Second Congresses the need of the hour was the keen, thoughtful, analytical mind coupled with a bold, fluent pen. With such attainments Mr. Johnson was richly endowed. We have already seen how he was sought frequently to take an active part in drafting those early state papers which won the admiration of the British statesmen who at that time adorned the London Court.

The most important work of the legislators assembled at Philadelphia, it seems, up to this time was the preparation by select committees of remonstrances and resolutions. But when Johnson stepped forward on Wednesday, September 13, 1775, to present his credentials as delegate from Maryland, he entered upon a new period in his career as member of the Continental Congress. From now on, the scene of most arduous work at the State House changed from the committee room to the floor of the House. Hardly had Delegate Johnson been sworn in before he jumped into the debate concerning the purchase of clothing for the little army of shreds and patches, over which Washington had been called to assume supreme command. Winter was approaching and Thomas Mifflin, whom Washington had appointed Quartermaster-General, applied at the door of Congress for a supply of woolen goods. The controversy arose over Mifflin's application. A motion was made by Delegate Nelson to advance Quartermaster-General Mifflin £5,000 Sterling with which to buy clothing for the Continentals. Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, offered an amendment that any soldier should be allowed to supply himself in a different way, if he so desired. At that point Mr. Read arose to explain that there was already on hand a large supply of clothing in Massachusetts; whereupon Sherman declared that he was in favor of an investigation into the prices of goods as well as the needs of

the American Army along this line. Apprehending the danger in unnecessary delay and with a view to placate the dissentient delegates, Delegate Thomas Johnson arose and addressed the Chair. He admitted that the United Colonies had no centralization of purchasing authority. "We don't know," said he,<sup>28</sup> "what has been supplied by Massachusetts; what from Rhode Island; what from New York; or what from Connecticut." But in a spirit of compromise, the Maryland delegate offered a motion to limit the amount to be spent for supplies to £5,000. Sherman's proposal to investigate the needs of the Continentals was defeated, and to this extent Johnson was satisfied. But Johnson's suggestion that the amount of expenditure should not be definitely set, but should be *limited* to £5,000, seems not to have been vigorously pushed, for on September 23, Congress resolved that a quantity of woolen goods, to the value of £5,000, be advanced to Quartermaster-General Mifflin for the purpose of sale to the privates at prime cost and charges, including a commission of five per cent. to the quartermasters-general for their trouble.<sup>29</sup>

But while Mr. Johnson henceforward took a more conspicuous part in the debates on the floor of Congress, he still received a number of important committee assignments. On Monday, September 25, after Congress had been advised that claims were arriving somewhat different from the bills referred to the Committee of Accounts for liquidation, Johnson's ability in "trade as well as the law" was again recognized: he was chosen to represent Maryland on the reorganized Committee of Claims, composed of one member from each Colony. This Committee was charged with the duty of examining all accounts against the Continent.

Again, the same week—on September 30—after Congress had decided to send Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Lynch and Dr. Franklin on a northern trip to confer with General Washington and with a number of officials in the New England Colonies, "touching the most effectual method of continuing,

<sup>28</sup> Adams, *Works*, Vol. II, 38.

<sup>29</sup> Adams, *Works*, Vol. II, 38.



supporting and regulating a Continental Army," Mr. Johnson was chosen—along with Samuel Adams, Robert R. Livingston, Richard Henry Lee and John Rutledge—to draw up a set of instructions for the three members who were about to start on the journey.

Mr. Johnson had also been serving since September 22 on a committee "to take into consideration the state of the trade of America." This was a committee of seven, the other members being Silas Deane (Connecticut), John Jay (New York), Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Willing (Pennsylvania), Peyton Randolph (Virginia), and John Rutledge (South Carolina). The committee reported on the last day of September. It was not, however, until October 4 that Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the trade of the Colonies—particularly the scheme of non-exportation, to which there had arisen considerable objection. The First Continental Congress, we have seen, after adopting the plan of non-importation, resolved that exportation to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies should cease September 10, 1775, unless the grievances against which the American people complained were redressed before that time.

Among all the advocates in Congress of firm adherence to the policy of non-exportation, there was none more staunch than Delegate Johnson. The British Ministry and the Imperial Parliament had firmly held their ground, and the valiant Maryland statesman, taking the floor of Congress, avowed his violent opposition to any plan that would weaken the barriers against commerce with the parent realm. At the same time, he made a strong plea in favor of building up the American merchant marine.

"I am in favor of the Resolutions on Imports and Exports standing until further order of Congress," said Mr. Johnson.<sup>30</sup> "But I am not in favor of giving up our (water) carriage. While it may not concern the planter, the community as a whole is vitally interested in knowing who are the exporters. If our

<sup>30</sup> Adams, *Works*, Vol. II, 452.

carriers are owned by foreigners and manned by foreign seamen; then the shipwright, the hemp-grower, the rope-maker, the shipbuilder, the profits of the merchants—all are lost! I am for the Report standing. I am in favor of continuing the American Association.”

Mr. R. R. Livingston took issue with the delegate from Maryland. He declared that he could not see a single advantage in bottling up the American ports. On the contrary, he pointed out the many injuries that would result from such a policy. Non-exportation, said the New Yorker, was destructive to the farmers as well as to the merchants; and therefore would bring decay to business in the American Colonies. “I believe,” he cried, “that the Non-Exportation Agreement should immediately be repealed.”

When Livingston concluded, Mr. Johnson arose to explain that he did not favor making the terms of the Non-Exportation Agreement any more rigid than they already were.

“In the winter,” said Johnson, “our merchants will venture out to foreign countries. And in the event that Parliament should order the seizure of American merchant ships, the United Colonies can organize a Navy to guard and protect the American vessels. Foreign nations could be invited to assist in protecting their own commerce. If we allow the Non-Exportation Agreement to remain as it is now, we can obtain powder by way of New York, the lower counties and North Carolina.”

Delegate Willing, of Pennsylvania, warned that American paper would lose its circulation and credit, if commerce were stopped. Whereupon Richard Henry Lee declared that foreign nations should be invited to come to the New World to aid in exporting goods for America. Mr. Chase advocated an adherence to the American Association, asserting that he was in favor of postponing the question for further discussion. The Resolutions finally passed Congress November 1, 1775.

Another debate in which Mr. Johnson participated at this

session revolved upon the attitude Congress ought properly to assume toward Lord Dunmore, deposed Governor of Virginia. The King's authority was overthrown throughout the Colonies in the summer and autumn of 1775. Nowhere in America did the Royal Governor exhibit such rank vindictiveness and cause so much alarm, when the Provisional Government was established, as in Virginia. Crazy with anger and spite, Governor Dunmore fled upon a man-of-war; and, supported by a considerable fleet, cruised up and down the coast, burning and ravaging towns and plantations. Toward the close of September, Dunmore ordered a bombardment of Hampton Roads; but a hundred Culpeper County men came to the rescue, and so deadly was their fire that the Dunmore boats were almost totally dismantled. Three vessels were sunk. Two drifted ashore and were captured. Left with only a few loyalist troops, the Royal Governor in a rage ordered all able-bodied men to repair to his standard under pain of forfeiture and death; and offered freedom to all negro slaves and indented whites who would enlist under his banner. From these slaves was organized and equipped "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment."

It was on October 6, 1775, that a resolution was offered in the Continental Congress recommending that each Colony seize all persons whose "going at large" might endanger the safety of the Colony or the liberties of America. The resolution was aimed at Lord Dunmore. Delegate Chase described how Dunmore had been committing hostilities along the coast of Virginia and had begun to extend his piracies into Maryland. Mr. Chase said that although the Governor should have been seized months ago, Virginia did not possess a Naval force and was unable to raise one. Accordingly, Chase said, the request contained in the resolution would amount to nothing in the Old Dominion but a "mere piece of paper." Therefore he opposed the resolution. Mr. Zubly also opposed it, but for other reasons. He predicted that the seizure of the King's representatives would so enrage the British officials that they would conduct hostilities in the Colonies with greater intensity. Mr. Dyer, on the contrary, said it was impossible to irritate the people in

England any more than they were already and that they had fully decided on the destruction of America.

At that point up rose the little Marylander. Cool and collected, Mr. Johnson began his argument by admitting that Lord Dunmore was "a very bad man," and then went on to describe the details of some of Gov. Dunmore's piracies south of the Potomac. But instead of criticizing the people of Virginia, as Mr. Chase had done, for being unable to raise a naval force, Johnson diplomatically explained that the Virginia Convention, after due consideration, had elected the plan of "defensive conduct" toward Dunmore instead of a campaign offensive. "I am for leaving it to Virginia," declared the representative from Maryland.

Mr. Johnson continued with the following statement which rings with righteous conviction:

"We ought not to lay down a rule in a passion. I see less and less prospect of a reconciliation every day; but I would not render it impossible. If we should render it impossible, our Colony would take it into their own hands, and make concessions inconsistent with the rights of America. North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, at least, have strong parties in each of them of that mind. This would make a disunion. Five or six weeks will give us the final determination of the people of Great Britain. Not a Governor on the Continent has the real power, but some have the shadow of it. A renunciation of all connection with Great Britain will be understood by a step of this kind. Thirteen Colonies connected with Great Britain in sixteen months have been brought to an armed opposition to the claims of Great Britain. The line we have pursued has been the line we ought to have pursued; if what we have done had been proposed two years ago, four Colonies would not have been for it. Suppose we had a dozen Crown officers in our possession, have we determined what to do with them? Shall we hang them?"

When Mr. Johnson took his seat, Richard Henry Lee arose to thunder a reply. Ridiculing the Marylander's plea for

delay, the Cicero of Virginia interrogated whether the Colonists had acted fast enough when they allowed the red coats to fortify themselves in Boston. "If six weeks will furnish *decisive* information," he cried in derision, "the same may bring *decisive* destruction to Maryland and Virginia!"

Wythe, of Virginia, stated that the reason why the Virginia Convention had not essayed to capture Governor Dunmore was "a reverence for this Congress." Delegate Wythe said he was unable to see how the seizure of the Royal Governors would produce any more hostility on the part of Great Britain than had already been exhibited. And if Maryland wants to share in the glory of seizing Dunmore, he said, Virginia will gladly share this honor with her sister Colony.

Once more addressing the Chair, Mr. Johnson asserted that as far as he was concerned, Virginia could have unrestricted permission to capture the frenzied nobleman; but he was opposed to the resolution for the reason that it dictated to Virginia the course she had to follow. Furthermore, declared Johnson, he did not include himself in the same class with those who opposed the arrest of the Crown Governors from a fear that such action would be followed by reprisals.

"Maryland," he cried, "does not regard the connection with Great Britain as the first good!"

Thomas Johnson indicated plainly that he was ready to take any step necessary to protect America and her liberties. Johnson's arguments made a deep impression upon the members of Congress. His colleague, Mr. Stone, echoed his thought by suggesting that it might possibly be best to signify to Virginia that "it will not be disagreeable to us, if they secure Lord Dunmore." Whereupon Mr. Johnson's ideas were incorporated in an amendment providing that Congress should advise the Virginia Council of Safety to take any measures deemed proper to secure the Colony from the practices of Lord Dunmore.

From the course of this debate, it is apparent that Johnson took a conservative stand, holding in mind the possibility of reconciliation. At the same time he rendered a service to the

House by telling the members how to escape from the paths of controversy and delay. That his views concerning Lord Dunmore and the Old Dominion were regarded with great respect by the members of the House is evident from the fact that he was selected as one of a committee of five out of the whole assembly "to enquire into the state of the Colony of Virginia, to consider whether any and what provisions may be necessary for its defence, and to report the same to the Congress." The five members were chosen on November 10, his associates being Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, Samuel Ward of Rhode Island, and Thomas Lynch of South Carolina.

It was not long before the Continentals came to aid the Virginia Militia in an effort to drive Lord Dunmore from the waters of Virginia. When they arrived in December, 1775, Dunmore escaped to his fleet; but a few weeks later, remaining close off shore in search of revenge, warned the American soldiers to send him provisions and to stop firing on his vessels. The Americans refused; and for two days and nights Dunmore bombarded Norfolk until the town was wiped out of existence. In the summer of 1776, Dunmore's camp was broken up by General Andrew Lewis. Dunmore later offered his services to the British naval forces at New York, and his negroes were sent to the West Indies to be sold in slavery to the Spaniards.

During November, 1775, Delegate Johnson was placed by Congress on a number of important committees. On the 16th of that month, he was assigned to a committee of seven, one of whom was Thomas Jefferson, to consider "sundry papers from the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay." On the 17th, he was chosen on a committee of the same size, along with John Adams, Dr. Franklin and others, to consider a communication from the Commander-in-Chief with reference to the disposition of British vessels and their cargoes captured in Canada. On the 23d, he was selected — with Sherman, Lynch, Lee and Samuel Adams—to investigate frauds alleged to have existed in connection with certain contracts with the

Continent; and on the same day he was appointed—together with Wythe, Jay, Edward Rutledge, Samuel Adams, Jefferson and Franklin—to investigate reports that various persons in the Quaker City had refused to accept bills emitted by the Pennsylvania Assembly and by order of the Continental Congress.

But probably the most important of all the assignments which the Annapolis lawyer received at this session of Congress came to him on Wednesday, November 29. His appointment on this day came in pursuance of the following resolution:

*“ Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed for the sole purpose of corresponding with our friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world; and that they lay their correspondence before Congress when directed.*

*“ Resolved, That this Congress will make provision to defray all such expenses as may arise by carrying on such correspondence, and for the payment of such agents as the said committee may send on this service.”*

Mr. Johnson's colleagues on this committee were Benjamin Harrison (Virginia), John Dickinson and Dr. Franklin (Pennsylvania), and John Jay (New York). Charged with complete authority to conduct diplomatic correspondence and to employ confidential “agents” in the Courts of Europe, the members of the committee determined at the beginning upon a policy of rigid censorship. The five delegates were accordingly called by their colleagues at Philadelphia “The Secret Committee,” and their names are inscribed in the Secret Journals of Congress, published in 1820 under the direction of the President. Here, on these early Journals of Foreign Affairs, more than seven months before the birth of the Nation, is to be found the germ of American Diplomacy.

*(To be continued)*

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## CONRAD ALEXANDRE GÉRARD

We are under obligations to Miss Elizabeth S. Kite, of Philadelphia, author of "Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence," for the following interesting extracts from the *Archives historiques du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères*.

Gérard was born at Marsevaux, Upper Alsace, in 1729 and died in Strasburg, in April, 1790. As a young man he entered the diplomatic service, serving as secretary of legation at Mannheim, in 1753-59 and at Vienna in 1761-66. In the latter year he became secretary of the council of state and chief clerk in the Bureau of Foreign Affairs. In 1778, acting under Vergennes, he conducted negotiations with Franklin, Deane and Lee, the result of which was the treaty of 6 February 1778, by the terms of which France sided with the United States. In the following month he sailed to America as first French Minister to the United States. Gérard had taken the leading part in the negotiations of the treaty of alliance and of the treaty of commerce, which is the reason of his being chosen (M. Rigault's statement). Owing to ill-health, he was in November, 1779 succeeded by Luzerne. He advocated a close alliance between France and the new nation, and to this end subsidized many writers and Congressmen. Yale conferred on him the degree of LL. D., and he was made a member of the American Philosophical Society. His portrait, for which he sat at the request of Congress, hangs in the State House in Philadelphia. After his return to his native country he was made a councillor of state.

On May 7, 1784, "the Sieur Gérard," together with other French officers, was made a member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Hon. Henry Marchant, a delegate in Congress, in a letter to Governor William Greene, of Rhode Island, dated July 11,



1778, says: "I have but a few minutes before the express goes off, to inform you that a French fleet is arrived on this coast commanded by Count D'Estaing; one ship of 90 guns, four ships of 80 and two 74 and five of 64, and four frigates. Congress this day received a letter from the Admiral, dated Delaware Bay. The French Ambassador, Mons. Gérard, and Mr. Deane, in a frigate, are now coming up the river . . ." On the 14th of July he writes: "I had the honor of being present the last Sabbath at the most interesting interview that ever took place in America, or perhaps in the world, between Monsieur Gérard, the Plenipotentiary of France, and the President of Congress, on the part of the sovereign independent United States of America. This interview was most cordial, generous and noble. In my turn I had the honor of personally congratulating His Excellency upon his safe arrival, and giving him a hearty welcome to the United States of America."

Gérard writing to Vergennes, August 1778, says of Maryland: "Jealous of the influence of certain states claiming vast amounts of territory, uncertain of use that might be made of power, refused to join the confederacy, but professed firm adherence to the principles of Independence and devotion to the alliance. . . . Two deputies from this state have assured me of the loyal adherence of their state to the terms of the treaty. I must do them the justice to say that no state has been so exact in paying its taxes, in convoking its military and in holding its contingent of the Army complete. Often the brigades from Maryland have had twice the strength of the other states."<sup>1</sup>

A little later: "The deputies from Maryland announced

<sup>1</sup> Report 46, p. 16.

Du 14 Décembre 1778

"Les deux Deputés de Maryland qui sont ici sont veus chez moi et m'ont confirmé formellement les assurances que l'un deux m'avait données à titre de confiances. Leur état desire que le Roi soit convaincu de leur attachement invariable à l'indépendance et à l'alliance heureuse que les Etats-unis ont contractée avec Sa Majesté. . . . Je lui dois en effet la justice de dire qu' aucun autre état n'a été aussi exact à payer ses taxes à convoquer sa milice et à tenir son contingent à l'armée complet. Souvent les Brigades de Maryland étaient fortes du double des autres."

that the state unanimously applauded the treaties between the King and the United States."

On November 10, 1778, he writes: "Congress is at present embarrassed with the choice of a new President. . . . For that office a man active and talented is required and with a fortune that would permit him to make some appearance. Mr. Carroll of Maryland is the one thought of—he is a Roman Catholic—but it is feared he will not accept."<sup>2</sup>

March 10th, 1779, when the struggle between the party of the opposition in Congress with that which he designates as the "well-intentioned" was at its height, Gérard writes to Vergennes: "The deputies of Maryland oppose with their whole force the resolution (regarding the fisheries) and have declared that Maryland will never cede to measures which would expose the general security of the Republic to the private interests of a single or small number of states; that the mass of American forces could not be employed except in the common interests of all, and that Maryland would never accede to the Confederacy under similar auspices, nor expose herself to receive the law or to see violated the fundamental principles of the Union of the Confederate Republic."

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<sup>2</sup> P. 6. . . . "Le congrès est embarrassé du choix d'un nouveau Président. . . . Il faut pour cette place un homme actif et à talents, dont la fortune permette de la (as written in transcript) représentation. Les vœux se réunissent sur M. Carrol du Maryland, Catholique romain, mais on doute qu'il veuille accepter."

THE OLD INDIAN ROAD<sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM B. MARYE

## PART III

On November the 18th, 1743, there was surveyed for William Cross of Baltimore County a tract of land called "Cross's Lott" which contained twenty-three acres and is thus described: ". . . lying on the east side of Patapsco Falls . . . beginning at a bounded hickory and two bounded red oaks

<sup>1</sup>The author finds it imperative to correct a number of errors which have appeared in the foregoing installments of this article:

One of the most serious is the mistake in a date—March 1783/9, instead of March 1738/9—which will be found on page 220 of the September number of the past year in connection with the petition of Samuel Owings and others.

In the same number, on page 209, the mistake of a word—*from* instead of *to*—makes the order of court describing the Court Road, which is to divide the Upper Hundred of Patapsco from the new hundred of Soldiers Delight, read: "which leads *from* Edward Reestons by Mr. Richard Gists house," instead of "which leads *to* Edward Reestons by Mr. Richard Gists house." The correct reading might well appear to have a different significance from the incorrect one, making it seem as if Edward Reeston lived between Richard Gist's and Ben's Run on the Court Road; but the fact remains that, so far as the records show, Reeston lived east of Gist on the Court Road. The frequent ambiguity of these old records must be taken into account. The author himself is to blame for this error, which was made in taking a copy of the record from the court proceedings.

The statement made in the June number of the past year (p. 109, note 3), that only three tracts of land are known to have been laid out within the limits of the present Carroll County before 1732 must be modified. Two tracts of somewhat over a thousand acres each were laid out in 1731 on Beaverdam Run, a branch of Little Pipe Creek. They were: "Gather's Chance," surveyed for Benjamin Gather, and "Ivy Church," surveyed for John Williams. Another early tract, which may lie within the limits of Carroll County, was "Breeches," containing 100 acres, surveyed for John Williams in 1729, and lying on a branch of Sams Creek.

The reference in note 7 of the September number (p. 209) should be to the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*.

standing at the head of a branch on the east side of Patapsco Falls contiguous to the Indian Road.”

A tract of fifty acres called “The Level Bottom,” surveyed for William Hall of Baltimore County July 10th, 1744, is described as situated “. . . upon the Main Falls of Patapsco River . . . beginning at a bounded hickory and a bounded chestnut tree standing by the Indian Road on the west side of Patapsco Falls. . . .”

The two above tracts were conveyed by William Cross to Samuel Laine or Lane on January 10th, 1756. (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber B. B., No. 1, f. 493-4.)

On April 1st, 1755, (the contradiction of dates remains to be explained) “Level Bottom” was resurveyed for Samuel Lane, with the addition of 120 acres vacancy, and called “Lane’s Bottoms and Hills.” The resurvey is described as lying “in Baltimore County on the north fork of the main falls of Patapsco River, beginning at two bounded cherry trees standing in the place (as the said Samuel Lane says) where formerly stood a bounded hickory and a bounded chestnut tree, the original bounded trees of the original survey, being by the Indian Road on the west side of the said falls. . . .”

On the 25th of February, 1757, Samuel Lane sold to (Captain) William Rogers of Baltimore County 82 acres out of “Lane’s Bottoms and Hills,” containing the whole of the original “Level Bottom,” and beginning at the original beginning of “Level Bottom.”

In the will of Captain William Rogers, dated June 5th, 1761, the testator bequeaths to his daughter Eleanor Rogers “all the several tracts or parts of tracts of land I may die possessed of lying on or near Patapsco falls and the old Indian road. . . .” Eleanor Rogers married Clement Brooke of Baltimore County, a descendant of the well-known Brooke family of Calvert County.

The lands which Captain Rogers intended to bequeath to his daughter Eleanor consisted apparently of two parcells, namely: his part of “Lane’s Bottoms and Hills,” which, as we have

seen, lay on the Indian Road, and an adjoining tract called "Rogers' Bottom." The certificate of survey of "Rogers' Bottom" is accompanied by an extract from the will of Captain Rogers of the testator's bequest to his daughter Eleanor of lands on Patapsco Falls and the old Indian Road, which shows that "Rogers' Bottom" was taken to be one of the tracts to which allusion was thus made.

In the year 1765 Clement Brooke and Eleanor his wife caused a resurvey to be made on their part of "Lane's Bottoms and Hills," which they called "Brooke's Adventure"; and on September 20th, 1770, they had a resurvey made on "Brooke's Adventure," which they called "Brooke's New Adventure." The last-mentioned survey which contains 623 acres, is bounded by the following tracts: "Buck Range" (later resurveyed and called "Castle Rising"), "Hales Venture Resurveyed," "Bond's Forest," "Barbadoes," "Stevens Folly," "Blindfold," "Lane's Desire," "Poor Scrivener's Folly" (a resurvey on part of "Flag Meadow"), "Daniel's Delight," "Rogers' Bottom," "Lane's Neglect," part of "Lane's Bottoms and Hills" in the possession of John Helm, "Dutton's Desire" and "Helm's Chance Resurveyed."<sup>2</sup>

"Brooke's New Adventure" lies, for the most part, on the west side of the north fork of Patapsco Falls between the Falls and a run known as Roaring Run. The original beginning of

<sup>2</sup> A deed from William Brooke Stokes (grandson of Clement and Eleanor Brooke) to William Rogers Brooke in the year 1809 conveys all the real estate which had belonged to Clement Brooke, deceased, in Baltimore County, including "Brooke's New Adventure," "Tricks and Things," "Castle Rising," "Daniel's Delight," "Peter's Choice," "Dutton's Desire," "Rogers' Bottom," part of "Barbadoes" and "Friends Good Will." All of these tracts, with the possible exception of "Friends Good Will," lie together on Patapsco Falls, and contain in all something over a thousand acres. A plat of "Brooke's New Adventure" and adjacent tracts will be found in Liber W. G. No. 107, f. 157, of the Baltimore County Land Records. The author has prepared a large map of tracts lying adjacent to or in the same locality as "Brooke's New Adventure," with particular reference to those lying westward of this tract, and including "Flag Meadow" and other surveys which lie on Beaver Dam Run (now Beaver Run) of Patapsco Falls.

"Level Bottom" on the Indian Road, which was also the beginning of "Lane's Bottoms and Hills," of "Brooke's Adventure" and of "Brooke's New Adventure," probably lies in the near vicinity of Lawndale on the west side of the Falls.<sup>3</sup>

"Cross's Lott," which, as we have already seen, also lies on the Indian Road, begins about half a mile or a little more south-east of the beginning of "Level Bottom." This tract is bounded by "Tricks and Things," by "Poor Scrivener's Folly," and by that part of "Lane's Bottoms and Hills" which was not sold to William Rogers.

In the vicinity of Lawndale, on either side of Patapsco Falls, traces of the Old Indian Road survived, through use, into modern times. On January the 9th, 1899, a petition was presented to the Board of Commissioners of Carroll County by James A. Clark and fifty-nine others "to open and locate a road known as the Indian Road and to run as follows: beginning at point on the public road known as the Sandyville and Patapsco Road between the lands of William H. Westaway and John Sloop, thence between the lands of the same on or near the bed of an old road known as the Indian Road and following the bed of the said Indian Road, thence between the lands of Elisha Slater and said Westaway, thence between the lands of E. Nelson Blizzard and Denton H. Leister, thence between the lands of said Blizzard and Nathaniel Bay, thence between the

<sup>3</sup>The beginning of "Level Bottom" lies approximately due east about two miles from the original beginning of "Bond's Forest," surveyed for Thomas Bond, described as being situated "on the north side of a spring descending into a run called the Roaring Run, a branch of Patapsco Falls." It lies approximately north seventy degrees east a mile and a half, or a little less, from a small tract called "Game Plenty," which is described as beginning "at a rock stone on a ridge near a draft of the Great Falls of Patapsco called the Roaring Run." "Bond's Forest," as resurveyed, bounds on the western end of "Brooke's New Adventure." "Game Plenty" also touches "Brooke's New Adventure" on the west. A point on Patapsco Falls about one and three-eighths miles below the beginning of "Level Bottom" is distant slightly less than a mile from Beaver Dam Run. To satisfy these and other conditions I think that the beginning of "Level Bottom" should be located a short distance west of Patapsco Falls and not far above Lawndale.

lands of said Bay and Lewis H. Wisner, thence between the lands of said Bay and Oliver T. Uhler to a point where the said Indian Road intersects the Public Road known as the Tank Road, then following the bed of the said Tank Road between the lands of the said Bay and the Public School Grounds, thence between the lands of the said Bay and James A. Clark to a point where the said Indian Road leaves the said Tank Road, thence between the lands of Mrs. Mable J. Wareheim and the said Clark to the land of John L. Stull, thence through the land of the said Stull on or near the bed of the said Indian Road to the land of the said Clark, thence through the land of the said Clark on the bed of the said Indian Road to a point near the Western Maryland Railroad, thence to the southwest of the said Clark's Lawn<sup>4</sup> to the bed of the said Indian Road, thence through the land of the said Clark on the bed of the said Indian Road to the land of William H. Bond, thence through the land of the said Bond on the bed of the said Indian Road to a point where the said Indian Road connects with the Public Road known as the Emory Chapel and Glens Falls Road." (Carroll County Road Book, Vol. 2, f. 335 et seq.)

The foregoing petition was granted, and the road was surveyed on May 27th, 1899, and found to be 909 2/10 perches in length.

On November 27th, 1908, a petition was presented to the Commissioners of Carroll County by Denton H. Leister and eighteen others "to alter the location of the County Public Road known as the Indian Road as heretofore opened and located upon the petition of James A. Clark and others upon an order of your honorable body passed thereon the 24th day of July, in the year 1899, so that the centre of the said road, opened and located as aforesaid, and between the lands of Denton H. Leister and Nelson Blizzard, shall be the centre of

<sup>4</sup>Mr. Francis Neale Parke of Westminster, through whose kindness the author became acquainted with this record, says that the "lawn" here mentioned is situated at Lawndale.

and on the bed of the Old Indian Road, etc." (Carroll County Road Book, Vol. 3, f. 105 et seq.) This petition was granted.

Mr. Francis Neal Parke of Westminster, to whom the author is indebted for knowledge of the above records, calls attention to the fact that maps of Carroll County earlier than 1899 do not show any public road as running between the Glen Falls and Emory Church road and the Sandyville and Patapsco Falls road; while later maps of the Maryland Geological Survey show such a road, which crosses Patapsco Falls at Lawndale, and runs along the divide between Roaring Run and Patapsco Falls. This road, therefore, is evidently a fragment of the Old Indian Road.<sup>5</sup> The course of this road, and the implications which that course seem to make as to the further course of the Old Indian Road, in no way conflict with the course of

<sup>5</sup>How much more of the Old Indian Road existed in that part of Baltimore and Carroll Counties as late as 1899, or may still exist, the author is unaware. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that the fragment three miles in length, which in 1899 was made into a county road, was all of the Old Indian Road that had survived in those parts. It is obvious that the object of making over three miles of the Old Indian Road into a county road was to connect the Sandyville-Patapsco road with the Glen Falls-Emory Chapel road, not to clear the Indian Road as far as it could be traced.

The late Mr. Vachel Baseman Bennett of Baltimore, who was born near Reisterstown, and was descended from many of the oldest families of that part of Maryland, informed the author several years ago that when he was a boy the Old Indian Road was used as a short-cut by travellers going from Baltimore to Westminster, and was the shortest way into Westminster from the direction of Baltimore. It was a trail passable for horsemen, but not for wagons. It did not avoid steep hills but climbed them. Parts of it had been made into country roads. It crossed Patapsco Falls in several places. It was much used by travellers, who sometimes lost their way and came to Mr. Bennett's father's house for directions. Mr. Bennett's recollections as to the course of the Old Indian Road are at variance with what was certainly the true course of the road as determined from early records. He declared that it crossed the Falls at the old Ivy or Manalou Paper Mills, and rounded the hill called the Bunker. From there it made its way down through Soldiers Delight by a place called Bear's Hill to Ellicott City and to Elk Ridge. It is not impossible that there may have been a branch of the Old Indian Road which took such a course. With regard to what traditions existed in his boyhood as to the ultimate destination of the Old Indian Road, Mr. Bennett said that the road was supposed to go to Potomac River.



the Indian Road as determined either from the early records we have just examined, or from those which we will presently examine.

In the Proceedings of the Baltimore County Court for November, 1755, (Liber B. B., No. B., f. 390-391) will be found an order for the dividing of Soldiers Delight Hundred by the Old Indian Road:

“Ordered that Soldiers Delight Hundred (as it now stands) be divided into three hundreds as follows, vizt:”

“The lowest (still called Soldiers Delight Hundred) to be divided from the upper part by the Indian Road which comes across from Back River Upper Hundred near Dutton Lanes Sr. and leads to where James Dawkins lived on the Main Falls of Patapsco; then bounding down on the said Main Falls to Patapsco Upper Hundred.”

“A new hundred called Delaware Hundred <sup>6</sup> begins where the old Indian Road crosses the Main Falls of Patapsco where James Dawkins lived and is divided or bounded to the northward by said Indian Road till it intersects Frederick County.”

“The other new hundred called Pipe Creek Hundred contains all that part of Baltimore County to the northward of the aforesaid Indian Road leading from the Great Falls of Patapsco where James Dawkins lived till it intersects Frederick County (not included in Middle River or Back River Upper Hundred).” <sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>This name doubtless has some connection with the fact that the South Branch of Patapsco Falls seems to have been formerly known as the “Western or Delaware Falls” of Patapsco. “Sheredine’s Range,” surveyed 1746, lies on “the Delaware Falls, a branch of the Western Falls of Patapsco.” “Windsor Forest,” “Head Quarters,” and three tracts advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, October 26, 1779, are described as situated “On the main Western Fork of the Western or Delaware Falls of Patapsco River.” In November, 1757, Benjamin Whips was appointed overseer of the road “from Delaware Bottom to Dig’s Wagon Road then down that road to the Great falls of Patapsco” (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, “Sessions,” 1757-1759, November Session, 1757). Numerous other references could be cited.

<sup>7</sup>The words here quoted in parentheses are parts of the original record, not, as occasionally heretofore, the author’s notes.

It is unfortunate that, if any record exists of the laying off of Back River Upper Hundred, the author has been unable to discover it.<sup>8</sup> It would be reasonable to suppose, on topographical grounds, that this hundred originally adjoined the Upper Hundred of Patapsco, and consequently lay adjacent on the east to Soldiers Delight Hundred, which, as we have already observed, was carved out of Patapsco Upper Hundred in 1733. In a deed bearing date July 4th, 1743, Christopher Gist, of Baltimore County, Gent., conveyed to William Hamilton, Samuel Owings, Christopher Randall and Nicholas Haile two acres of ground, part of "Adventure." According to this deed, the parties of the second part had been empowered by act of Assembly dated Sept. 21, 1742, to purchase land "and thereon to erect a chapell of ease for the forest inhabitants of Saint Pauls Parrish"; and by the same act of Assembly it was provided that on the death of the then incumbent of Saint Pauls Parrish the hundreds of Soldiers Delight and of Back River Upper Hundred were to be separated from Saint Pauls Parrish and erected into a new parrish called Saint Thomas Parrish. We are justified therefore in concluding that Back River Upper Hundred joined Soldiers Delight Hundred.

We have already noted the fact that Soldiers Delight Hundred, as originally laid off, was divided from Patapsco Upper Hundred by that section of the Court Road which lay between

<sup>8</sup>In the Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber —, 1730-1732, June, August and November Court, 1731, f. 159, the following references to Back River Upper Hundred occur—the earliest we have discovered: "Thomas Ford is appointed constable of the upper hundred of Back River for the ensuing year in the room of Solomon Hillen." "Lelah Barton is appointed constable of the Lower Hundred of Back River in the room of Solomon Hillen." "Dunkin Coleman is appointed constable for the upper hundred of Back River in the room of Thomas Ford who served in the said office since June." In the same book, f. 53, November Court, 1730, we find the following: "Solomon Hillen is appointed constable of Back River Hundred." In Liber I. W. S. No. 6, 1728-1730, f. 144, June Court, 1729, we find the following: "Ordered that William Parrishes taxables be taken from the Upper Hundred of Patapsco and added to Back River Hundred."

Edward Reeston's and Ben's Run; and we have endeavored to prove that Edward Reeston's place was on Jones Falls in the neighborhood of Rockland. There are certainly the best topographical reasons for assuming that the original dividing line between Patapsco Upper Hundred and Back River Upper Hundred was either Jones Falls or Herring Run, if, as is likely, the line followed a natural boundary. If Jones Falls was the boundary between the two hundreds, as it seems most probable that it was, the line no doubt extended northward from the Falls to the limits of the Province. If the line ran from the bend of the Falls at Brooklandville, it could not have passed farther east than the present village of Texas; while, if it ran from the source of the North Run, it must have skirted the eastern edge of the Worthington Valley, passing not far west of Mantua Mills. Our conclusion is that the Old Indian Road, on leaving Patapsco Falls at Lawndale, went at least as far to the eastward as a line drawn between the eastern end of the Worthington Valley and the source of the North Run.

According to the Baltimore County Debt Book for the year 1756, Dutton Lane was then possessed of the following tracts of land: "Beef Hall," "Pork Hall," "Spring Garden," "Coopers Ridge" (sometimes called "Copper Ridge"), "Good Will,"<sup>9</sup> "Hale's Adventure," "Dutton's Desire," "Daniel's Delight" and "Tricks and Things."

These lands are situated as follows:

"Spring Garden," surveyed for Dutton Lane, is described as lying "at the head of the Piney Run of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River."<sup>10</sup>

"Dutton's Desire," "Daniel's Delight" and "Tricks and Things," all surveyed for Dutton Lane, the two former in 1753, and the latter in 1754, lie within a short distance one of

<sup>9</sup>This tract adjoins "Beef Hall." It appears that Dutton Lane never owned it, and that it was surveyed for his brother, John Lane, in 1731, who in 1757 sold a part of it to Samuel Hooker, and in his will, 1769, bequeathed the remainder to his son, John Bowen Lane.

<sup>10</sup>This land was not in the possession of Dutton Lane in 1755; for on February 15th, 1754, he conveyed it to Jacob Shilling, Jr.

another on Patapsco Falls in the neighborhood of Lawndale. "Dutton's Desire" bounds on that part of "Level Bottom" which lies on the Indian Road. "Daniel's Delight" lies a short distance to the south east, and bounds on "Brooke's New Adventure," the tract in which "Level Bottom" was resurveyed. "Tricks and Things" begins at the beginning tree of "Cross's Lott," which, as we have seen, stood by the Indian Road.

The remaining tracts—"Pork Hall," "Beef Hall," "Hales Adventure" and "Copper Ridge" or "Coopers Ridge"—lie on either side of the old Hanover Road in the neighborhood of Woodensburg, and between Woodensburg and Emory Grove.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>In an effort to locate these tracts the author has made a large map showing their relationship to one another and to adjoining surveys, such as "William Resurveyed," "Addition to Ellidges Farm," "Hookers Lasting Pasture," "Joshuas Lott," "Todds Forest," "Nicholson's Manor" and others. He has also consulted numerous modern deeds relating to these tracts, as well as maps which show the residents of that part of Baltimore County between 1850 and 1877.

The old Hanover Road originally went to Conewago Settlement (later Hanover Town) on Conewago Creek, in what was formerly Maryland. In August, 1737, the Baltimore County Court appointed Robert Owens "to clear the new road from Connawangoe down to Joseph Ellidges as Christopher Gist has marked it." (Court Proceedings, Liber H. W. S. No. I. A. 2, 1736-1738, f. 99) Joseph Ellidge's place was probably in the neighborhood of and not far above Woodensburg. Here the new road doubtless met a wagon road coming up from the Patapsco along the line of the present Reisterstown Road. We have elsewhere identified a road described in 1736 as the "wagon road . . . by George Ogg's" with the present Reisterstown Road. The order to clear the new road was carried out promptly; for a survey called "Stevens Hope," laid out for Samuel Stevens October 30th, 1737, is described as situated "between the branches of Pipe Creek and Gunpowder Falls at a place called the Dugg Hill, beginning at a bounded chestnut oak standing on the side of a hill to the eastward of the wagon road leading from Patapscoe to Connewangoe." In March, 1757, the inhabitants of Pipe Creek Hundred petitioned the Baltimore County Court to have a road cleared "from Frederick County line to the Conewago Road through the Fork of Patapsco Falls." (Sessions, 1757-1759, f. 61.) In 1769 Dutton Lane conveyed to John Davis and others one acre of land, part of "William Resurveyed," "beginning at a bounded chestnut tree standing on a hill called Huckleberry Hill and close on the west side of the Great Waggon Road that leads from Baltimore Town to Hanover Town." John Gibson, in his "History of York

By deed dated October 14th, 1757, Samuel Hooker conveyed to Dutton Lane a parcell of a tract called "William Resurveyed" containing 193 acres. This parcell is described as being bounded by "Copper Ridge," "Pork Hall," "Haile's Adventure" and "Beef Hall." By this purchase all the lands of Dutton Lane in that vicinity were united into one.<sup>12</sup>

In the Debt Book of Baltimore County for the year 1756 James Dawkins is credited with the two tracts: "Level Bottom" and "Cross's Lott," which, as we have heretofore shown,

County," p. 332, says that in 1766 the inhabitants of Manheim and Heidelberg Townships, York County, presented a petition to the effect that "the road from Conewago Settlement (now Hanover) to Baltimore Town was laid out thirty years before by order of Baltimore County Court, before the temporary line between the two provinces was run, and this was then thought to belong to Maryland; since the running of which line there is about ten miles on the north side of the line of as useful a road as perhaps any in the Province of Pennsylvania, and not on record in this Province." Gibson draws the conclusion that this was the first road laid out in the present York County; but, as we shall see later, he was mistaken.

<sup>12</sup>The connection of the Lane family with those lands which lie in the immediate vicinity of Woodensburg was long and intimate. John Lane surveyed "Good Will" in 1731, and held part of it until his death. "Dutton Lane" surveyed "William" September 28, 1732, but sold it to James Boring in 1737. "Copper Ridge" was surveyed for Dutton Lane and others in 1740. "Beef Hall" was surveyed for Dutton Lane in 1741; and in 1748 he purchased from Nicholas Haile "Haile's Adventure." In 1739 and 1741 Lane disposed of his lands on Back River; and in 1746 he sold to Charles Ridgely lands which lay near the site of Towson; so that it is probable that he took up his residence on the Woodensburg lands not later than the last mentioned date. In 1757 he purchased from Samuel Hooker part of "William Resurveyed" which united his lands in one tract. The same year Hooker conveyed to Dutton Lane, Jr., part of the same tract. In 1758 Dutton Lane the elder gave to his sons William, Thomas and Dutton Lane, Jr., parts of these tracts which lie on the Hanover Road; and in 1759 he gave to his daughter Mary Murray 100 acres out of these lands. In his will, dated 1783, Dutton Lane, Sr., bequeathed all the lands which remained in his possession to his daughters Mary (Murray) and Dinah (Gosnell), Dutton Lane, Jr., in his will, Feb. 16th, 1784, describes his "dwelling plantation" as "Hales Adventure" and part of "William Resurveyed." John Lane, brother of Dutton Lane, Sr., purchased part of "William Resurveyed" from Samuel Hooker in 1757. This and part of "Good Will" he left to his son John Bowen Lane, as already noted. He owned lands in other places, and these he bequeathed to his brother Dutton Lane.

lie on the Indian Road. Dawkins probably leased these lands, for the records indicate that at this time they belonged to Samuel Lane; but as far as I can find Dawkins had no claim on any other lands, and it was on one of these two tracts, on the Indian Road, that he evidently lived.

The foregoing record relative to the laying off of Soldiers Delight Hundred into new hundreds may be explained as follows:

The place where James Dawkins lived, where the Indian Road crossed Patapsco Falls, is no other than the fording-place of the Indian Road as determined from the location of "Level Bottom" and "Cross's Lott."

The record clearly indicates that Dutton Lane's place lay between the western limit of Back River Upper Hundred and the place on Patapsco Falls where James Dawkins lived. Therefore, when we come to choose between the group of tracts on Patapsco Falls<sup>13</sup> and that in the vicinity of Woodensburg for the probable home of Dutton Lane, our choice falls on the latter.

In terms of modern topography we would therefore interpret this record to mean that the Old Indian Road crossed that section of Baltimore County lying between the Dover Road and Patapsco Falls (if it did not penetrate farther east), passing not far above or below Woodensburg, and fording the Falls near Lawndale. From Lawndale to the eastern limits of Frederick County, as they existed in 1756, the Indian Road became the dividing line between Delaware and Pipe Creek Hundreds.

The next point to the westward which can be determined as lying on the Indian Road is situated not much more than a mile south-west of the town of Westminster. In 1755 this point was within the eastern limits of Frederick County, so that

<sup>13</sup>The three tracts on Patapsco Falls did not long remain in Dutton Lane's possession. In 1757 he made over "Daniel's Delight" and "Tricks and Things" to his son, Daniel Lane; and in 1759 he gave "Dutton's Desire" to his daughter Dinah Gosnell.

nothing is gained by our knowledge that the Indian Road ran into Frederick County.<sup>14</sup> Between Lawndale on Patapsco Falls and the point beyond Westminster the Old Indian Road evidently followed the divides between Roaring Run and Beaver (Dam) Run, on the west, and Patapsco Falls on the east.<sup>15</sup>

A tract called "Gabriel's Choice," surveyed for Gabriel Mackenzie September 16th, 1743, is described as lying in Baltimore County, "beginning at two bounded white oaks standing on a plain near the Indian Road and near a branch of Little Pipe Creek, and running thence north twenty four degrees west twenty-four perches, north twenty degrees west fifty-six perches, north twenty-nine degrees east two hundred and fifty perches, south thirty degrees east seventy perches,

<sup>14</sup> One of the old boundary stones on the line between Baltimore County and Frederick County is said to be within the limits of Westminster. A map showing the supposed course of the line is given in "Maryland Geology," 1835. Scharf in his "History of Western Maryland," (Vol. I, p. 360) quotes the original description of the line as run in 1750.

<sup>15</sup> The author made every effort to discover evidences touching the line of demarcation between Delaware Hundred and Pipe Creek Hundred, as it was formerly recognised, which might in any way corroborate or weaken our theory that the Old Indian Road followed the Patapsco Falls-Roaring Run and Beaver Dam Run divide. The evidences collected in no way vitiate the theory, except in so far as they are inconclusive. A list of taxable persons in "Delaware Upper Hundred" for the year 1783 (Maryland Historical Society manuscript) and of the lands belonging to these persons contains the names of about a hundred and thirty-three tracts. "Delaware Upper Hundred" appears to have been a re-division of Delaware Hundred, and apparently lay between the South Branch of Patapsco Falls and Pipe Creek Hundred. Twenty-seven of these tracts could not be located at all, either because no tracts of known location were found which bounded upon them, because the descriptions in the surveys were too vague, or because popular names were used, and not the names under which they were patented. Of the remaining tracts twelve lie on or in the neighborhood of Timber Run or Locust Run on the east side of Patapsco Falls near Soldiers Delight. Why they were placed in Delaware Upper Hundred is not apparent, unless it was because the owners lived in that hundred. Their occurrence in the list does not, however, affect our theory. The remainder of the tracts—about ninety-four—lie between the north and south branches of Patapsco Falls across the valleys of Roaring Run, Beaver Dam Run, Middle Run and Piney Run. Some very large tracts—as "Caledonia" and "Rochester"—probably run over into what was Pipe Creek Hundred.

thence by a straight line to the beginning, containing one hundred acres." This tract was resurveyed for Gabriel Mackenzie on January 7th, 1755. Of the original survey forty-six acres were found to be deficient in an older survey, which is not named, but which I have ascertained to be "Small Addition," surveyed for John White, 1741, and later included in a resurvey called "Dear Bought." The resurvey on the original "Gabriel's Choice" was called "The Resurvey on Gabriel's Choice," and contained three hundred and fourteen acres. The greater part of this tract was conveyed by Mackenzie to Nicholas Rogers on April 19th, 1759. The resurvey is bounded by the following tracts, some of which had not been laid out at the time the resurvey was made: On the east lies "Dear Bought" (a resurvey on "Small Addition"), and "Children's Inheritance" (a resurvey on "The Resurvey on Jacob's Well") and "Narrow Bottom." On the south lies "The Resurvey on Stony Batter." On the north, west and south lies "York Company's Defense," surveyed for Michael Swoot, 1760. Neighboring surveys are: "Fell's Dale" (lying north-east, east and south-east); "White's Level" (lying north east) on which a part of Westminster stands; "Bond's Meadows Enlarged," which also contains a part of Westminster; "Long Valley" and "Williams Delight" (north west); "Arnold's Chance" (west); "Fell's Retirement" and "Poulson's Chance" (south west).

For the exact location of "Gabriel's Choice" the author is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Francis Neale Parke of Westminster, who, by very careful research in the land records of Carroll and Frederick Counties, has determined the situation of the third line of the original survey,<sup>16</sup> as follows:

<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that the third line of "Gabriel's Choice," as located by Mr. Parke, is nearly seventy-five perches short of the length of the original third line, vizt. north twenty-six and one-half degrees east one hundred and seventy-six and one-half perches, instead of north twenty-nine east two hundred and fifty perches. Variation of the compass will account for the difference in the courses.

In order to locate "Gabriel's Choice" Mr. Parke consulted the following deeds: William A. McKellip, trustee, to John Wagner (now Catherine Wagner), May 21, 1881, Liber F. T. S., No. 55, f. 270; Liber F. T. S.



“The third line of ‘Gabriel’s Choice’ . . . is a line running in the same general direction as the public road from Westminster, through Spring Mills and Warfieldsburg, to Mount Airy, from a western boundary line of the land of George Rush (near Westminster) through the property of Carrie Meier (Myer), wife of Leopold Meier (Myer), and that of Alfred Mitten (now Schlosser) about one-third of a mile north-west from the said public road. . . . This line is about midway between the New Windsor Road and the road to Mount Airy, and is in what used to be called the ‘Furnace Woods’ or ‘Furnace Hills,’ where the crows had their roosting place for many years.”<sup>17</sup>

Judging by the foregoing evidences, it seems likely that the beginning of “Gabriel’s Choice” was in the immediate neighborhood of Spring Mills, probably, but not certainly, on the north side of Little Pipe Creek.

No reference to the Old Indian Road by that name has been found by the author in the records of lands lying west of Spring Mills, or between Spring Mills and Monocacy River; but it would appear that certain early allusions to a “Monocacy road” may have reference to the Indian Road under an unfamiliar name—a name which would be of assistance in proving what we have already suspected, that the Indian Road went to the Monocacy.

A tract called “Strawberry Plains,” surveyed for Enoch Conly June 10th, 1732, and containing 100 acres, is described: “Beginning at a bounded beach standing in the fork of a run by the Monocacy Road, the said run descending into Little Pipe Creek.”

“Fell’s Retirement,” surveyed for Edward Fell May 20th, 1741, is thus described: “Lying on the drafts of Little Pipe

No. 60, f. 523, Liber J. S. No. 5, f. 82; Liber W. W. No. 5, f. 359; Liber 42, f. 158; Liber 49, f. 318.

Mr. Parke has located the fifteenth line of “Gabriel’s Choice Resurveyed” on Stevenson Hill, along the road from Westminster to Warfieldsburg.

<sup>17</sup> From a letter of Mr. Parke to Mr. Dielman, March 8th, 1920.

Creek, beginning at a bounded gum and poplar distant from each other about four feet in ye Fork of a branch called Conley's Branch descending into ye said creek; on ye south side of Monokosy Road, and to the east of Enock Conly's house, the said trees being the beginning of a tract of land called Arnold's Chance taken up by Arnold Livers."<sup>18</sup>

According to a map, which the author has made, of tracts lying west of "Resurvey on Gabriel's Choice," the beginning of "Fell's Retirement" should lie almost due west of the original beginning of "Gabriel's Choice," from which it is distant 560 perches, or about one and three-fourth miles. The beginning of "Strawberry Plains" lies west six or seven degrees north 700 perches or about two and one-fifth miles. Between the beginning of "Fell's Retirement" and that of "Strawberry Plains" the distance is about half a mile.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> "Arnold's Chance" was surveyed June 17th, 1739, and is described as beginning at a bounded tree standing "in the fork of a branch descending into Little Pipe Creek."

<sup>19</sup> "Arnold's Chance" is bounded on the east by "Poulson's Chance," "York Company's Defense" and "Stony Hollow." "Fell's Retirement" is bounded on the north east by "Arnold's Chance" and by "Poulson's Chance," and on the east by "York Company's Defense." The descriptions of these various tracts in their certificates of survey, taken with that of "Gabriel's Choice Resurveyed," made it a simple matter to draw a plat of all of them, showing their locations with reference to each other. To locate "Strawberry Plains" was more difficult. I first ascertained the fact that Enock Conly surveyed no other tract in Maryland, and bought no land. This made it seem probable that his "dwelling house" referred to in the survey of "Fell's Retirement" was situated on "Strawberry Plains," that Conly's Branch derived its name from this fact, and that "Strawberry Plains" adjoined "Fell's Retirement." Both tracts, it will be further observed, are described as lying on a branch of Little Pipe Creek. I next observed that the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th lines of "Fell's Retirement" are exactly the same, with respect to courses and distances, as the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th lines of "Strawberry Plains," except that the 7th line of the latter is twelve perches longer than the 10th line of the former, a difference which does not prevent the two tracts from fitting together. On fitting them together, it is discovered that the beginning of "Fell's Retirement" lies not more than thirty-two perches from the sixth line of "Strawberry Plains." "Strawberry Plains" is bounded on the west by "Addition to Strawberry Plains," surveyed for Charles Carroll, 1750.

The above courses and distances, if they represented the actual situation of these tracts with reference to one another, would fix the beginning of "Fell's Retirement" on the south side of and near the main branch of Little Pipe Creek, not far west of Shriver's Mills, and the beginning of "Strawberry Plains" in the neighborhood of Wagner's Mill, which would entirely fail to take account of the branch called "Enoch Conly's Branch." In my own opinion this branch of Little Pipe Creek is identical with Turkeyfoot Branch,<sup>20</sup> or with one of the eastern affluents of this stream. But whatever may be the exact locations of the places where these two tracts begin, the fact is evident that they lie to the westward of the last point which can be determined as situated on the Old Indian Road, and less than three miles distant from it, a fact which raises a very strong suspicion that the Monocacy Road and the Indian Road are identical.<sup>21</sup>

We have traced the Old Indian Road from a point very near Spring Mills on Little Pipe Creek, and probably on the north side of the creek,<sup>22</sup> down along the height of land between

<sup>20</sup> The present name of this branch certainly goes back to the first half of the eighteenth century, however; for I find it in the survey of a tract called "Hamilton's Lott," surveyed for Ninian Hamilton in 1749. My reason for locating these two tracts on the eastern branches of Turkeyfoot Branch, rather than on Cobb's Branch—the only other branch which might be identified with Conly's Branch—is that such location corresponds more exactly with the situation of neighboring tracts known to lie on the head branches of Morgan's Run, and with that of "White's Level" on which part of Westminster stands.

<sup>21</sup> Consideration should be given to the fact, which has before been stated, that at this time (1732) the section of Maryland now represented by Carroll County was hardly beginning to be settled. As far as I can ascertain, not more than six tracts, or less than six thousand acres, had, before that date, been taken up on the watersheds of Great and Little Pipe Creek and of the northern fork of Patapsco Falls and its branches. This fact tends to enhance the supposition that the "Monocacy Road" of 1732 was an Indian road, not a road laid out by settlers, though doubtless used by settlers and traders alike. The Monocacy Road in question is apparently not the same as various other roads bearing this name, for one of which, as we shall see later, an Indian origin is claimed.

<sup>22</sup> In view of the fact that the beginning of "Gabriel's Choice" may

Patapsco Falls and Beaver or Beaver Dam Run, and between the Falls and Roaring Run, to the Falls in the neighborhood of Lawndale, where it crossed Patapsco Falls. Thence we trace it across country to the vicinity of Woodensburg, and from there we know that it ran into what was formerly Back River Upper Hundred, a division of Baltimore County, which may have extended as far west as the eastern limits of the Worthington Valley or the Dover Road. Between Woodensburg and a point somewhere between Stevenson Station and the Old Court Road the course of the Old Indian Road cannot at present be traced. Conjecture is futile, and any attempt to identify the Indian Road with modern roads which connect these points is more apt to frustrate our desire to know the truth, than to realize it. From the Garrison Road, between Stevenson and the Old Court Road, we follow, with a fair degree of certainty, the course of the Indian Road down across the head of the Western Run of Jones Falls, across the Reisterstown Road, probably a short distance north of Pikesville, and into the Old Court Road, with which, as far as Patapsco Falls, it becomes identical; unless, indeed, this section of the Old Court Road has been changed since it was first laid out as a county road on the bed of the Old Indian Road.

At Patapsco Falls, near Woodstock, we again lose trace of the Old Indian Road. I think it may safely be assumed, even if we bear in mind our limited knowledge of Indian sites in Maryland, that these points where we lose the road—Woodstock and Spring Mills—were not sites which the Indian Road was originally intended to connect, and that the Indian Road proceeded westward and southward, probably for a considerable distance, from the last places where we find, through the hazard of the records, evidences of its existence. Are there any evidences to show what were the ultimate destinations of the road?

In his history of the Warfield family, Dr. Joshua Dorsey

have been very near to Little Pipe Creek, it is quite possible that the Indian Road, passing across the head of Beaver Dam Run, went to the southward of this creek, and not to the northward, as we have shown on our map.

Warfield makes the statement that a tract of land called "The Addition," taken up by Richard Warfield, the immigrant, "covered the area between Round Bay upon the Severn and the old Indian Trail. This trail afterwards became the stage mail route from Annapolis to Elkridge. The Annapolis and Elkridge Railroad runs with, but frequently crossing it, as far west as Waterbury."

"These old grants," continues Dr. Warfield, "in the absence of any roads, were all described by the nearest water front, and they were surveyed so as to give water communication to the most of them; but the dwellings were all located near, or upon, the old Indian Trail, because numerous creeks entering the Severn, prevented a road to Annapolis any nearer the river."

In his "Founders of Anne Arundel County" the same author declares that the home of Joseph Howard, son of Capt. Cornelius Howard, "Howard's Inheritance," which was later resurveyed, was near the "old Indian Trail."

The author has not so far been able to make a study of the records of Anne Arundel County sufficiently comprehensive to enable him to say whether any early references to Professor Warfield's Indian road are to be found; and Professor Warfield gives no proofs for his statement, and does not tell us whether he derived his knowledge from tradition, or from early records, or from both. If such an Indian trail as he describes existed, it was probably the continuation of the Indian Road of which we have been making a study. We have elsewhere quoted Mr. Edward Spencer as saying (again without proofs) that an Indian Road, which connected the Potomac at Piscattaway<sup>23</sup> with the Susquehanna River, passed Elkridge, and then followed the line of the Old Court Road. In all probability the Indian Road did go to Potomac River, and if we cannot wholly

<sup>23</sup> The late Mr. Vachel Baseman Bennett, whose traditions regarding the Old Indian Road are given elsewhere, told the author that the road was supposed to go to Potomac River at Washington. It is easy to understand how, when Washington became the capital city, a tradition that the Indian Road went to Piscattaway became transferred to a place in the same general locality which was so much better known.

accept Dr. Warfield's statement, neither can we reject it, but must reserve judgment in the hope that some early record or records may be found which will prove it to have been correct.

Now, as to the western objectives of the Old Indian Road, there appears to have existed an Indian highway of considerable extent and importance known to white men as the Conestoga Path, and afterwards, when turned into a public road for the use of Maryland settlers, called the Conestoga Road, which, if we may judge from its name, originated at the Indian town of Conestoga, between the town of Lancaster and Susquehanna River, crossed the Susquehanna at a place called Connejohola, several miles below Columbia or Wrightsville, and traversed York County. The Conestoga Road crossed the headwaters of Conewago Creek, which rises in Carroll County and flows northward into Susquehanna River at Bainbridge. It crossed Great Pipe Creek and Little Pipe Creek, Monocacy River, Catoclin Creek, and Potomac River; and it appears to have gone as far at least as Opequon in Virginia. Somewhere in what is now Carroll County it probably met the Old Indian Road, but whether it absorbed this road, or merely crossed it, we do not know. There is a strong probability also that somewhere beyond the Monocacy, it joined still another Indian highway which can be traced through part of Montgomery and Frederick Counties, from Muddy creek, across Seneca Creek nearly to the mouth of Monocacy River.

In the year 1725 an act was passed by the Maryland Assembly entitled: "An act to encourage the takers up of runaway slaves that shall be taken up by any person and brought in from the Backwoods." The act reads as follows:

"Whereas sundry of the slaves belonging to several of the Inhabitants of this Province have of late years run away into the Backwoods some of which have there perished, and others who held it out (as to their lives) have been entertained and encouraged to live and inhabit with the Shewan-Indians;<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> A name for the Shawnee. A writer under the title "Shawnee" in "Handbook of American Indians," Bulletin 30, Smithsonian Institution,

and forasmuch as many negroes (upon hearing the success some of their fellow-slaves have met with) are daily making attempts to go the same way, which if not timely and effectually prevented may be of very fatal consequences to the Inhabitants

says that the migration of the Shawnee Indians from South Carolina northward began about 1677 and lasted for thirty years. "The ancient Shawnee villages formerly on the site of Winchester, Va., and Oldtown, near Cumberland, Md., were built and occupied probably during this migration." "Old Town" is mentioned in a survey called "Indian Seat" laid out for John Charlton, Nov. 8th, 1739. In a survey called "I Never See It," laid out for John Tolson, 1743, "Upper Old Town" is mentioned. "Colmore's Ramble," surveyed for Colmore Bean, 28th Feb., 1743, is described as beginning "at a bounded white oak standing on the side of a hill near the head of a small branch that falleth into Little Cunnollaway's and on the left hand side of the main road that goes from the said Little Cunnollaway's to the Old Town and near where the said road crosses Cunnolleaway's Hill." (Tonolaway Cr. is probably meant. "Hanthorne's Rest," surveyed for John Hanthorne, 1739, is described as lying on Potomac River at the mouth of "Town Alloway Creek.") "Choice," surveyed for Thomas Prather, 1747, begins at bounded trees standing "on the bank of Potomack River at the upper end of Walker's Bottom about a mile below the Sideling Hill and about three miles and a half above the Old Town." "Little Meadow," surveyed for Daniel Cresap, 1751, begins "at a bounded oak standing by the side of a small ridge near some sink holes about a quarter of a mile from Potomack River near the upper old Indian Town." Where the lower Old Town was situated we do not know; but a survey called "Broken Islands," laid out for Arthur Nelison Nov. 10th, 1728, is described as beginning "at a bounded elm standing on an island in Potomack River a little above the Indian Town landing." (This may have been the Conoy Town on Conoy or Coney Island.) At that time surveys had advanced very little beyond the mouth of Monocacy. Whether there was a Shawnee town in the Monocacy watershed is doubtful. The Indian names of Monocacy, Olacin or Olacip and Hashawha (for the latter see note 27) seem to indicate that there were Indian settlements in this region in historic times. The name of "Monocacy," like many of the Indian names we apply to creeks, rivers and bays, may originally have been the name for a village on the Monocacy. "Olacin" and "Hashawa" were certainly names for localities of small extent, if not for actual towns. In 1725, before the act of Assembly regarding run-away slaves was passed, the Governor of Maryland, who was exercised about "the ill consequences that may attend the Shuano Indians entertaining our negro runaway slaves," proposed to send "Mr. Charles Powell of Prince Georges County, Gent., to Shuano Town upon Potomack to invite some of the principal Indians of the same Town to meet His Excellency the Governor at the house of Charles Anderson near Mononknisea (Monocacy) at such time as

of this Province, for the prevention thereof it is humbly prayed that it may be enacted . . . and be it enacted by the Right Honorable the Lord Proprietor of this Province . . . that any person whatsoever, either Indian or others, that shall take up any Run-away Slave (already run away or that shall hereafter

shall be mentioned in his Excellency's instructions." (*Archives*, xxv, p. 442.) On October 6th, 1725, Governor Calvert, in addressing the Assembly, said, with reference to the harboring of runaway slaves by the "Shuano" Indians: "I did with the advice of the Council engage one of the Magistrates of Prince Georges County to give the chief of those Indians an invitation to meet me at Monokosey in order to settle a treaty with them to prevent the loss of any more of our slaves, as well as to regain those already there; upon the Indians promise to the gentleman that went to them that they would meet me I went as far as the Mountains with some of the Council, and several other gentlemen, but tho we stayed beyond the appointed time, the Indians for what reason I cannot tell never came." (*Archives*, xxxv, p. 200.) In February, 1721/2, two Conestoga traders murdered an Indian "at Monocasey." (*Archives*, xxv, pp. 379, 380, 383.) In 1732 Charles Carroll, who the same year had taken up a tract called "Carroll's Delight," on Tom's Creek of Monocacy River, in what was then supposed to be Maryland, complained to the Pennsylvania authorities that, while he was at the house of John Hendricks on Susquehanna River, several persons came there with a warrant to arrest "John Tredane of the Province of Maryland resident at Monochasie." ("History of York County," by John Gibson, p. 49.) It is extremely doubtful whether the foregoing references to "Monocacy" refer to one definite place, or if "Monocacy" meant vaguely any place in the Monocacy valley. Williams, in his "History and Biographical Record of Frederick County, Maryland," and Schultz, in his "First Settlement of Germans in Maryland," both assert that there was an early settlement of Germans called "Monocacy," and that it stood on or near the site of Craegerstown; but although a town of this name seems to have existed in that place, there is no reason to suppose that it was the same as the "Monocacy" of 1721-1732. The earlier Monocacy, if such a place really did exist, was probably a small settlement of Indians and traders of Maryland and Pennsylvania. To return to the subject of the Shawnee Indians, there is evidence, which can not be conveniently presented at this time, to prove that there was a settlement of this tribe in Baltimore County early in the eighteenth century somewhere near Cockeysville. "Shawan Hunting Ground," surveyed for Thomas Todd, in 1714, lies upon the Shawan Cabin Branch (now Oregon Run), a stream referred to under that name in many other surveys. A place in this neighborhood was called "The Indian Old Fields." Not far to the south a branch of Roland's Run was called the Shenese Glade. In what is now Harford County a branch of Gash's Run, which empties into Swan Creek, was called in the seventeenth century the Shawneys Run.



run away) in any part of the backwoods to the northwestward of Monocacy River from the Mouth thereof up the same River, to the fording place where the Conestogo Path crosses the same near one Albine's Plantation, and then to the northwestward of the said Conestogo-Path until it meet with Susquehanna River and by them shall be brought in and delivered to the Person to be appointed and commissioned (according to the directions of this Act) to receive such run-away negroes, shall be paid by the said commissioner as a reward for each run-away slave taken up, brought in and delivered as aforesaid the sum of £5 current money." (*Archives*, Vol. xxxvi, pp. 583-585.)

Efforts to identify the ford near Albine's plantation with any of the known fords of Monocacy River, or to discover evidence which would enable us to locate it, have so far proved futile. Whoever he was, Albine was probably a trader; he owned no land, as far as the records show.<sup>25</sup> One might be tempted to suspect that his name was incorrectly spelled, and that a person of a somewhat different name was meant; but the discovery of a tract called "Albins Choice," surveyed for John Radford, November 23d, 1724, on the west side of Monocacy, dispells this doubt.<sup>26</sup>

In the year 1725—the date of the foregoing reference to the Conestoga Path—the valley of the Monocacy and its affluents was still, in all likelihood, an almost unbroken wilderness into which white settlers were just beginning to penetrate.<sup>27</sup> The

<sup>25</sup> I have not been able to find his name, either in the patent records at Annapolis, or in the land records of Prince Georges County. I also looked for his name without success in the list of early Conestoga traders given by Hanna in "The Wilderness Trail," Vol. 1.

<sup>26</sup> In a Rent Roll of Frederick County, Vol. 1, (Annapolis) the possession of "Albin's Choice" is credited to Daniel Dulany; but there is a note to the effect that Thomas Radford conveyed it to Robert Debutts, Aug. 22, 1751. Where it lies I have no idea; but, if we take the date of its survey into question, it is more likely to be south of Frederick than north of that place.

<sup>27</sup> The earliest mention of Monocacy River I have found is in a survey called "Progress" laid out for Daniel Dulany, April 13th, 1721, described as lying "by the east side of Patowmack and about two miles below the

land between the headwaters of the Monocacy and the Susquehanna River was also a wilderness, in which Pennsylvanians

mouth of Monocacy River." "Concord," surveyed for Dulany April 28th, 1721, lies "between the Sugar Lands and Monocacy River," on Potomack River at the mouth of Broad Run. "Hope," 300 acres, originally surveyed for Wm. Fitzredmond, Nov. 10th, 1721, and later resurveyed for Richard Bennett, lies on Monocacy River by the Sugar Loaf Mountain, and is therefore near the mouth of the river. "Black Acre," surveyed for William Black, 1721, and later resurveyed for him, lies on Monocacy, beginning at the beginning of "Hope," and must therefore be situated near the mouth of the river. "Woodstock," surveyed for Thomas Sprigg Jan. 3d, 1722/3, lies "on a branch falling into the mouth of Monocacy where it makes into Potomack River." "Carrolton," surveyed for Charles, Daniel and Eleanor Carroll, 10,000 acres, April 20th, 1723, begins "at a bounded white oak standing on the point of the fork or neck of land that is made between Potomack River and Monocacy River."

Lands taken up on Monocacy River in the year 1724 extended up the river a considerable distance on the east side, probably nearly as far as the mouth of Hunting Creek. These included the following small surveys: "Metre" for John Vanmetre; "Hopewell" for John Norris; "The Henry" and "Albin's Choice" surveyed for John Radford. The following large tracts were taken up: "Addison's Choice," 2300 acres, surveyed for Col. Thomas Addison May 27th, 1724, "beginning at a bounded beech standing on the east side of Monocacy River upon the Bank of a Creek or large Branch that falls into the said River at the lower end of the Rich Land known by the name of Olacin Land. . . ." "Dulany's Lott," surveyed for Daniel Dulany May 28th, 1724, containing 2850 acres, begins at the beginning of "Addison's Choice." "Monocacy Manor," 10,000 acres, surveyed for Lord Baltimore May 29th, 1724, lies "on the east side of a branch of Potomack River called Monocacy River, beginning at a large beech standing on the east side of the said Monocacy River at the mouth of a large run that proceeds from a great spring in the land called Olacip and falls into Monocacy, the said beech being a boundary of a tract of land surveyed for Daniel Dulany, Esq. called 'Dulany's Lott.' . . ." "Carrollsbury," 10,000 acres, surveyed for Charles and Daniel Carroll Nov. 10th, 1724, is described as beginning "on the highest point of a great rock on the eastward side of a branch now known by the name of Lingonoe Creek . . . the creek falls into Monocacy at the lower end-of Oliccin land . . ." This appears to be the first record of the name of Lingonoe Creek. "Monocacy Manor" seems to have been the most northerly of these four tracts. We infer from the foregoing descriptions that it lies above the mouth of Lingonoe Creek, as it lies on a branch descending from the land called "Olacin" or "Olacip," and Lingonoe Creek is said to empty into Monocacy at the lower or southern end of this land. The meanders of Monocacy River form the western boundary of the manor, while the eastern boundary is a straight line running north and south. The manor runs

had been forbidden by their own government to settle<sup>28</sup> and Marylanders had not yet penetrated. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this Conestoga Path was an Indian road; but

north about 3½ miles; has an extreme width of about 5½ miles, and a minimum width of about 3½ miles. A plat of the original survey is at the Maryland Land Record Office. Apparently the manor begins at or near the mouth of Glade Creek and extends north to about the latitude of Woodsboro, and east far enough to include Laurel Hill. I am not sure of this location, but it is the only one I can find on the map which satisfies all the conditions.

The land bearing the Indian name of Olacip or Olacin seems to have been situated between Linganore Creek on the south and a point at least as far north as the head of Glade Creek. Another Indian place on the Monocacy watershed is discovered in the record of the issue of a warrant to Charles Carroll, Esq., in August, 1732, for 10,000 acres, part of which was to be located "on the head of Pipe Creek on the land called Hashawa or where the Indian Cabin or Old feils are. . . ." (*Archives*, xxxvii, pp. 506-507.)

"Tasker's Chance," 7000 acres, was surveyed for Benjamin Tasker, April 15th, 1725, beginning on Monocacy River at the mouth of Beaver Run, which was later known as Carroll's Creek. On this land the town of Frederick was laid out in 1748. A small tract called "The Josiah" was laid out for Josiah Ballinger Nov. 5th, 1725, "Beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the upper side of Monocacy above Mr. Carroll's lower tract of land." The reference is probably to "Carrolton."

<sup>28</sup> John Gibson, ("History of York County," p. 16), says that the first settlements made on the west side of Susquehanna River in what is now York County under authority of the government of Pennsylvania were made in the year 1729. Before that year various persons had at divers times settled along the river and had been successively removed to placate the Indians. He also quotes (p. 50) a report made in 1732 by Samuel Blunston and John Wright, Justices of the newly created county of Lancaster, to the Governor, regarding the disturbances which were then taking place between Thomas Cresap and other Marylanders, on the one hand, and the Pennsylvania settlers on the east side of the river. The report says that in 1729 "there were no English inhabitants on the west side of the Susquehannah River in those parts, (i. e. the present York County), for, about two years before Edward Parnell and several other families, who were settled on the west side of the river near the same, at a place called by the Indians Conejohela, were at the request of the Conestogoe Indians removed by the Governor, the Indians insisting upon the same to be vacant for them. But about two years since Thomas Cressap and other people . . . came and disturbed the Indians who were peaceably settled on those lands whence Parnell and the others had been removed. . . ." It appears, however, that a number of tracts had been surveyed under Maryland and above the present Mason and Dixon Line. These included: "Elisha's

there is also small doubt that the pack-horses of the Indian traders had deepened and widened the trail, possibly the horses of missionaries and of nondescript travellers.<sup>29</sup>

On the 25th of September, 1722, several large tracts of land on both sides of Susquehanna River running as far north as the 40th degree of north latitude were "reserved" for the use of the Lord Proprietor of Maryland, and thereafter lands sur-

Lott" surveyed for Elisha Perkins, 1719; "Deserts of Arabia" for John Cooper, 1721; "Cooper's Addition" for John Cooper, 1724; "Solitude" for Thomas Larkin, 1724; and probably a few others. This list does not include the manors or "reserves" laid out for Lord Baltimore in 1722.

<sup>29</sup> Gibson, in his "History of York County," says (p. 321): "Before permanent settlements were made by whites west of Susquehanna River there were trader's and missionary routes, crossing this country from north to south, and from east to west. These generally followed the Indian trails, of which there were several through the present limits of York County." The reader should consult Charles A. Hanna's "The Wilderness Trail," Vol. 1, for information touching the early presence of numbers of traders at the Indian town of Conestoga. Hanna says ("The Wilderness Trail," Vol. 1) that white settlers began to come into that part of Chester County, which was afterwards Lancaster County, as early as 1710; but that Indian traders had been there since twenty years before. Hanna locates the Indian town of Conestoga on the north-west side of Conestoga Creek and near the creek's mouth ("The Wilderness Trail," Vol. 1, p. 61); and refers the reader to a map of the original survey of Conestoga Manor, Feb. 1st, 1718, published in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d Series, Vol. IV, Map 11. Hanna says ("The Wilderness Trail," Vol. 1, p. 34) that the town of Conestoga was built by the Susquehannough (Conestoga) Indians some time after their defeat and subjugation in 1673-1677, and was at first largely occupied by old men, women and children. In a note he quotes Evans ("History of Lancaster County," p. 950) to the effect that this town lay to the east of Turkey Hill (situated on Susquehanna River in Lancaster Co. about three miles below Washingtonboro) about two miles west and north of Conestoga Creek and about one mile west of Little Conestoga. Our inference that the Conestoga Path or Road went to Conestoga Town will in no way, however, affect our theory that the path may have been of greater antiquity than the town, in as much as the region about Conestoga had been, as we shall see presently, greatly resorted to by the Indians in early historic times, and probably was so in times pre-historic. Hanna quotes from *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 16, (2d series) a deposition of James Hendricks, aged 73 years, taken in the year 1740 on behalf of the Penns in their suit against Lord Baltimore. The deponent says that he visited Conestoga nearly 50 years before, and that the Indians there told him no white man had visited their town before that time.

veyed within these areas were taken up under special conditions which pertained to reserved lands. (Land Record Office, Annapolis, Plats, Division 4, No. 22). One of these "reserves" lay between Deer Creek on the south and Muddy Creek on the north, on the west side of Susquehanna. Another ran from Muddy Creek north, on the west side of the Susquehanna, to a line drawn west from a point on the west side of Susquehanna opposite to the mouth of Conestoga Creek. A third began at the last-mentioned line and ran up the river to the 40th degree of north latitude, which crosses the river in the neighborhood of the present Washingtonboro.<sup>30</sup> On the east side of the river lands were reserved between Octorara and Pequea (called "Pequin" in the record) Creeks, and between Pequea Creek and the 40th degree of north latitude.

The Maryland government appears to have made no effort, save by diplomatic negotiations, to gain possession of the lands included in the "reserves" lying east of the Susquehanna; but a very strenuous effort was made to retain a hold on the lands lying west of the river, which resulted in the "war" between Maryland and Pennsylvania, about which so much has been written.

Thomas Cresap, the leading Maryland figure in this struggle between the colonists of the two provinces, settled at a place called Conejohola on the west side of the Susquehanna River in or about 1730, where he remained for a number of years. With him settled in the same neighborhood his kinsmen, John Lowe, William Lowe and Daniel Johnson Lowe, and a number of other persons.<sup>31</sup> At the same time several surveys were made

<sup>30</sup> These upper "reserves" were in direct conflict with "Springettsbury Manor," 70,000 acres, laid out for the Proprietor of Pennsylvania June 19th and 20th, 1722, but not opened to settlers for some years afterwards. The purpose of the laying out of this manor was to frustrate attempts on the part of the Maryland government to get possession of the country thereabouts, and to protect and placate the Indians. (See Gibson's "History of York County.")

<sup>31</sup> The following lands were surveyed at this period at or in the neighborhood of Conejohola: "Pleasant Garden," surveyed 28th of July, 1729, for Thomas Cresap, "on the west side of Susquehannah River at the mouth of a small run opposite against the Blue Rock"; "Bullford," for

in the "back" country under Maryland authority.<sup>32</sup> While negotiations were going on between Lord Baltimore and the Penns, and the unauthorized warfare between the settlers was

Jacob Herrington, August 26th, 1729, "on the north side of a branch called Cabin Branch (this branch, still so called, discharges into the west side of Susquehanna River a short distance below Washingtonboro) "Bond's Manor," Thomas Bond, June 1st, 1730, on the west side of Susquehanna River, adjoining "Bullford" surveyed for Jacob Herrington; "Conhodah," surveyed for Stephen Onion, June 2d, 1730, "beginning at the west end of the west line of a tract of land laid out for Thomas Bond of Baltimore County called Bond's Manor and is on the west side of Susquehanna River and opposite the River to a tract of land called by the Indians Conejohah and also at the west end of a west line of 100 perches' length of a tract of land laid out for Thomas Cressap of Cecil County called "Pleasant Garden"; "Smith's Choice" surveyed for William Smith, September 26th, 1731, begins at the beginning of "Bond's Manor"; "Atwood's Chance," surveyed for Edward Atwood Feb. 26, 1733, beginning "at a bounded red oak at the mouth of Grises Creek" (this creek said to be identical with Kreutz Creek); "The Governor's Grant," for Capt. Thomas Cressap, Feb. 26, 1733, adjoins the land surveyed for Edward Atwood (i. e. "Atwood's Chance"); "Indian Fields" surveyed for Col. Nathaniel Rigbie, August 25th, 1735, adjoins the land laid out for Capt. Thomas Cressap called "The Governor's Grant" (unpatented certificate 2480); "Isles of Promise" surveyed for Captain Thomas Cressap April 12th, 1736, "including three small islands in Susquehanna River near the eastern side of the river and opposite to a place on the said eastern side of the said river called the Blue Rock." (Gibson in his "History of York County" says that General Jacob Dritt afterwards became possessed of these islands, and sold them to Jacob B. Haldeman; they are probably a parcell of islands lying just below Washingtonboro.) "Woodstock Bower," for Thomas Cressap, March 2d, 1734, on Cabin Branch; a tract surveyed for Daniel Johnson Lowe, March 2d, 1734, on a branch of Grises (Kreutz) Creek; "Providence," surveyed for John Lowe, Aug. 7th, 1735, probably very near Conejohola. To this latter tract we must again refer.

<sup>32</sup> "Carroll's Delight," 5000 acres, surveyed for Charles, Mary and Elizabeth Carroll, April 3d, 1732, lies at the head of Monocacy River on Toms Creek, and is now in Pennsylvania. "Diggs's Choice," 6822 acres, surveyed for John Digges April 18th, 1732, lies on Conewago Creek, and includes the site of Hanover, Pa. "Bare Garden," surveyed for Robert Owings May 26th, 1732, lies on Conewago Creek; "Golden Grove," surveyed for Andrew Hirsey March 22d, 1733, lies on Codorus Creek; "Ludwick's New Mills," surveyed for Ludwick Shriver November 18th, 1735, lies on Conewago Creek, and is probably now in Pennsylvania. Gibson says, in his "History of York County," p. 58, that in 1734 Thomas Cressap, claiming to have authority from the Governor of Maryland, surveyed upwards of forty tracts of land for Germans living in those parts.

in progress, the Maryland colonists and owners of land in this section endeavored to "consolidate" the new country by the laying out of suitable roads. This new section was regarded as part of Baltimore County, and was officially known as "Codus Hundred."<sup>33</sup>

In the month of June, 1733, Thomas Cressap presented to the Baltimore County Court the following petition: "That your petitioner having his lordships grant for keeping a Ferry over Susquehanna River from Conjaulough to the Blew Rock do humbly pray that a road may be cleared from your pet'r's house to Peter Hances and that your worships would be pleased to appoint an overseer to clear the said road it being much as your petitioner conceives for the benefit of the country." "Which petition being read . . . is granted and the petitioner is appointed overseer to clear the aforesaid road from the said pet'r's house along the old Connestogo road to the aforesaid Hances." (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber , 1733-1734, f. 8.)

It is evident, from the foregoing record, that the Conestoga Road—the significance of the adjective "old" should not be missed—met Susquehanna River at Conejohola, where Thomas Cresap lived in 1733; and that from Conejohola it ran inland by the residence of one Peter Hance or Hanse. The fact that it was "cleared," that is, widened, freed from stumps and made into a county road, indicates that before 1733 it was only a trail. We know, too, that the section of the old Conestoga Road which was thus made useful to the settlers of this new country ran west from Susquehanna River, and not east;<sup>34</sup>

The influx of settlers from the older parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania into what is now York County appears to have gotten under way between the years 1729 and 1734. The attention of the reader is called to note 11 of this article, in which the history of the Conewago or Hanover Wagon Road is given.

<sup>33</sup> Henry Hendricks was appointed by the Baltimore County Court constable of Codorus Hundred in November, 1734. (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber —, 1733-1734, f. 354.)

<sup>34</sup> Whether the Conestoga Road was ever cleared eastward from the river by the inhabitants of Lancaster County, I do not know. Gibson says,

for the eastern side of the river above and below Conejohola was in the possession of the Pennsylvanians, and the Marylanders confined their activities to the western side.<sup>35</sup>

in his "History of York County," p. 321: "The road from Lancaster to the plantation of John Wright (Columbia) was laid out in 1734. An Indian trail and a route for pack-horse travel and for missionaries was used, which extended across the territory now embraced in York County to Western Maryland and Virginia." Gibson proceeds to identify the York County section of this trail with the "Monocacy Road" laid out in 1739 between Wrightsville or Wright's Ferry and the Maryland line near the head of Monocacy. John Wright, an early justice of Lancaster County and a very active enemy of the Maryland colonists on Susquehanna River, owned a ferry between the site of Columbia and that of Wrightsville, called Wright's Ferry, which, according to Gibson, was chartered in 1730. If an Indian road ever existed along the line of the present Columbia-Lancaster turnpike, it did not pass through, or even near, the Indian town of Conestoga, and it met the Susquehanna at least four miles above Conejohola.

<sup>35</sup> Several other roads were laid out during this period by Maryland authority in what is now York County, Pennsylvania: in November, 1734, the court appointed Thomas Cresap overseer "to clear a road from Connajohala to the rock run and it is ordered that the inhabitants of Deer Creek assist in clearing the same." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber —, 1733-1734, f. 357.) This road is difficult to identify, owing to the fact that there were then at least two, and probably three streams called Rock Run descending into Susquehanna on the west side between Conejohola and the mouth of the river. The uppermost discharges into the river at Peach Bottom. Next comes what was called the Upper Rock Run, which empties at Glen Cove (now called Peddler Run). The third discharges near Lapidum. Here, early in the eighteenth century, there was a tobacco inspection warehouse. The river was navigable to this point. The old "upper ferry" called Perkin's Ferry, or Harris's Landing, was at this place. In March, 1736/7, the Baltimore County Court ordered Caleb Peverill "to clear a road (at his own expense) from peach bottom down the River of Susquehanna to the first valley above the first fall of rocks below Slate hill thence up the said valley to the top of the said hill and along the ridge unto Alexander Mackelneys plantation, and from thence with a straight line towards Potomack till it intersects the road that leads from John Williams ferry to Potomack aforesaid which said roads are to be laid out and inspected by Coll Nath: Rigbie." (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber H. W. S. No. 1. A. 2, 1736-1738, f. 2.) Slate Hill and Slate Ridge lie between Muddy Creek and Broad Creek. It is obvious that Caleb Peverill, who was not a man of means, was not expected to clear a road of any great length "at his own expense." The road was evidently intended for the service of a ferry at Peach Bottom. The location of John Williams' ferry is difficult to explain. There is, however, in the



Let us first consider the situation of Conejohola and the significance of the place. The name appears to have been applied to the land on both sides of Susquehanna River at or just below the present village of Washingtonboro, which is situated in Lancaster County a few miles below Columbia. A small stream on the York County side of the river retains the name in a corrupted form. Conejohola appears to have been at one time a settlement of the Conoy Indians. Charles A. Hanna in "The Wilderness Trail," says: "The Conoys told Thomas Cookson at his house in Lancaster County, April 11th, 1743, that when they first came into Pennsylvania from their island in the Potomac (whence they had gone from Piscattaway Creek) in William Penn's time, (after the treaty of 1701) they built a town at Conejoholo, and that later they removed higher up the Susquehanna to what was called Conoy Town in 1734." Hanna also quotes (from *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. 16) a deposition of James Hendricks, aged 73 years, taken in 1740 for the Penn family in their suit against

Baltimore County Court Proceedings (Liber —, 1733-1734, f. 22) the record of a suit, dated June, 1733, of John Williams against Richard Perkins, in which Williams charged that "having been granted authority May 1st, 1731, to keep Susquehannah upper ferry for one year, he has been hindered by Richard Perkins." Susquehanna Upper Ferry, often called Perkins's Ferry, was at the mouth of Rock Run near Lapidum. If this was John Williams's ferry in March, 1736/7, then the road laid out by Thomas Cressap in 1734 from Conejohola to the Rock Run was probably the road meant by the reference to a road leading from John Williams ferry to Potomac River, which would mean that the latter road connected with the Conestoga Road, clear by Cressap in 1733, which undoubtedly went to Potomac.

In 1749 the Lord Proprietor leased to Benjamin Jones a tract called "Benjamin's Addition" lying in the "Reserve" on the north side of Deer Creek, "beginning at a bounded oak on the north side of Slate Hill and on the west side of Conijohallo Road"; and in 1750 the Lord Proprietor leased to Cornelius Clark a tract in the "Reserve" called "Wills' Lott," "lying on the north side of Broad Creek, beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the head of a spring on the east side of the Old Johollow Road." This may be the road laid out in 1734; but, if, as I think, "Johollow" is an abbreviation of Conijoholo, could a road built in 1734 have been called "old" in 1750? Can this road have been a relic of another Indian road?

Lord Baltimore's heirs. The deponent, having testified that, some fifty years before, he had seen an Indian settlement and fortification at the mouth of Octorara Creek, goes on to say: "He has also seen the ruins of another such fortified town on the east side of Susquehanna River aforesaid opposite to a place where one Thomas Cressap lately dwelt."<sup>36</sup> That the land there on both sides of the River was formerly (called) "Conajocula." Mr. Hanna mentions also the report of James Logan, Secretary to the Province of Pennsylvania, who, on June 6th, 1706, reported to the Pennsylvania Council that he had visited the Conestoga Town in October, 1705, and that "he with the Company had made a journey among the Ganawese (Conoys) settled some miles above Conestogee at a place called Connejaghera." Mr. Hanna identifies "Conejoholo," "Conajocula" and "Connejaghera" as one and the same place, and says that it stood near the site of the present Washingtonboro, on Susquehanna River.

It would appear, from evidence presented by Hanna in "The Wilderness Trail," that the site of the famous Susquehanna Fort shown on Augustine Herman's map of Maryland of 1670 could not have been far from the spot where Thomas Cressap built his fort and kept ferry. A short distance down the river, on the east side, in the neighborhood of Turkey Hill, was located another fort, supposed to be of later date than the former. The

<sup>36</sup> A map of Pennsylvania showing the "Temporary Line" as run in 1739 (reproduced in Gibson's History of York County) shows a site "late Thomas Cressap's fort" as situated on the west bank of Susquehanna River four miles above a line run due west from the southernmost part of Philadelphia and crossing Susquehanna River at the mouth of Conestoga Creek. The Blue Rock—the place on the east bank to which Cressap's ferry ran—is shown in Stull's Map of Pennsylvania, 1770 (Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd Series, Appendix). Cressap retained possession of his lands at Conejohola for ten years or more. On August 8th, 1739, he sold to Jacob Mires "Pleasant Garden" and part of "Bond's Manor." About 1740 he sold "Isles of Promise" and another part of "Bond's Manor" to the same party. (Provincial Court Deeds, E. I. No. 3, f. 305.) On April 21, 1747, he sold "Woodstock" to Lodowick Meyer (same, E. I. No. 8, 261). Cressap's ferry still continued to run, and was known as Myer's Ferry. Gibson says that it was also called Dritt's.

Conestoga Indian town was situated, as we have already observed (note 29) above the mouth of Conestoga Creek, and about three miles below Washingtonboro. We are tempted to believe that this region had been a rendez-vous of the Indians from time immemorial, as it surely was in early historical times.<sup>37</sup>

A number of scattered bits of evidence, which we cannot afford to overlook, corroborate our theory that an Indian path, later a trader's route, crossed the present York County from the Susquehanna River. John Gordon, in his "History of York County," (p. 39), quotes (from *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 1, p. 271) a letter written from Conestoga in 1730 by "Captain" Civility, a chief of the Susquehannoughs, to Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania, to the effect that "at Lancaster he had heard much talk that both Dutch and English were going to settle on the other side of the Susquehanna. That Mr. Wright and Mr. Blunston had surveyed a great deal of land and designed to dispose of it. That it was their road to hunting, and their young men might break the chain of friendship.

<sup>37</sup>Mr. Hanna refers to a paper read before the Lancaster County Historical Society, March 4th, 1910, by Mr. David H. Landis on the subject of the Susquehannough forts, to which Mr. Landis devoted long and careful study. Mr. Landis locates the fort of 1670 "a few hundred yards north of where Cressap had his fort . . . in York County . . . just opposite Washington Borough." This site, according to Mr. Landis, "is conspicuous for the abundance of trader's articles found there." Mr. Hanna remarks that "this site abounds in stone implements . . . and was inhabited as an Indian village for a very long period—probably from before 1608 until 1652 or later" ("The Wilderness Trail," Vol. I, p. 42). The choice of the earlier date—1608—seems to refer to the voyage of Captain John Smith to the head of the Bay. Mr. Hanna means that the site was inhabited in locally prehistoric times.

The reader is referred to the first volume of "The Wilderness Trail" for information about Indian trails converging on Conestoga Town from the direction of the Delaware. Hann says that one of these trails connected Conestoga with the site of Philadelphia. The author has found, but not yet developed, a clue to the former existence of an Indian path leading to Conestoga through Cecil County. "Chestnut Levell," surveyed for Nicholas Highland, November 3rd, 1715, is described as lying in Cecil County, "beginning at a large bounded chestnut tree standing on a high hill and on the west side of Conastogo Road."

That Mr. Wright had often said, when he first came to those parts, that no person should settle on that side of the River without the Indians' consent." Reference has elsewhere been made (note 28) to a report sent to Governor Gordon in 1732 by Messrs. John Wright and Samuel Blunston, Justices of Lancaster County, in which the two magistrates give an account of the recent settlement of Cressap and others at Conejohela, and of various offenses which the Maryland men were supposed to have committed. Complaint is made that Cressap and his fellow-countrymen "killed the horses of such of our people whose trade with the Indians made it necessary to keep them on that side of the river for carrying their goods and skins, and assaulted and threatened to look after them. That this usage obliged James Patterson to apply to them for a warrant to apprehend and bind to the peace the two young men who had been most active, Daniel and William Low. . . . The affidavits showed that Patterson was informed that his horses were killed near Lowe's plantation (i. e. John Lowe), and that his sons said they would kill all the horses that came upon that land, and would tie and whip all he should send over thither. . . . That Lowe's house where his sons were taken is several miles more northerly than Philadelphia, which appears by a well-known line that had been run about forty years since on a due west course from the city to the Susquehanna" (i. e. a line run by Benjamin Chambers in 1688.)<sup>38</sup> It is evident, from the foregoing, that traders had been in the habit of keeping their pack-horses stabled at Conejohola, whence the horses could proceed westward into the wilderness without having to cross the Susquehanna; and we seem to be at liberty to infer that the trading route from the west came down to the river at this place. In "The Wilderness Trail," (Vol. 1, p. 151) Mr. Charles A. Hanna, having identified a town called "Dekanoagah" visited by Governor Evans of Pennsylvania in 1707,

<sup>38</sup> "The Wilderness Trail," p. 41. This line, as already stated, crossed the mouth of Conestoga Creek. Conejohola was four or five miles north of this line.

with Conejohola (which he says is Algonquin pronunciation) or Conejohera (Iroquois pronunciation, according to Hanna), says: "Here Martin Chartier had his trading post in 1717, and probably for some years before, after moving up the river from Pequehan, where his house stood in 1707." Trading posts, it should be remembered, were generally located at some strategic point on an Indian trail.

We have observed how the old Conestoga Road was "cleared" in 1733 from Conejohola to Peter Hance's or Hanse's. The question we must now decide is: where did Peter Hanse live?

A tract of land called "Breeches," laid out for John Williams, September 1st, 1729, is thus described: "beginning at a hickory standing nigh a branch running into Sam's Creek, which said creek runs into a creek called Little Pipe Creek near the plantation of Peter Hans and John Treddane."

All efforts to find any other reference to this Peter Hans (Hance or Hanse) have so far been in vain;<sup>39</sup> but the foregoing record is sufficient to prove that late in the year 1729 he had a plantation in what is now Carroll or Frederick County, near the junction of Sam's Creek and Little Pipe Creek.

Peter Hans and John Treddane were probably Indian traders, and it may have been because it was on the Conestoga Path that they settled on a site near the intersection of these two creeks. They were probably partners, or worked together for some master trader.<sup>40</sup> Treddane was the only one who owned

<sup>39</sup> Neither in the land records of Baltimore County, nor in those of Prince Georges County, could I find any evidence of his having bought land. Neither did he patent any. I also examined Provincial Court Deeds, and looked over Hanna's list of traders in "The Wilderness Trail."

<sup>40</sup> One is tempted to hazard a guess as to the identity of one "master trader" of those parts. The first land surveyed in upper or middle Carroll County (then Prince Georges), "Park Hall," 2680 acres, surveyed for James Carroll November 24th, 1727, is thus described: "lying on a branch of Monocacy called Little Pipe Creek, beginning at a large spring to the southward of the said creek not far from a path that leads to Hanstealmans Cabin . . ." This tract, according to Scarff, lies between New Windsor and Sam's Creek. It seems not improbable that the "cabin" referred to in the survey of "Park Hall" was a small trading post

any land. He surveyed on June 10th, 1729, a tract of 200 acres called "Kilfadda," which, according to Scharff ("History of Western Maryland") is part of the town of Union Bridge and of the farm of E. J. Penrose. This was the second tract laid out within the present limits of Carroll County north of the extreme southern part of the county. The plantation of Hans and Treddane was probably on some part of "Kilfadda." Treddane sold the tract to Alan Farquar on the 25th of August, 1734. (Prince Georges County Land Records, Liber T, f. 197.) If Treddane was a trader, he may have intended to move to wilder parts; for by 1734 numbers of settlers were beginning to come into the country around the headwaters of the Monocacy and its affluents.<sup>41</sup>

A stream called in early records "Hans's Branch," which descends into the north side of Little Pipe Creek, probably derived its name from Peter Hans. A tract called "Batchellor's Hall," surveyed for Alan Farquar June 8th, 1743, is described as beginning "at three white oaks standing on the south westerly side of Felixes or Henses branch, being a draught of Little Pipe Creek." "Winder's Addition to Batchellor's Hall," surveyed for George Winder August 7th, 1747, begins "at two bounded white oaks standing about forty perches from Hans's Branch, a draught of Little Pipe Creek." A tract called "White Gravel Spring," surveyed June 10th, 1744, begins "at three bounded white oaks standing near a branch

belonging to a famous trader, John Hans Steelman or Stillman, about whom the reader will find information in "The Wilderness Trail." Hanna quotes ("The Wilderness Trail," p. 39) a deposition of John Hans Steelman, taken in 1740, when he was eighty-five years of age. He was then living in Cecil County. He then testified that "he was acquainted with the greater part of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and well acquainted with the Bay of Chesapeake and the Susquehanna River" (for this deposition see *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, Vol. 16). There is certainly, moreover, a possibility worthy of consideration that the "path" here mentioned was the Conestoga Path.

<sup>41</sup>Both Treddane and Hans may have been located at this place well before 1729, and Treddane may have taken up the land he was living on to protect himself from having it surveyed by some other party, and to secure to himself the improvements he had made.

called Hans's Branch descending south westerly into Little Pipe Creek." The branch is evidently a northern branch of Little Pipe Creek, but the author has been unable to identify it.<sup>42</sup>

The evidence seems to be in favor of the conclusion that the place designated in the petition of Thomas Cressap as Peter Hanse's or Hance's was somewhere in the neighborhood of the modern Union Bridge, and that the Conestoga Path ran between this place and Conejohola. Consideration, however, ought to be given to the fact that some three years and nine months elapsed between the date of the first and only reference to the plantation of Peter Hans at the mouth of Sam's Creek and the date of Cressap's petition. In this interval Hans, who owned no land, may have taken up his abode somewhere else. We shall see, however, that there are other reasons for believing that the Conestoga Path or Road did pass through this section or somewhere near it.

After the old Conestoga Road had been converted into a county road we find a number of early references to it in the descriptions of surveys taken up in various places. Some of these references lead to the supposition that the whole of the Conestoga Path or Road in Maryland was thus converted to the uses of settlers.<sup>43</sup>

A tract of 372 acres called "Providence" surveyed for John Lowe August 7th, 1735, is described as lying in the "Reserve" as laid out for Lord Baltimore, 1722, "on the west side of Susquehanna River northward of a line extended west from that part of the said river which is opposite to and over against the mouth of Conestoga Creek (i. e. in the most northern "Reserve" on the west side of the river), beginning at a

<sup>42</sup> Other tracts laid out on Hans's Branch include the following: "Michael's Fancy," surveyed for Michael Foutz, 1745; "Mire's Pleasure," surveyed for Adam Mires, 1745; "The Level Spring," surveyed for John Bragilton, Feb. 14, 1746/7; "Lewis's Forfeit," surveyed for William Lewis, 1755.

<sup>43</sup> The author has not been able to examine the County Court Proceedings of Prince Georges County, which might yield information on this point.

bounded white oak standing on a hill near the Wagon Road leading from Susquehannah towards Potomack." The author has unfortunately been unable to locate this tract, which now lies in York County.<sup>44</sup>

A tract called "Ludwick's New Mills," 100 acres, surveyed for Ludwick Shriver May 10th, 1734, is described thus: "lying in Baltimore County on a creek called Connewangur (Conewago) Creek, beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the east side of the said creek a small distance to the southward of the Waggon Road leading from Connestogoe to Monockocy and not far from the aforesaid creek." The author has not succeeded in locating this tract.

A tract called "The Forest" surveyed April 9th, 1734, for John Magruder, is described as follows: "beginning at a bounded hickory standing about half a mile above the Wagon Road that goes from Conestoga to Opeckin (where it) crosses a creek called Ketankin (Catoctin) Creek which falls into Potomack River about six miles above Manocacy."<sup>45</sup> Opequon is the name of a place in Frederick County, Virginia, near Winchester, and of a large creek descending into Potomac River some miles above Harper's Ferry. This record is very important, in that it indicates that the Conestoga Road passed entirely through Maryland, and that its ultimate destinations were not less distant from one another than the parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia which lie around Conestoga and Opequon, respectively.

A tract called "Forest of Needwood," 300 acres, surveyed for Captain Thomas Cressap June 4th, 1739, is thus described:

"John Lowe sold this tract May 21st, 1740, to John Henthorne of Baltimore County (Provincial Court Deeds, Liber E. I. No. 3, f. 135). Lowe was then a citizen of Prince William County, Va. On May 3rd, 1745, Henthorne sold part of this tract to Mathew Smiser, and the remainder to James Henthorne.

<sup>45</sup>Magruder also surveyed a tract called "Kitainkin Bottom," laid out for him January 1st, 1731, and described as beginning "at a bounded hickory standing at the mouth of a creek called Ketankin alias Simons Creek, which falls into Potomack about ten miles above Monocacy." This is one of the earliest references to Catoctin Creek.



“beginning at a bounded white oak standing on a draft of Connegochego Creek (Conococheague Creek) on the west side of the Waggon Road that leads from Potomack River to Susquehanna.” This was probably not the Conestoga Road.<sup>46</sup>

On William Mayo's map of the courses of the Rivers Rappahannock and Potomac, surveyed in the years 1736-1737, (reproduced in “The Wilderness Trail,” Vol. 1, p. 156) a place on Potomac River about twenty-two miles above the mouth of Monocacy River is marked: “Wagon Road to Philadelphia.” This, I believe, may be the place where the Conestoga Road

<sup>46</sup> Various references to early Western Maryland roads may be not without historical interest, even if they do not help us to solve our present problems. We present the following:

“The Forest,” surveyed for Osborn Sprigg, May 28th, 1734, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing at the head of a small branch on the north side of Conegochiay Road near the Shanandore Mountains.”

“Pile Hall,” surveyed for Richard Sprigg, April 13th, 1734, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing near Israel Friend's Mill Road and near where the said road crosses a hill called Kittawkin” (evidently Catoctin Mountain).

“Antietom Levell,” surveyed for Joseph Dobudge, December 1st, 1748, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing in the Lock of the Mountain on the east side of a draught of Antietom and near Cartlidges old Road.”

“The Hazard,” surveyed for Evan Shelby, October 23, 1739, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing on a draft of Little Conegocheige Creek within two poles of the Allegain Road.”

“Meadow Land,” surveyed for James Wardrop, April 14th, 1744, begins “at a bounded red oak tree standing on the top of a Rising near a place called the Dryhole about a mile to the east of the big Road that leads from Pennsylvania to the mouth of Conegocheeg.”

“Smiths Hills,” surveyed for Dr. George Stuart, December 27th, 1739, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the side of a hill within a quarter of a mile of the Waggon Road that crosses Anteatom.”

“Dutch Delight,” surveyed for Dr. Geo. Stuart, October 21st, 1739, “beg. at a bounded white oak standing on the side of a hill within a mile and a half of Conegocheige Creek and close by the Waggon Road.”

“Charlton's Forest,” surveyed for Edward Charlton, 1738, lies on Little Connegochego Creek on “Coburn's Road.” “Maidens Choice,” surveyed for Evan Shelby, 1739, lies on North Mountain on “Coleburn's Road.” “Rich Land,” surveyed for ditto, 1739, lies on “Connegochego Creek” on “Harris's Wagon Road.” This tract adjoins “Forest of Needwood.”

“The Vinyard,” surveyed for Dr. George Stuart, December 17th, 1739, begins “at a bounded red oak standing on the west side of Antietom Creek within the (?) poles of Conegocheig Road crosses the said creek.”

crossed the Potomac.<sup>47</sup> It is about six miles below the mouth of Opequon Creek.

A tract called "Mackey's Choice," surveyed for John Mackey August 28th, 1748, and patented to Thomas Bettey, is described as follows: "beginning at a bounded black oak standing on the north west side of a draught of Little Pipe Creek about thirty perches northward of the Conagastoga Waggon Road and about two miles northward of the aforesaid creek."<sup>48</sup>

In his "History of Western Maryland," (Vol. 1, Frederick County, p. 436) Scharf, quoting from the Court Proceedings of Prince Georges and Frederick Counties, says:

"A new road (the old one being very crooked and stopped up by falling trees) was ordered to be laid out (the date is May 14th, 1749) from Monocacy ford leading to Lancaster, crossing his Lordship's Manor, Little Pipe Creek and Great Pipe Creek to the temporary line of the province." The essential part of the foregoing appears to be quoted from the original record.

Scharf quotes another record from the proceedings of the court of Frederick County, March, 1779, as follows:

<sup>47</sup>The author has found two references to early ferries of the upper Potomac:

"Anteatom Bottom," surveyed for John Moore, August 4th, 1739, begins "at a bounded hickory standing near Samuel Haylor's ferry by the side of Potomack River."

"Mountain," surveyed for Joseph Chaplin, September 27th, 1745, begins "at a bounded white oak tree standing on the side of a hill on the west side of Shenondore Mountain near the road that leads from Monocacy to Teague's Ferry."

<sup>48</sup>In a survey called "Dispatch" laid out for Daniel Dulany, 1743, a road is mentioned which may have been the Conestoga Road. This tract lies "on the east side of Big Pipe Creek and on the south side of the Wagon Road that leads from Pipe Creek to Conewago."

On September 24th, 1744, a tract of land was "reserved" for Lord Baltimore contained within the following bounds: "From where the Waggon Road from Connewango crosses Monocacy up the River to Pine Creek, then up and with Pine Creek six miles, and from thence to the aforesaid Road and down and with the said Road to Monocacy" (Plats, Division 4, No. 22, Land Record Office, Annapolis). A creek called Piney Creek empties into the east side of Monocacy River several miles above the mouth of Double Pipe Creek.

“The justices ascertained the following roads to be the main roads of Frederick County, and appointed the several persons following overseers of the same: From the road from Monocacy Ford, where John Hussey lived, that leads to Lancaster and from Monocacy, crossing my Lord’s Manor, crossing Little Pipe Creek to Great Pipe Creek, and from Great Pipe Creek to the Temporary Line of the Province. Lower part to Henry Smith’s branch; from thence to John Carnack’s; thence with a straight line to Linganore—Joseph Wood. Upper part from Great Pipe Creek to the temporary line—Joseph Sparks.”

To sum up the results of the evidence just presented regarding the Conestoga Path or Road: although there seems to be the very best reason for believing that the road crossed the valleys of Great and of Little Pipe Creek, and that it forded the latter in the neighborhood of Union Bridge, opinions should be reserved until further evidence is found. Between such relatively distant points as Conejoholo and the Potomac a single point mid-way, though fairly certain, is not sufficient for tracing a road. If we could but locate the ford on the Monocacy “near one Albine’s plantation,” we might then, with sufficient accuracy, trace the course of the road through Maryland. The location of John Magruder’s tract on Catoctin Creek awaits investigation. Once this is found, the problem will at least be nearer solution. To ascertain the situations of “Ludwick’s New Mills” and of “Providence” is also of high importance.

Historians of Frederick County, Maryland, and of York County, Pennsylvania, have much to say regarding a road called the “Monocacy Road” which crossed these counties and which, they claim, was of Indian origin.

In his “History and Biographical Record of Frederick County” Mr. T. J. C. Williams makes the following statement with regard to this road: “Long before there were any settlements in Frederick County parties of Germans passed through it going from Pennsylvania to seek homes in Virginia. The principal route for these people, coming as they did from Lancaster County, was over a pack horse or Indian road crossing

the present counties of York and Adams to the Monocacy, where it passed into Maryland, thence across Maryland through Crampton's Gap, crossing the Potomac at several fords." Speaking of the town of Monocacy, which he identifies with Craegerstown, Mr. Williams says that the town was situated on the Monocacy Road. "This road was constructed by the governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania portion leading from Wrightsville or Wright's Ferry to the Maryland line, and that portion which crossed Maryland, leading from the line to the Potomac, was ordered by the Maryland Assembly. This road followed an old Indian trail and was the main highway from the east to the uplands of Virginia." "The Monocacy Road crossed the Monocacy at Poe's Ford." (History of Frederick County, pp. 2-3.)

John Gibson says in his "History of York County" (p. 231) that the Monocacy Road was an Indian trail "which extended across the territory now embraced in York County, to Western Maryland and Virginia." East of the Susquehanna, between Wright's Ferry and Lancaster, this trail, according to Gibson, was made into a county road in 1734. West of the Susquehanna, between Wright's Ferry and the Temporary Line, the road was converted into a county road in 1739.

Daniel Rupp, in his "History of York and Lancaster Counties," says that the Monocacy Road was "viewed" and located in 1739-1740. He quotes in full the original survey, which differs from the survey as quoted by Gibson in one important fact: Rupp's quotation ends with the words "to the Monocacy Road at the province line." These words are omitted by Gibson.

The explanation may be that the Monocacy Road, as Gibson says, was already in existence before 1739, but that the road surveyed in 1739-1740 did not follow it all the way, but intersected it at the Temporary Line. This "Monocacy Road" may explain some of the roads we meet with in early Western Maryland surveys.

An intimation of the existence of this road before 1739 seems to exist in a record quoted by Rupp ("History of York and

Lancaster Counties," p. 555) concerning Thomas Cressap: "Thomas Cressap declares he is waiting for armed men from Maryland to take prisoners all those who lived between John Wright's Ferry and Codorus Creek, because they refused to acknowledge themselves tenants to Lord Baltimore, 'and that then and till then he would waylay both the roads in order to take them.'" The date is 1736. Cressap may have been referring to the Monocacy Road and to the Conestoga Road.

On Scull's Map of Pennsylvania, 1770, the Monocacy Road is shown. The road crosses into Maryland not far above the junction of Alloway Creek and Monocacy River.

In his "First Settlements of Germans in Maryland" Schultz shows the location of Poe's Ford on Monocacy River slightly below Craegerstown, and says that the old Monocacy Road crossed the river at this ford, and that traces of the old road were still to be seen some years since.

It will be evident to anyone who will examine a map of this region, that the Monocacy Road mentioned by Schultz and Williams as crossing the Monocacy at Poe's Ford cannot be the same road as that shown on Scull's map, but it probably is the road laid out in 1739-1740 to the Temporary Line.<sup>49</sup> This road crossed the sites of York and Hanover.

Although it is possible that the upper Monocacy Road was of Indian origin, or followed the general direction of an Indian trail, the question must be left undecided until better evidence is forthcoming.

<sup>49</sup> The "Old Monocacy Road" alluded to by these writers may be the same as that mentioned in a survey called "Jack of the Green" surveyed for Edmond Purdy, November 26th, 1741, "beginning at a bounded black oak . . . standing on the side of a nole to the south side of old Monocacy road." This tract was resurveyed for Samuel Farmer, October 10th, 1751, and called "Samuel's Chance." It then lay in Frederick County. I have been unable to locate it.

Another road of this name (or possibly the same road) is discovered in a survey called "Rich Plains," laid out for Mathew Pigman, Feb. 8th, 1745, "beginning at two bounded spanish oak saplins on a ridge between two branches of Sineca about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile north of the Old Minorcocee Road commonly called Pybon's Old Road." This tract now lies in Montgomery County.

Indications of the former existence of an Indian road which crossed what is now Montgomery County and the lower part of Frederick County are found in a number of eighteenth-century surveys of that region. The eastern origin of the road can only be suspected; but there is proof that it went to Monocacy River, probably to the mouth of that stream.<sup>50</sup> Possibly it established a connection with the Conestoga Path somewhere beyond Monocacy River.

The following surveys contain references to this Indian road:

“Scotch Ordinary,” surveyed August 10th, 1715, for Alexander Arthur, “beginning at a bounded black oak standing on a stony knowle by an Indian path near the head of a Deep Run which falls into Potomack River about two miles below the first falls right against an island of rocks.”

“The Deer Park,” surveyed for Ralph Crabb April 19th, 1722, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing in a glade of ye Muddy Branch (now Muddy Creek) a little to ye eastward of the Indian path.”

“Flint’s Groves,” surveyed for John Flint July 4th, 1722, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the head of a glade of a branch on the west side of Sinacor Creek not far from the Indian path.”

“Partnership,” surveyed for Charles Diggs and John Bradford April 16th, 1728, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the south side of one of the branches of the main branch of Sinicor Creek known by the name of the Lick Branch near an Indian path.”

<sup>50</sup> There was probably a ford near the mouth of Monocacy. A tract called “Partnership” resurveyed for Thomas Gittings, June 15th, 1742, begins “at a bounded white oak standing near the Upper Ford on the west side of Monocacy.” The original “Partnership” surveyed for Thomas Gittings and Samuel Magruder, September 25th, 1730, bounded on “Carrollton,” and hardly lies very far above the mouth of the river. “Welsh Tract,” surveyed for Meredith Davis, April 10th, 1728, begins “at a bounded white oak on the west side of Monocacy near the Upper Ford.” “Gunders Delight,” surveyed for Gunder Errickson, March 5th, 1725/6, begins “at a bounded hickory standing on the lower side of Monocacy River a little below the Middle Ford.”

“Buxton’s Delight,” surveyed for John Buxton October 17th, 1732, “beginning at a bounded red oak standing near the head of a glade of Sinnicar and in the main forks of the said branch about three miles above the Indian path.”

“The Fork Grubby Hills,” surveyed for Cornelius Eltinge July 1st, 1732, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing at a plain in the main fork of Sinicar below the Indian path.”

“Retreat,” surveyed for John Hughes May 30th, 1748, “beginning at a bounded maple standing on the south side of Great Seneca Creek near the Indian Ford.”

“Gray Rock,” surveyed for John Hughes June 3d, 1743, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the north side of Main Seneca about 200 yards below a foard called the old Indian foard and about 60 yards from the said Seneca.”

“Abraham’s Choice,” surveyed for Abraham Neighbour October 27th, 1740, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the south side of Middle Sinica Creek, and on a small draft that runs into the said creek, and near the old Indian road that leads throw the White Ground <sup>51</sup> to Manocacy.”

“Jeremiah’s Park,” surveyed April 17th, 1739, for Jeremiah Hays, “beginning at the end of the 13th line of a tract of land called Hanover <sup>52</sup> near a bounded black oak standing on a hill side above the Indian road that leads to Manocacy.”

“Ray’s Venture,” surveyed for Luke Ray March 22d, 1743, “beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the south side of Little Monocacy near the mouth of a small branch which the old Indian road crosses.” <sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> “Grubby Street,” surveyed for Peter Dent, Jr., February 3rd, 1743, begins “at a bounded red oak standing on the side of a hill about 100 yards from a Rocky Branch and on the north side of the said branch which falls into Middle Sinica Creek near the White Ground.”

<sup>52</sup> “Hanover,” surveyed for Dr. Patrick Hepburn, March 16th, 1722, begins “in the fork of one of the branches of Sinacor Creek.”

<sup>53</sup> It is possible that the Indian road or path mentioned in the above surveys may have been the same as that to which a survey in Charles County called “Barkland” refers. This survey, laid out for James Biggars in 1694, is described as lying “on the west side of Patuxent River in the forkes of Williams Branch yt comes out of the branch at Zachia, beginning at a bounded hickory near ye Indian path side.”

In concluding this series of articles the author feels obliged to make some apology for the extreme dullness and tediousness of his narrative. Where so much remains uncertain it is necessary to prove what one can, and the slightest evidence is not negligible in the face of so much uncertainty. Only by long and tedious effort, no narration of which can possibly be interesting; only by collecting here and there a fragment and by piecing the fragments slowly together, can a phrase, perhaps a line, of the lost, and for the most part irrecoverable, epic of the wilderness be regained from mystery and oblivion.

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### ADDENDA

Several new facts and bits of information, which have a bearing upon the theme of this article or its allied subjects, were discovered by the author after the manuscript had gone to press.

The most important of these was the discovery of an early reference to the Conestoga Road in a survey called "Brotherly Love," laid out for William Logsdon May 22d, 1730. This land is described as beginning "at two bounded white oaks in the fork of a branch descending into Conewaaga, and about twenty perches from a Road which leads from the said Logsdon's to Conestoga Road. . . ." The creek here mentioned is Conewago Creek, the creek on which the town of Hanover is situated. This land now lies in York County, Pennsylvania, and the author is ignorant of its exact location. This reference is important in that its date is several years earlier than the "clearing" or opening up of the old Conestoga Road by Captain Thomas Cressap. It is, in point of date, the second reference we have found to the Conestoga Road west of the Susquehanna River.

The trader, John Hans Steelman, appears under an extraordinary variety of names in the *Maryland Archives*. He is called "Captain Hanstilman," "John Hanstillman," "Captain John Hanstilman," "Captain John Hance," "John Hance," "Hans Tilman," "Captain John Hans Tilman" and



“Captain Hans”; but he signs himself “John Vrans Saelmans. (*Maryland Archives*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 93, 94, 95, 99, 234, 303, 304, 391, 426, 431, 444; Vol. xxv, pp. 104, 106, 131, 379, 380; Vol. xxxviii, 418.) He was naturalized in October, 1695. (*Maryland Archives*, xix, p. 281.) He is later (1698) described as “Interpreter in Chiefe for the Northern Parts of this Province.” (*Archives*, Vol. xxiii, p. 428.) He was sometimes called upon to give information about the numbers and places of residence of the Susquehannoughs, Delawares and Senecas. (*Maryland Archives*, Vol. xix, p. 520.) In 1700 he presented a bill for his expenses incurred in going to “Kanes-toga” (Conestoga), and in 1702 he was again appointed to go to Conestoga. (*Archives*, xxiii, pp. 106, 131.) In 1697 Captain Steelman reports that “the Susquehannahs and Delawares and Shevanoes doe taken themselves and are inclinable to be under this province because of their hunting within the same betwixt Susquehannah and Potomoke.” (*Maryland Archives*, xix, p. 520.) Captain Steelman resided in Cecil County.

The reader of this article, whose mind may for the moment be occupied with the Conestoga Path or Road, on which we have lately laid so much emphasis, may need to be reminded of evidences we have elsewhere produced to show the existence of an Indian path for trade, hunting and war, which led across the Fork of Gunpowder River near tidewater, and went to Potomac River. This must have been one of the Susquehanna-Potomac trails in use when Captain Steelman made his deposition.

Proof that John Hans Steelman or “Hansteelman” was acquainted with the Monocacy country is furnished by a letter written by John Bradford to Colonel Addison of Prince George County, and read by Colonel Addison before the Council February 21st, 1721/2. (*Maryland Archives*, xxv, p. 379-380.) The letter concerns the murder of an Indian. It is of the more interest to us because it shows, what we might pardonably have inferred, but not otherwise known, that Conestoga traders were in the habit of visiting Monocacy to trade:

“Sir: I am honored with yours dated this day by Mr. Fraser that the great Sinicar Indian by the best account I can have was killed at Monocasey about ten days past by John Cartlidge of Conestogoe who was in Company with his Brother Edmund Cartlidge the way he murdered him was by making a violent stroke at his head with the Indians own gun and drove the head of the Cock into his Brains, the reasons of this Fact were, because the said Indian would not buy their Rum which they brought there to sell, the informers are John Hans Steelman Junior and some Indians who came soon after down to the Sugar Lands the two Cartledges are undoubtedly returned to Conestogoe where they have their Families and very good Settlements soon after the Indian was dead they pack'd up their goods and travailed homewards I am since informed that Captain John Hans Steelman is come to Monocasey and hath sent for his son (who is gone back) to him from the Sugar lands whither he is fled for fear of the Indians the Frontier Inhabitants are altogether incapable of making any defence, having neither powder nor Ball I have sent what little I had by me to the Sugar Lands some Indians say that if the murtherer is brought to Justice the Sinicars will require no more.” Etc., Etc.

The place called the Sugar Lands lay on Potomac River between Broad Run and Seneca Creek, and extended back some distance. It appears to have been a belt of heavily timbered rich land. Probably the earliest mention of this place is in a survey called “Brightwell's Hunting Quarter” laid out August 29th, 1695, for Captain Richard Brightwell “about twenty miles above the falls of Potomack River on the land called the Sugar land.” In 1697 Captain Brightwell made a report of his “ranging” between Potomac River and the headwaters of Patuxent. (*Archives*, Vol. xxiii, p. 261.) In this report he mentions the Sugar Lands. Captain Brightwell then commanded a fort called “New Scotland,” which appears to have been situated at the Falls of Potomac River.

It must be evident to the reader that the “Hanstealmans Cabin” mentioned in the survey of “Park Hall,” 1727, was

probably nothing else than a trading-post belonging to the famous trader. Whether Peter Hance (Hance or Hans) was his son or a relative; whether the "path" mentioned in the survey of "Park Hall" was the Conestoga Path, are questions we are not yet at liberty to decide, but should certainly bear in mind.

Edmond Cartledge afterwards settled in Maryland. A tract called "Marsh Head," surveyed for Readman Fullings September 1st, 1737, is described as beginning "at a bounded white oak standing at the head of a marsh or spring and about two miles from the now dwelling plantation of Mr. Edmond Cartledge." This tract is probably now in Washington County, if not in the western part of Frederick. Reference has elsewhere been made to a road called "Cartledge's Old Road."

What appears to be an early reference to Opequon Creek is found in *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XIX, p. 566. The date is June, 1697:

"Major William Barton gives the following account in writing under his hands thus vizt:

"That pursuant to the order of his Excellency and Council he went into Virginia where the Emperor of Piscattaway and the Indians under his command doe now resort betwixt the two first mountaines above the head of occoquan River lying neare sixty or seventy miles beyond the Inhabitants where they have made a Forte in that manner and left the Province. . . ."

The invasion of the Opequon country by white settlers is treated in an article called "Early Westward Movement of Virginia" in the *Virginia Historical Magazine*, Vols. XI, XII, XIII. This invasion appears to have begun about 1730 or a few years later. There is little doubt that the Germans, who made up so substantial a part of this Settlement, came down from the north over the Conestoga Road.

On Fry and Jefferson's map of Maryland and Virginia, published in 1751, a road called "The Great Wagon Road to Philadelphia" is shown, which leads from Philadelphia west-

ward through Lancaster and York to Frederick Town or Winchester in Virginia and beyond to the southward. This road crosses the headwater branches of Monocacy and Antietam, and it crosses the Potomac at Williams's Ferry, some little distance above the mouth of Opequon (there called Opekan) Creek. This is undoubtedly the same road as that shown on Scull's map of Pennsylvania, 1770, and called thereon "Monocacy Road." It is not the Conestoga Road. Another road marked "Philadelphia Wagon Road" is shown crossing the Potomac about mid-way between the mouth of Opequon Creek and Harper's Ferry, and not far above the mouth of Antietam Creek. This is no doubt the road shown on Mayo's earlier (1736-1737) map, to which we have lately referred, and which we would identify with the Conestoga-Opequon Road.

A reference to William's Ferry (now Williamsport) earlier than that on Fry and Jefferson's map is in an unpatented certificate (Prince George County, unpatented certificate No. 332) of a tract surveyed for Jonathan Simmons June 13th, 1746, called "Shinell's Bottom" described as "lying in the manor of Conegocheeg," "beginning at a bounded hickory standing on the Banck of Potomack River at the head of a Bottom in the said manor and near a place called Williams's Ferry."

The author is indebted to Mrs. William Hyde Talbott of Rockville, Md., for knowledge of the Fry and Jefferson map and for the loan of a photostat copy.

The sites of the Shawnee towns on Potomac River are shown on Mayo's map of 1736-1737.

A tract called "Clovin," surveyed for Philamon Lloyd and Dr. Charles Carroll, December 3d, 1724, containing 10,790 acres, is described as beginning "at two bounded white oaks standing on the north-east side of a small branch which descends into a large run that descends into a creek called Linganoa Creek that falls into Monocacy." It will be remembered that this creek is called "Linganoa Creek" in the survey of "Carrollsbury," November 10th, 1724. Here we appear to have evidence as to the correct pronunciation of the Indian name of

this creek (unless by any possible chance it could be Irish?) "Clovin" was overlooked by the author in his search for early surveys on the Monocacy.

In 1728 Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania and his Council held a meeting at Conestoga. The Conestoga Indians promised the Governor that they would visit him after harvest, saying that he might then "look up the Conestoga Road and expect them." They referred, of course, to a road between Philadelphia and Conestoga. ("Authentic History of Lancaster County," by J. M. Mombert, p. 109.)

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## SEVEN PIONEERS OF THE COLONIAL EASTERN SHORE

ROBERT VAUGHAN, JOSEPH WICKES, THOMAS HYNSON,  
JAMES RINGGOLD, AUGUSTINE HERMAN, RICHARD TILGHMAN,  
AND SIMON WILMER.

PERCY G. SKIRVEN.

(Continued from Vol. XV, p. 251.)

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### PART II.

The fifth one of the "pioneers," Augustine Herman, a Bohemian, was born in Prague, and came to America to make his fortune. He died in Cecil County, Maryland, at "Bohemian Manor," his estate situated on the Bohemia River.

This brilliant man, from the central European country of Austria-Hungary, brought to America all the energy and careful training that men of rank in that country attained in those days. He was a surveyor by profession, a skilled geographer and a draftsman of no mean ability. His business acumen is attested by the large estate of which he became possessed and by the public positions which he held in the New Netherlands, and in Maryland.

As Augustine Herman made a statement to the Provincial Assembly of Maryland in 1663, four years after he first came

to the Province, when he petitioned that body to issue to him and his family naturalization papers, I shall give the official record which is in part as follows:

“Augustine Herman born at Prague in Bohemia and that Ephriam Georgius and Casparus sons to the said Augustine, Anna Margareta, Judith and Francina daughters to the said Augustine, were born at New York, out of the limits of this Province.” It further states that they have “for many years inhabited within this Province invited hither by and confidence of your Lordship’s Declaration of the 2nd of July, 1649.”<sup>25</sup>

Augustine Herman was the son of Augustine Ephraim Herman, Councilman of Prague, Bohemia, and his wife Beatrice Redel, daughter of Casper Redel, also of Prague. He was born in Prague in 1605, and settled in New Amsterdam in 1643. There, on December 10, 1651 he married Janetje, the daughter of Caspar and Judith Varlet. She was born in Utrecht in the Netherlands. Their children were Ephraim G., Casparus, Anna Margareta, Judith and Francina.

“Augustyn” Herman settled in New Amsterdam, now New York City in 1643,<sup>26</sup> and spent some years in the service of the Dutch West Indian Company. As he was a highly educated man he soon became one of the officials of the Dutch Settlement on the Hudson River and was looked upon as a very dependable citizen of that Colony.

Trouble having arisen between the Government of the New Netherlands and the Lord Proprietary of Maryland over the jurisdiction of the settlements on the Delaware River, it was determined by the Dutch at New Amsterdam to send a protest to Governor Fendall of Maryland and at the same time send soldiers down to “New Amstel,” now New Castle, Delaware, to prepare for any trouble that might arise from the protest.

Peter Stuyvesant was Governor of the New Netherlands and on September the 20th, 1659, he sent as “Embassadors” to Maryland, Augustine Herman and Resolved Waldron. Ac-

<sup>25</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. II, p. 144, also Kilty’s *Landholders’ Assistant*, p. 47.

<sup>26</sup> Appleton’s *Encyclopedia American Biography*.

companying them to "South River," as the Dutch then called the Delaware, were the one hundred soldiers previously mentioned. From there on the two Embassadors travelled alone, and it was a very adventurous trip according to Augustine Herman's "journal" in which he kept an account of each day's progress and the principal incidents that occurred. His journal is printed with the public documents pertaining to the business between the two colonies in the Holland Records under the title of "New York Colonial Manuscripts."

On the 22nd of September the Embassadors reached the Elk River and continued down to the mouth of the Sassafras where they spent the night with a Mr. Turner. The next day, quoting from Augustine Herman's journal, "We reached toward evening (they had a very leaky boat, by the way!) the northern end of Kent Island and took up our quarters with *Captain Wykes (Wickes)* who resided on the point (Love Point) and who is one of three magistrates of Kent Island." In later years there is reason to believe that Augustine Herman always spent a night with Joseph Wickes when on his way to and from the Maryland Capitol, both at the Love Point Plantation and later at "Wickliffe" when Capt. Joseph Wickes built his home on Eastern Neck Island and took his family there to live.

From Captain Wickes Augustine Herman hired a sail boat and two men to row it should the breeze fail them. The next morning they set sail and reached the Severn River, spending the night at the house of "the father-in-law of Godfried Harmer the Indian trader." Captain Wickes went with them. On the following morning, Sunday, Septéber 25th, 1659, he left them at the Severn. Augustine Herman and Waldron proceeded down the Chesapeake, reaching the Plantation of Major Billingsley at the Cliffs in Calvert County where they spent the night. On Monday, late in the evening, they reached the house of Mr. Coursey in the Patuxent River. Mr. Coursey extended to them the hospitality of a true Marylander and they spent the night with him, discussing their mission during the evening. The next morning they sent Captain Wickes' boat

back to Kent Island and "marched afoot overland nine English miles to the house of the Secretary," (Mr. Philip Calvert) with whom they talked of their mission for a short time and then went on to Mr. Symon Overzee's home across the creek to spend the night.

"Wednesday morning Mr. Overzee having invited Mr. Philip Calvert to dine he came, being the next neighbor, early in the afternoon to visit us. We asked him to inform Governor Fendall of our coming so that we could have an audience and be dismissed without delay." The following day "we drew up our proposal which we thought best to do in English in order to bring matters to a speedy conclusion." On Friday Mr. Calvert stated he had communicated with the Governor by letter. He also invited us to dine with him on Sunday. Nothing occurred on Saturday and on Sunday we were accompanied by Mr. Overzee to Secretary Calvert's Dinner." "After the cloth was removed we talked about his charts or maps of the country of which he laid on the table two that were engraved and one in manuscript." Though they became angry in discussing the rights of their respective governments "they parted with expressions of friendship." "On Wednesday, October the 5th, in the evening about sunset we received in answer a written invitation from Mr. Philip Calvert from the Governor and Council that we should have an audience at the house of Mr. Bateman sending with this view two horses to convey us there."

"The following morning we took our departure from Mr. Overzee's for Mr. Bateman's at Patuxent being about 18 or 20 English miles. We reached there in the afternoon. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon arrived Gov. Josias Fendall with Mr. Philip Calvert and the councillors [Capt. Wm. Stone, Thos. Gerrard, Col. Nathaniel Utie, Edward Lloyd, Luke Barber and Baker Brooks] who having welcomed us and after we had complimented them on the part of our Director General of the New Netherlands, Petrus Stuyvesant, thanked us cordially. Dinner being ready, the Governor said he would give us an audience after we had dined and sitting down to the table they placed



me beside the Governor on his left hand; on his right sat Mr. Philip Calvert, the Secretary, and next to him Resolved Waldron and so on the other members of the Council around the table. During the dinner a varied conversation was held."

"The cloth being removed we were invited to audience. We delivered first our letters of credence which Governor Fendall opened and seeing that they were written in Dutch he had Mr. Overzee called in to translate them." In the Archives of Maryland mention is made of this incident, and it is stated "they (the credentials) being in Dutch, Mr. Overzee *Englished* them."

Continuing from Augustine Herman's journal he says in part, "having stated the purport of the paper Mr. Overzee was translating, we proceeded to deliver our speech in English by way of a declaration and manifest which for this purpose we had previously committed to paper. We gave the Secretary the original and with him made a duplicate which was, after being read with the original signed and exchanged for the duplicate which was signed and exchanged."

"We spent the evening in talking with the several members over a glass of wine." They were told that Lord Baltimore was the last resort in discussing and settling the matter. "I had," says Mr. Herman, "a private conversation with Governor Fendall who expressed himself as friendly and would prefer to live in peace than to live in hostility and war. The next day, October 7th, after breakfast the Governor and council showed us Lord Baltimore's Patent. We requested a copy regarding the jurisdiction when we should answer it. We were then allowed to make an exact copy of it ourselves. Meanwhile the Governor and Council went on to hold their court at the next town whilst we drew up on paper a written refutation of the boundary jurisdiction as set forth in the Patent. The Governor and Council returned in the afternoon and supper being over we delivered the above mentioned answer in writing having read the same aloud."

In the "refutation" they stated that the King in granting this Charter to Lord Baltimore had been misled by Lord Bal-

timore's statement that the country was uninhabited save by a *certain Barbarous people, the Indians* whereas "our South River of old called Nassau River of the New Netherlands (by the English surnamed Delaware) was taken up . . . *from the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces* long before! Therefore in his Royal Majestie's intention and Justice not to have given and granted that part of a Country which before was taken in possession and seated by the subjects of the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces as is declared and manifested heretofore. Soe that the claim my Lord Baltimore's Patent (Charter) speakes of to Delaware Bay or a part thereof, in several other respects and punctuallity is invalid. Of which we desire that notice be taken—Actum as above.

(Signed) Augustine Herman,  
(Signed) Resolved Waldron."

Continuing with Augustine Herman's journal he says: "whereupon we perceived a change and the Governor made his defence and demanded a view of our Patent of New Netherlands. We stated we had none to show and that we had come to prepare for *future* meetings of Deputies of both sides, then to dispose of the point, etc., etc. On the following morning the answer was read to us who were called in for the purpose."

The answer in part is as follows: <sup>27</sup>

"Honorable Lords:

"We have received your letter of credence by the hand of Seniors Augustine Herman and Resolved Waldron your Embassadors. Wherein we find many expression of love and amity so we account ourselves obliged to return to you real thanks in unfolding the causes of that which it seems hath been the reason of your astonishment and wonder, and as the matter shall permit give you that satisfaction which with reason you can expect and which we likewise shall exact from you in the

<sup>27</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. III, p. 376.

rendering to us as substitutes of the Right Honorable Cecilius, Lord Baron of Baltimore, Lord Proprietary of this Province of Maryland, that part of his Lordship's Province lying in Delaware Bay to us entrusted and by you, as it seems, injuriously seated (settled) in prejudice to his Lordship's just right and title.

“For answer therefore unto your demands by your said agents made:—We say that Colonel Utie was by us in persuance of a command from the Right Honorable the Lord Proprietary ordered to make his repair to a certain people seated upon Delaware Bay, within the 40th Degree of north latitude from the Equinoctial Line, to let them know that they were residing within our jurisdiction without our knowledge much more without our licence without grant of land from or oath of fidelity to his Lordship taken, etc., etc.”

The next day, October 9th, 1659, “The Embassadors being come the letter was signed by the Governor, and by the appointment of the Council, by the Secretary in their name and dated vizt.:

“Given at Patuxent the 9th of October, 1659, and soe delivered to the said Embassadors.”

The delivering of the above paper to Augustine Herman and Resolved Waldron terminated the “negotiations.” Continuing with Augustine Herman's “journal”:

“Next morning, Sunday, October 9th, their Honor's answer fairly written out by the Secretary was placed in our hands, so we took a friendly leave.”

They returned that afternoon, with Mr. Calvert, to Mr. Overzee's and the next day “prepared to dispatch Resolved Waldron to the South (Delaware) River and the Manhattans (New York).” I quote further from his journal: “Tuesday, October 11th, sent off Resolved Waldron on his return *overland* with the reports, papers and documents respecting our negotiations, and I set out for Virginia to ascertain the opinion of the Governor concerning this matter and thus to create some diversion

*between them both, also to clear ourselves, (the Dutch on the Hudson), of the slander which some people seek to attach to us that we had excited the Indians to massacre the English at Accomac."*

In his report of the meeting at Patuxent which he sent to Governor Stuyvesant by Resolved Waldron we find *first mention of the map* which he later made of Virginia and Maryland and for the making of which he is said to have received a grant of land from Cecilius Calvert, Lord Proprietary of the Province of Maryland. Writing his report at St. Mary's on the very day that he had received the decision of the Council of Maryland he says in part, "my opinion is that possibly it would not be unwise for the Directors (meaning of the New Netherlands), who have cause enough to do so, to depute one of the Board to Lord Baltimore to see whether an agreement could not be made quietly with him. *But first of all* the South (Delaware) River and the Virginias with the lands and kills between them both ought to be laid down on an exact scale as to longitude and latitude in a perfect MAP that the extent of the country on both sides may be correctly seen and the work afterwards proceeded with, for some maps which the English have here are utterly imperfect and prejudicial to us. The sooner this is done, the better, before Lord Baltimore whispers in the ears of the States of England and thus makes the matter more difficult."

The evidence here clearly shows that Augustine Herman was then entirely loyal to the New Netherlands and it is certain that he intended that the map should be done by the authority of and paid for by that colony. We learn something of the map from a paper filed in a Provincial Court case about 1770 concerning Bohemia Manor in which a "journal of the first foundation of Bohemia Manor and Bohemia Middle Neck adjacent and appendent" is submitted. In this paper it is stated that "*Augustine Herman, a Bohemian born, in 1660, having made a proffer to Cecilius the First Absolutely Lord Proprietary of the Province of Maryland to make an exact Map of the country*

if his Lordship would grant unto him the above said lands for an inheritance to his posterity and privileges of a manor which by letters dated 18th of September (1660?) his Lordship *accepted* and recommended the granting thereof to the Rt. Honorable Philip Calvert, Esqr., Governor and it was then supposed the one tract was to contain 4000 acres and the other 1000 acres plantable land." Augustine Herman it is said "proposed to his Lordship in England the erecting of a town thereon and by letter of September 18th (1660?) his Lordship promised all reasonable privileges to Herman. He was willing to have the town called Cecilton and the county Cecil County sending to that purpose a charter as foundation to all other townships in the Province."

In 1660 Augustine Herman received a certificate of survey dated June 3rd for a large tract, about 4000 acres of land which he called "Bohemia Manor" on the northern side of Herman's Creek" in Cecil County.<sup>28</sup>

So infatuated was this sturdy Bohemian with the delightful site which he selected for a home he was not dismayed when he found that, owing to the fact that he was not born of English parents and that he was not a citizen of the Province, he could not convey by will the lands which had been given him by Lord Baltimore. Owing to the fact that Augustine Herman had so impressed Lord Baltimore, through his brother Philip Calvert, then Governor of Maryland, with his great ability, both as a geographer and as a business man, Cecilius Calvert, then Proprietary, authorized Governor Philip Calvert to issue a proclamation on the 14th of January, 1661, declaring Augustine Herman a "free denizen of this our Province," thus enabling him to hold the lands above mentioned.

The proclamation of denization should not be confused with the "Naturalization" of Augustine Herman. The first enabled him to hold lands, the latter made him a naturalized citizen. He was the first foreign born person to be made a naturalized citizen of the Province of Maryland.

<sup>28</sup> *Rent Rolls for Cecil County*, p. 134.

Just as soon as he was made a "denizen" Augustus Herman set about to add to Bohemia Manor and on May 2nd, 1661, he had surveyed on Little Bohemia River 1000 acres which was later (1681) taken into *Bohemia Manor*. At this time he held 5100 acres of the best lands along the Bohemia and having realized the uncertainty of life he resolved to arrange his affairs so that his children would be taken care of in case of his death. He made his first will under the date of the 24th of May, 1661, though he did not die for twenty-five years after.<sup>29</sup> In this will he calls himself *Augusteene Herman, Merchant of Baltimore County*. (Cecil County was in 1674 erected by taking into its bounds that part of Baltimore County which was lying east of the Chesapeake Bay and also a part of Kent County.) He left his property, Bohemia Manor, etc., to his two boys, Ephraim and Casparus, the will is "not to be in force until the day of my certain decease, after which I humbly desire the Honorable Governor and Council of this Province that they will be pleased to ordain two or three honest persons of trust to have the oversight and management of the above said plantation for the use and benefit of the above named Ephraim and Casparus Herman enduring their minority, etc., etc." No mention is made in the will of his daughters.

Busy with the affairs of his estate and with the collecting of data for the map which he had begun he found that he would now enjoy the mixing in public life at St. Mary's, he, therefore, petitioned the Upper House on September 17th, 1663, for naturalization papers. In the Provincial Council Proceedings<sup>30</sup> it is "Ordered that an Act be prepared for Augustine Herman and his children and his brother-in-law George Hack and his wife and children." This measure took several years to materialize.

In 1664 Augustine Herman received certificates for two more tracts of land as follows: 1500 acres called "Small Hopes," surveyed on the 10th of August, on east side of Bohe-

<sup>29</sup> Annapolis, *Test. Proc.*, Vol. I, p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. I, p. 462.

nia Back Creek and which was incorporated in 1683 in the last piece of land that was granted to him "Bohemian Sisters"; also 150 acres called "Mill Fall" surveyed 12th August, 1664, at the head of Bohemia River and located very close to the present Maryland-Delaware Boundary line.

The following year 1665, Augustine Herman's map is mentioned in an official document from Cecilius Calvert to his son Charles, who was then Governor of the Province. Lord Baltimore says in part: "Whereas, Mr. Augustine Herman now resident in our said Province hath taken great pains and care in order to the *drawing and composing of a certain map or card* of our said Province and of the limits and boundaries of the same and is shortly intended to print and publish the same, we do will and require you that after the said map shall be printed and published and in case upon the strict perusal and examination of the same you shall find that the said Herman hath done us right in stating the said limits and boundaries of our said Province, justly and truly *and particularly* in the true stating of the said boundaries and limits in *relation to Watkin's Point and Delaware Bay* that in such case you recommend the said Herman heartily and effectually in our name to the General Assembly of our said Province *in order to the receiving some reward from them* for his said pains and care and that in the meantime you assure the said Herman in our name that in case he do us right as aforesaid upon the *first notive thereof to us* given from you, our said Lieutenant General or you our said Council, *we will give directions and orders for his immediate naturalization as he hath desired us.*

" Given under our hand and seal at arms 16 Feby. 1665.

C. Baltimore."

Herman while still at work on his map had asked the Lord Proprietary to grant him naturalization papers which grant depended upon the correctness of the map! His map was completed about 1670, costing him about £200 sterling, not counting his labor, taken to London and there engraved on copper

from which is was first printed in 1671/2. It is most remarkable for the nearness of the shorelines shown in it to those shown in the accurate maps of the present generation. It was very much more of a task to collect data in Herman's time than now and besides the geographer of today has for a guide the maps prepared in previous generations. Herman had access no doubt to few of the early maps that were of any service to him. He had copies of "a map which was printed in Amsterdam by direction of Capt. Smith, the first discoverer of the Great Chesapeake Bay and another map which also appeared to have been printed in Amsterdam at the time of Lord Baltimore's Patent."<sup>31</sup>

Lord Baltimore's instructions to his son evidently hurried the necessary legislation upon Augustine Herman's naturalization papers for on April 10, 1666, his petition being put into the form of a bill was assented to by both the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly and signed by John Gittings, Clerk of the Upper House, and William Bretton, Clerk of the Lower House.<sup>32</sup>

An interesting incident occurs at this time in the life of Augustine Herman. Some time prior to the acquiring of the "Mill Fall" property in 1664 there came to live with Augustine Herman one John Brett. Who he was or where he came from, I do not know, but after a short illness of some two weeks Brett died, on August 17th, 1664, at the Bohemia Manor House and Letters of Administration on his estate were granted to Augustine Herman. On April 26th, 1666, Herman rendered an inventory and account of the estate.<sup>33</sup>

It appears that Brett had a partnership agreement with a Mr. Henry Goodrich and they seem to have been trading in different parts of the Chesapeake Bay and tributaries with the Indians for there were several arms length of "Roanoke" mentioned in the inventory. That he had been in Dorchester County is certain because he held a bill for 500 pounds of tobacco for a

<sup>31</sup> Augustine Herman's Journal.

<sup>32</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. II, p. 144.

<sup>33</sup> *Annapolis, Test. Proc.*, Vol. IA 67, and IF, 75.



cow and calf which bill had been given to Bryan O'Maly by that pioneer of the Huguenots in Maryland — Anthony Le Compte—to whom O'Maly sold the cow and calf. Brett's boat "a Dutch sloop with sails, rigging and grappling" was inventoried at 4000 pounds of tobacco and his wearing apparel consisting of "a broad cloth short coat, a doublet and britches, a Holland shirt, a course black hat and a satin doublet" amounted in all to 375 pounds of tobacco.

Augustine Herman's charges against the estate were for "accommodation and attendance in his sickness, his burial sheet, *his funeral dinner for all ye neighbors* and other necessary expenses calculated to ye sum of 1000 pounds of tobacco." Robert Morgan and his wife, neighbors, were paid "120 pounds of tobacco for seven days watching at Mr. Brett's own request!" "To Doctor Fisher for physic administered to John Brett in his sickness 600 pounds of tobacco!" The inventory was taken by Mr. John Collet, High Sheriff, and the estate was appraised by Thomas Browning and William Savon (alias Satsinfroone) and sworn to before Captain Thomas Howell, one of his Lordship's Commissioners.

Augustine Herman was made one of the Commissioners of Justice for Cecil County when it was erected on June 6, 1674, and served as such in 1675 and 1676<sup>34</sup> and in 1678, June 13th, he was named one of a commission to treat with the Indians (Delawares) then living in Cecil County.<sup>35</sup>

In 1678, 14th November, Augustine Herman received another large tract of land which he called "Misfortune." It contained 1339 acres.

Lord Baltimore was before the Lords of the Committee of Trades and Plantation on March 26th, 1678, at London to answer some pertinent question about the Province of Maryland and regarding the boundaries. To the 10th question of the series he says: "I answer that the boundaries longitude and latitude of this Province are well described and are set forth in a late Map or Chart of this Province lately made and pre-

<sup>34</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. xv, pp. 38-77.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. xv, p. 175.

pared by one Augustine Herman, an inhabitant of the said Province and printed and publicly sold in London by his *Majesty's license* to which (map) I refer for greater certainty."

To better secure his different land surveys Augustine Herman applied for a new survey in February 1681 and wrote Mr. John Llewellyn, the then Register of the Land Office for the Western Shore of the Province of Maryland, that an error was made in his patent to Bohemia by leaving out Town Point in his map giving the outlines of that tract and a new survey was made of "Bohemia Manor" on 6th October, 1681, which survey called for 6,000 acres on the east side of Elk River on a branch of Bohemia River. A few days later, October 28th, 1681, another tract "Little Bohemia," 1000 acres was surveyed for him.<sup>36</sup>

Augustine Herman and his neighbors James Frisby, Edward Jones, George Oldfield, Henry Ward and Henry Johnson received a letter from William Penn, dated London, England, 16th September, 1681, addressed to them as "My Friends at their Plantations in *Pennsylvania*" in which letter he cautions them not to pay any more taxes to Lord Baltimore and signs the letter: "Your real friend, Wm. Penn." He thus intimates that they then lived within the bounds of Pennsylvania and this letter is the initial move in the long series of disputes between the Penns and the Baltimores. The first of the meetings arranged to bring about a settlement of the dispute, took place at New Castle, Delaware, in September, 1682, and Charles Calvert, the Third Lord Baltimore, with twelve of his advisers, went to Mr. Augustine Herman's house on September 19th on his way to New Castle. He also stopped at Bohemia Manor on his way back to Patuxent, his Provincial home.<sup>37</sup>

One more tract, the last one Augustine Herman ever received, was surveyed for him on the 27th September, 1683. This tract contained 4100 acres and he named it "Bohemian Sisters" in honor of his three daughters, Anna Margareta, Judith and

<sup>36</sup> *Rent Roll Cecil County*, p. 105.

<sup>37</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. v, p. 378.

Francina. This property was located "at the east point of Long Creek or Margaret's Creek, on the north side of Bohemia Back Creek."<sup>38</sup>

Augustine Herman died in 1686 having made, two years previous, a will which bears the date of September 12th, 1684, and is recorded in part in the Land Office at Annapolis.<sup>39</sup> There is also recorded in the same office in another record book,<sup>40</sup> a complete will bearing date September 27th, 1686, by which the testator distributes his large estate. A public record appears of where Mathias Vanderheyden,<sup>41</sup> who married Anna Margaretta Herman, eldest daughter of Augustine Herman, made a statement to the Provincial Assembly on June 8th, 1692, as follows: "A will of Augustine Herman being torn out of the record as likewise the original is lost does therefore produce in this Lower House of Assembly a copy of the said will, intimating likewise that Mr. Edward Jones and Mr. Samuel Wheeler, members of this House were witness to the will desiring the same to be entered upon record, accordingly came Mr. Edward Jones and Mr. Samuel Wheeler two of the delegates for Cecil County in the House of Assembly and upon perusal of the copy of the will of the said Augustine Herman here produced, they did declare and testify upon oath it to be a true copy and the very same in effect with the original to which they were witnesses to the best of their knowledge and remembrance, which was ordered to be noted in this Journal and the said copy of the will to be recorded in the Commissary's Office." This probably accounts for the partial will found copied in Liber 4 G, p. 228, mentioned above. In the Records of Maryland<sup>42</sup> in the Land Office at Annapolis under date of 26th June, 1686, is recorded: "Augustus Herman, Bohemian, late of Cecil County, deceased, did in his lifetime make his last will and testament writing and therein appointed: Ephriam Herman,

<sup>38</sup> *Rent Rolls Cecil County*, p. 105.

<sup>39</sup> *Annapolis Wills*, Liber 4 G, 228.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber 6, p. 62.

<sup>41</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. VIII, p. 324.

<sup>42</sup> *Annapolis, Test Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 335.

Casparus Herman, John Thompson, Executors, who pray letters testamentary." The letters were granted. Col. John Thompson, one of the executors, married Judith Herman, second daughter of Augustine Herman.

Dr. Richard Tilghman, the sixth of the "pioneers," of the "Hermitage" on the Chester River, in making his will calls himself a "Chirurgeon." He was the son of Oswald Tilghman<sup>43</sup> of London and his wife, Abigail Tayler, daughter of Rev. Francis Tayler, vicar of Godalming, Surrey, England. Doctor Tilghman was born in London on the 3rd of September 1626, and came to the Province of Maryland in 1657 in the ship "Elizabeth and Mary," bringing with him besides his wife, who was Marie Foxley of London, 18 persons for whom he demanded of the Proprietary a special warrant for 1000 acres of land.<sup>44</sup> The warrant was made returnable on the 25th December, 1659. Upon this warrant a certificate was some years later issued and 400 acres were "surveyed 10th of October, 1666, for Richard Tilghman"<sup>45</sup> which he called "Tilghman Hermitage" and upon which he built his home. This tract of land had formerly been surveyed, 15th September, 1658, for John Coursey and called "Cedar Branch," but Coursey allowed the land to escheat to the Proprietary and Doctor Tilghman being impressed with the place and the ideal water view from the spot on which he afterwards built his home, selected it as part of the land due him on his warrant of 1000 acres.

The "Hermitage" as it is now called, is one of the "show places" of Maryland and from the wide veranda can be seen the low lying shores of Kent Island, Eastern Neck Island and lower Kent County, all lying across the Chester River, which is one of the prettiest bodies of water in America. It is several times wider than the Thames River in England, on which is situated London, the city from which Doctor Tilghman emi-

<sup>43</sup> *Maryland Families*, Mackenzie.

<sup>44</sup> *Annapolis, Warrants*, Vol. IV, p. 20.

<sup>45</sup> *Rent Rolls*, Queen Anne's County, p. 252.

grated. This magnificent estate lies only a few miles north of that quaint old village which is honored with the name of Queen's Town, so named for "Good Queen Anne."

Near neighbors to Doctor Tilghman were, Solomon Wright on "Reed's Creek," William Coursey, on "Coursey's Neck," now called "Blakeford" and owned by DeCoursey Wright Thom, Esq., of Baltimore, and on "Bowlingly" at Queen's Town, granted in 1658 to James Bowling, Henry Hawkins made his home during Doctor Tilghman's lifetime.

In those days travel was by boat and Doctor Tilghman attended his patients who lived along the shores of the Chester River and its tributaries in his little "batteaux" rigged with a "leg o' mutton" sail. When there was no breeze his slaves rowed the boat. He could see from his home, at the "Hermitage," "Wickcliffe," the home of Major Wickes and "New Yarmouth" the county seat of Kent County. "Chesterfield" the home of William Hemsley was not far away. Other homes along the shores of the Chester River were in plain view of the "Hermitage."

To the rear of the "Hermitage" mansion is the graveyard, it being customary in Colonial times to bury the dead on the plantations. Under the weeping willows, mid the boxwood and lilacs are buried the Tilghmans who have lived there for the past two hundred years and over. There is seen the elaborate stone that covers the grave of Doctor Tilghman. The inscription is in Latin, and is as follows:

"Vale"

Ita Dixit

RICHARDUS TILGHMANUS B. M.

In artique chirurgi Magister qui

sub hoc tumulo sepultus est

Obiit, Janu. 7 mo. Anno 1675."

He was Sheriff of Talbot County in 1670 and served the Proprietary with distinction.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. v, p. 20.

In 1673 Doctor Tilghman made his will leaving his then large landed estate to his sons, William and Richard Tilghman and his daughter, Rebecca Tilghman, who married Simon Wilmer. The latter received a tract called "Poplar Hill," as her portion of her father's estate and inherited part of "Tilghman and Foxley Grove," a large estate in Kent.

Dr. Richard Tilghman and Marie Foxley were married in England and with their two young children Samuel born December 11th, 1650, and Mary, born February, 1655, came as previously stated to Maryland and settled at the "Hermitage"—1661.<sup>47</sup>

William Tilghman, their next son, was born February 16th, 1658, shortly after they came to Maryland, and died in 1682 without issue. Rebecca Tilghman, their next child married in 1681 Simon Wilmer and went to live on "Stepney" in Kent County, the property he had acquired when he first came to Maryland and upon part of which property Chestertown now stands.

Deborah, third daughter of Dr. Richard Tilghman and Marie Foxley Tilghman, his wife, was born March 12th, 1666, and Richard Tilghman, their third son and last child was born February 23rd, 1672, and died January 23, 1738. This last son of Dr. Richard Tilghman and his wife, Marie Foxley Tilghman, inherited a large landed estate from his father.

Colonel Richard Tilghman, just mentioned, married January 7th, 1700, Anna Maria Lloyd, daughter of Col. Philemon Lloyd (son of Col. Edward Lloyd) and his wife, Henrietta Maria Neal Bennet, widow of Richard Bennett, Senior, and had eight children: (1) Mary Tilghman, who married James Earle, October 12, 1721; (2) Col. Richard Tilghman, who married Susan, daughter of Peregrine and Elizabeth Sewall Frisby; (3) Henrietta Maria Tilghman, who married first, George Robins, and second, William Goldsborough, ancestor of Phillips Lee Goldsborough, Governor of Maryland from 1912 to 1916; (4) Anna Maria Tilghman, who married first, Wil-

<sup>47</sup> Geo. N. Mackenzie.

liam Hemsley, and second, Col. Robert Lloyd; (5) William Tilghman, who married his cousin Margaret Lloyd, daughter of James Lloyd; (6) Col. Edward Tilghman of Wye married second, Elizabeth Chew, a daughter of Dr. Samuel Chew of Philadelphia, a man of great wealth and prominence, whose son, Col. Edward Tilghman, became the Chief Justice of the Province of Pennsylvania and married his cousin, Elizabeth Chew, daughter of Benjamin Chew, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania in 1774; (7) James Tilghman, Secretary of Penna. Land Office 1765, married Anna Francis, daughter of Tench Francis of Faulsley, Talbot County, and moving to Philadelphia in 1760 was rewarded for his sterling qualities as a lawyer with several offices, the last one being that of Provincial Chancellor of Pennsylvania, January 29th, 1767. Because of his Toryism he resigned this important office, went to Kent County, Maryland, and bought July 10, 1767, "Camel's Worthmore," now the home of the Reverend Sewell S. Hepburn, rector of I. U. Parish, where he died August 24, 1793, and was buried at St. Paul's Church, Kent County. There his grave is marked with a large slab reciting some of the above facts. James and Anna Francis Tilghman had ten children, the oldest Col. Tench Tilghman, General Washington's aide-de-camp, was born December 25th, 1744, and became famous for having carried the news of the surrender, October 19th, 1781, of Lord Cornwallis' Army at Yorktown to the Continental Congress then sitting in Independence Hall at Philadelphia. Col. Tench Tilghman's father, James Tilghman, Esq., was first cousin of Frances Wilmer, who married Samuel Wickes of "Wickcliffe" (8) Matthew Tilghman, the last son of Col. Richard and his wife, Anna Maria Lloyd Tilghman, was affectionately called by his colleagues in the Provincial Convention during the Revolutionary War times, the "Patriarch of the Colony." He was chosen President of the Maryland Provincial Council in June 1774 and presided at all of its meetings, with the exception of two, until November 11th, 1776. He was also Chairman of the Delegates from Maryland

to the Continental Congress, serving in that body with Samuel Chase, Robert Goldsborough, his cousin, William Paca, Robert Alexander, John Hall, Thomas Johnson, who became the first Governor of Maryland as a State, John Rogers, Thomas Stone, Benjamin Rumsey, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and William Smith.

Matthew Tilghman married Anna Lloyd and their daughter, Anna Maria Tilghman, married June 9th, 1783, her first cousin, Colonel Tench Tilghman, mentioned above, and to them were born two daughters, one of whom married her cousin Tench Tilghman of "Hope," Talbot County, ancestor of Col. Oswald Tilghman, who was Secretary of the State of Maryland under Governor Edwin Warfield, 1904 to 1908.

When General George Washington heard of the marriage of his beloved aide, Col. Tench Tilghman, he wrote him:

"Why have you been so niggardly in communicating your change of condition to us, or to the world? By dint of inquiries we have heard of your marriage, but have not got a confirmation of it yet. On the presumption however that it is so, I offer you my warmest congratulations and best wishes for the enjoyment of many happy years; in both of which Mrs. Washington joins me cordially."

Col. Tench Tilghman died April 18th, 1783, at his home on Lombard Street in Baltimore, and was buried in Old St. Paul's burying ground, and afterwards his body was removed to the old burying ground at Lombard and Fremont Streets, Baltimore.

The family's coat of arms and crest are described as follows:

Arms: Per fesse sa. and ar., a lion ramp. regard: double queued, counterchanged crowned, or.

Crest: A demi-lion issuant; statant, sable, crowned or.

The seventh of the "pioneers" was Simon Wilmer.

It is said that Simon Wilmer is descended from that branch of the English family of that name of whom William Wilmer of Sywell, was the head in 1613.



His coat-of-arms was: Gu. a chev. vair, between three eagles, displayed or; and his crest an eagle's head or, between two wings expanded vair.

In the Provincial Court Records of Maryland now lodged in the Land Office at Annapolis is found the first public record <sup>48</sup> of Simon Wilmer of Maryland. In 1699, is found a copy of a "power of attorney" made in London under date of October 2, 1678, given to Simon Wilmer "now in Maryland, late Servant Factor or agent to and for my said father, James Holland, citizen and grocer of London in and for his affairs and revenue in Maryland and Virginia. Signed: Priscilla Holland of London, Spinster, daughter and administratrix of James Holland. Witnessed by: Sidney Montague, Edmund Skinner, John Browne."

The following record is a copy of a power of attorney given to Simon Wilmer one year later, 18th September, 1679, by "Richard Perry of London, Merchant" who appoints "for divers good consideration, Simon Wilmer of London, Merchant, my true and lawful attorney and agent for me and in my name and for my use to manage, govern and carry on a Manor or Plantation called the Resurrection Manor in Patuxent, Maryland. Signed: Richd Perry. Witnesses: Thomas Smithson, Timothy Keyser, G. Stanlake."

Additional light is thrown upon Simon Wilmer's coming to the Province by the affidavit made by Thomas Smithson, one of the witnesses to the above paper, before Col. Vincent Lowe at St. Mary's, April 23, 1680, in which he made oath that "he saw Richard Perry sign, seal and *deliver* the same (power of attorney) to Simon Wilmer, Merchant, *then* bound from London in the Kingdom of England unto Maryland in America."

These papers show that Simon Wilmer had been in the Province in 1678, had gone back to England in 1679 and returned to Maryland between September 18th, 1679 and April 23rd, 1680. In the Rent Rolls for Kent County <sup>49</sup> is a record which is as follows: "Wilmer's Farm, 500 acres surveyed 20th May,

<sup>48</sup> Liber. W. B. C., Vol. I, 1676.

<sup>49</sup> P. 40.

1680, for Simon Wilmer at the head of Ratcliffe Cross Creek (a branch of Chester River." This shows that he must have received his warrant for the land some time previous to that date, probably three months prior, the usual time allowed the surveyor after the warrant was issued by the Land Office. That would indicate that Simon Wilmer came about January 1680.

In the following July (31st) Simon Wilmer had surveyed for him "Buckingham" 500 acres on the north side of Chester River which tract bears that name to this day. With this tract and "Wilmer's Farm," mentioned above, and the tract called "Tilghman's and Foxley Grove," 1000 acres, which his wife, Rebecca Tilghman inherited from her mother, Mrs. Mary Foxley Tilghman, widow of Dr. Richard Tilghman of the "Hermitage," made Simon Wilmer one of Kent's largest land holders. Nor did he stop with that. He had surveyed "Piner's Grove," 260 acres, on August 25th, 1687, and on September 22nd, 1687, he had surveyed "Kemp's Beginning," 320 acres on Muddy Creek Branch of the Chester River. Later, on the 24th of November, 1694, "Chigwell," 200 acres, was surveyed for him. This latter property is said to have been so named by Simon Wilmer for a township in England that was the seat of a branch of the Wilmer's from whom he was descended. In writing of the Right Reverend Richard H. Wilmer, the second Bishop of Alabama, born in Kent County at the ancestral home, Walter C. Whitaker says in part: "When Charles I was beheaded and Cromwell became Protector of England they (the Wilmers) were forced to join in the Cavalier emigration in order to escape the tender mercies of Puritan intolerance. They settled on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and there remained for more than a hundred and fifty years." He was correct in his statement in part only for the Wilmers now living in Kent County are direct descendants of Simon Wilmer and that makes them residents of that county for two hundred and forty years.

Upon his arrival in the Province in 1680 Simon Wilmer doubtless went first to the home of Dr. Richard Tilghman at the "Hermitage." By some unknown relationship he seemed to be from records extant a kin of the Tilghmans. In 1674,

one Thomas Wilmer, then living at Henry Michel's house in Talbot County was taken sick, and according to an account rendered to the Provincial Probate Court in 1675 by George Robins, administrator of Thomas Wilmer, Dr. Tilghman turned over to George Robins the books of Thomas Wilmer. He also mentions going to Doctor Tilghman's to appraise the estate of Thomas Wilmer. George Robins also paid Dr. Tilghman "2000 pounds of tobacco for board ("dyett") and funeral charges of the deceased Thomas Wilmer." He also paid Bryan O'Maly "for his trouble and charge in bringing Thomas Wilmer to Dr. Tilghman's (from Henry Michel's?)." He also paid 2520 pounds of tobacco for "attendance and physick in the time of his sickness."

The above has been inserted to show that there seemed to be some relationship between the Wilmers and the Tilghmans and it is reasonable to suppose that Simon Wilmer upon coming to Maryland went directly to Dr. Tilghman's home. Very shortly after his arrival in 1680 he married Rebecca Tilghman, the second daughter of Dr. Richard Tilghman, and his wife Marie Foxley Tilghman of the "Hermitage."

Simon Wilmer was a gifted man and in addition to being a successful business man he was a surveyor of ability. The first mention of him in the Maryland Public Records <sup>50</sup> was in 1687, at which time he was appointed a Commissioner of Justice for Kent County, and sat in the November term of Court that year. When the petition from Kent County was sent to the King of England, bearing date of November 16th, 1689, in behalf of Lord Baltimore, Simon Wilmer was one of the signers. In 1693 when St. Paul's Parish in Kent County was laid out in accordance with the Act of 1692, establishing the Church of England in the Province, Simon Wilmer was one of the first vestrymen chosen for that parish.

He served as a burgess from Kent County to the Provincial Assembly at Annapolis from March 10th, 1689, to and including July 22nd, 1699 <sup>51</sup> and his services in that body were highly appreciated by Governor Francis Nicholson. During the

<sup>50</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. VIII, p. 23.

<sup>51</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 6-354.

Spring session of the Lower House, he was named on the Commission to revise the laws of the Province, a very flattering place. With Simon Wilmer on this Commission were Mr. Philip Clarke, a lawyer of fame, Mr. James Crawford, Mr. William Hemsley of Queen Anne's County (then Talbot County), Esquire Tench, another famous lawyer and Colonel Robotham, the last two named were representing the Upper House (Council) on the Commission. They met at the house of His Majesty's (King William's) Secretary of the Province of Maryland, Sir Thomas Lawrence.<sup>52</sup> Again, on October 27th, 1698, while still a member of the Provincial Assembly, he and his brother-in-law, Colonel Richard Tilghman, were named on a Committee to examine the "body of laws of the Province and to return a list of the same showing:

First, all the laws; second, all the laws that are perpetual; third, all temporary laws; fourth, all laws that have been repealed; fifth, all laws that have expired."

He was made surveyor of Kent County 29th June, 1694, and when there was an Act of Assembly (passed April 4th, 1697) "for the better Division of St. Paul's and Shrewsbury Parishes" Simon Wilmer was designated in the Act to run the line between the two parishes. The Act reads in part as follows:<sup>53</sup>

". . . That from and after the tenth day of June Anno Domi 1698 . . . all the land and inhabitants on the south side of Churn Creek and branch thereof and division line to the rideway over the branch of Morgan's Creek, down the Chesapeake Bay to the extent of Cecil County be added to St. Paul's Parish in Kent County on the north side of Chester River and always to be reputed in St. Paul's Parish, any Law, Custom or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding. And be is further Enacted . . . that Mr. Michael Miller of Kent County, Gentleman, and Captain Edward Blay of Cecil County be present with Simon Wilmer, Surveyor of the said County at the running and making of the *Division Line* and that they return the

<sup>52</sup> *Arch. Md.*, Vol. XXII, p. 47.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 149.

survey and a fair demonstration of the division line . . . as well under the hands and seals of the said Mr. Miller and Capt. Blay as the said Simon Wilmer unto his Excellency the Governor.”<sup>54</sup>

Mr. Michael Miller was a vestryman of St. Paul's Parish and married Martha Wickes, daughter of Major Joseph Wickes of "Wickcliffe." Martha Wickes' brother, Samuel Wickes married Francis Wilmer, daughter of Simon Wilmer.

When the Court House was first built at Chestertown Simon Wilmer was paid by the Commissioners "for laying out the land, three acres, for the Court House."<sup>55</sup> For this survey he received 200 pounds of tobacco. Another interesting item in the above records is the following:

"To Simon Wilmer's negro, James for hair in plastering the Court House, 190 pounds Tob."

The Court days were busy ones in those times and the Commissioners paid Simon Wilmer 400 pounds of tobacco to keep the ferry over Chester River for the convenience of inhabitants coming to Court."

In the Land Office at Annapolis,<sup>56</sup> is recorded Simon Wilmer's will, dated August 10, 1699, and probated September 16th, 1699. In the will he calls himself "Simon Wilmer, Gentleman." He left his large estate to his sons Lambert Wilmer and Simon Wilmer, and to his daughters, Francis Wilmer, who married Samuel Wickes, Mary Wilmer and Rebecca Wilmer. To Lambert Wilmer he left 1450 acres, parts of "Arcadia," "Wilmer's Purchase" and "Quick Level." To Simon Wilmer about the same number of acres, parts of "Stepney" and "Tilghman and Foxley Grove" and the grist and saw mill at Ratcliffe Creek. To his daughter Frances Wilmer he left "Buckingham," 500 acres. To Mary Wilmer "Wilmer's Farms" 500 acres, and to Rebecca Wilmer part of "Tilghman and Foxley Grove" 500 acres. He leaves "Chigwell," 200 acres and £60 sterling for an unborn child.

<sup>54</sup> Gov. Francis Nicholson.

<sup>55</sup> Kent County Court Proceedings, Oct. 30th, 1696, Liber A.

<sup>56</sup> *Annapolis Wills*, Vol. XI, f. 85.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

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*October 7th, 1920.* A Special Meeting of the Maryland Historical Society was held tonight at 8 o'clock. The meeting was called to order by President Harris, who stated that the purpose was to receive a portrait of His Eminence Cardinal Mercier, to be presented by friends of the Society. The President then recognized Governor Goldsborough, who spoke as follows:

“Mr. President, Your Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, Ladies and Gentlemen:

“As Chairman of the Citizens' Committee, representing the people of Maryland, to greet Cardinal Mercier on the occasion of a visit to His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, in September, 1919, I have been directed by a number of friends of the Maryland Historical Society to present to it this portrait of the illustrious Archbishop of Malines, together with Commemorative Volumes, recording the events of his stay in this City and State, with the request that one of the Volumes be transmitted to that distinguished Prelate and world's hero, through the hands of Maryland's beloved citizen and servant of God, Cardinal Gibbons.

“Therefore, it is now my pleasure and duty to present this portrait and these Volumes.”

In accepting the gift President Harris spoke as follows:

“The Maryland Historical Society accepts, Mr. Chairman, with the highest appreciation and the most sincere thanks, the splendid portrait of Cardinal Mercier and the interesting itinerary of his visit to the United States which are presented to it through the generosity of some of its friends, represented by yourself.

“The portrait will be properly hung and, with the book,

carefully preserved among the most valued possessions of the Society.

“We have all been quick to see that out of the chaos of a world at war there has come forth much that was evil, but we have perhaps not so readily recognized how much more that was pure and good, generous and self-sacrificing has been disclosed by the same cause. From all sorts and conditions of men and women,—from all callings and professions,—from the priesthood and from the laity,—there came unnumbered hosts ready and eager to prove by personal labor, sacrifice and devotion that, after all, the heart of the world beats warm and true for suffering humanity.

“Among those heroes whom we delight to honor and whom posterity shall revere, the Cardinal Mercier stands forth as a gallant and shining example of courage, of fortitude, of self-sacrifice, of devotion to duty.

“We congratulate ourselves that His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons not only honors us with his presence on this occasion, but that he will voice, on our behalf, that admiration and respect which we entertain for the character of Cardinal Mercier, but which we feel ourselves so ill-qualified adequately to express.”

Whereupon Cardinal Gibbons spoke as follows:

“Mr. Chairman, Friends and Members of the Society:

“I expected to come here as a spectator rather than as a speaker. It gives me great pleasure, however, to be present on this occasion to honor my esteemed friend and colleague, Cardinal Mercier. When Cardinal Mercier planned his visit to this country, he informed me that he intended to make Baltimore his headquarters. In arranging his visit I intended to make it purely a religious one, but upon further thought, knowing the high esteem in which he was held by the citizens of Baltimore, I came to the conclusion that they should be given an opportunity of welcoming him.

“Upon consideration I decided to ask Governor Goldsborough to serve as Chairman of the Citizens' Committee, and a happier

choice could not have been made. His interest and activities were marked throughout with the greatest enthusiasm, and the Cardinal was charmed with his visit. He wrote me after returning to his beloved Malines that although his whole impression of America was a most pleasant one, Baltimore held an especial place in his heart, because there he had felt that he was truly at home, underlining the word home and attaching to it a peculiar significance.

“As a heroic figure in the World War, even Germany recognized the place which he held, when, after her defeat, she placed a sword in his hands, recognizing him as her most worthy opponent.

“As I look around this hall of fame, it seems peculiarly fitting that this portrait should repose here with the papers of Lord Baltimore. Both men hated injustice and loved religious freedom and liberty. Again, my friends, I thank you for the tribute to my friend, Cardinal Mercier.”

The President, after thanking His Eminence, stated that as the purpose for which the meeting was called had been so happily accomplished, it was in order that we adjourn, and he extended a cordial invitation to the members and friends of the Society to avail of this opportunity of inspecting the building.

*October 11th, 1920.* The regular October Meeting of the Society was held tonight. The President called the meeting to order at 8 o'clock and stated that it had been determined at the last meeting of the Council that the meetings of the Society should begin promptly at the hour for which they were called, and that in the future this would be the rule.

The President expressed his appreciation of his election to the Presidency, and said that he would devote his best efforts to the interest and welfare of the Society. He also brought to the attention of the members the critical financial condition of the Society and that, although the old building had been rented to the State, it had been necessary to borrow over \$20,000 to put the property in order for the tenant, and as the conditions



of rental were that we should furnish heat and janitor service, we will receive little if any revenue from the property for some time to come. The result is, therefore, that we are entirely dependent on the annual dues of the members, which are still at \$5, and the small income from the bequests of some of our friends, started by Mr. Peabody and added to by Mr. Cohen and others.

He stated that we were confronted by a serious problem in a tremendously increased budget for the running expenses of this beautiful and splendidly equipped new home. The Finance Committee, however, have taken the matter in hand, and have prepared a statement of the needs of the Society which they will shortly bring to the attention of the community. The President explained the enlarged work which the Society would be able to undertake were it provided with adequate funds, and made an urgent appeal for the interest of each member in the cause.

The donations and deposits to the Library and Cabinet were described by the Acting Librarian.

Dr. Henry J. Berkley presented a large collection of papers which are designated the Bland papers, being some of the papers of Chancellor Theodorick Bland. The President accepted this donation in the name of the Society.

Twenty-six persons were nominated for membership in the Society.

The following previously nominated persons were elected to membership: Pinckney L. Sothoron, William Buckner McGroarty, Mrs. Stephen H. Lynch, Jr., Albert G. Towers, James Dules Downes.

Mr. Duvall, as Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Chair, consisting of himself, Judge Dawkins and Mr. Ridgely, to prepare a minute on the death of our late Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Spencer, read the following:

“It is with sincere sorrow that this Society notes the death of its venerable Corresponding Secretary, Colonel Richard Henry Spencer. He died at his apartments in The Earl Court,

in this city, on September 24th, 1920, and was buried in Loudon Park Cemetery. Had he lived to the 26th day of the coming November, he would have completed his eighty-seventh year. He was a direct descendant of Robert Spencer, who settled on the Miles River, in Talbot County, Maryland, in 1678, and who with his brother, Nicholas Spencer, and his kinsmen John and Lawrence Washington, came to America in 1657 from Caple, Bedfordshire, England. He was of the distinguished family of that name, which for so many centuries has been conspicuous in English history.

“Colonel Spencer was the son of Henry Spencer and Anna Matilda Martin, his wife, both prominent residents of Talbot County, Maryland. He was prepared by his uncle, the Rev. Joseph Spencer, D. D., rector of St. Michael’s parish, for St. James’ College, near Hagerstown, Maryland, which he entered in 1854. Three years later he began the study of the law at Easton, Maryland, and graduated with the degree of LL. B. in July, 1859, from the Law School of Harvard University, but had been admitted to the Bar of Talbot County in the preceding May.

“In October, 1850, he went to St. Louis, Missouri, where he was admitted to the Bar of that city, and practiced his profession there and before the Court of Appeals of Missouri. He removed to New York City in 1878, and became a member of that Bar, and also of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States.

“In politics he was a Democrat, and while he never stood for election to any office, he was appointed to a number of important positions, among them the office of Assistant United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri, and to the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools of the City of St. Louis. He was commissioned by the Governor of his adopted State a Colonel on the staff of General A. J. Smith of the Missouri State Guard, at the time of the riots in July, 1877.

“From early life Colonel Spencer took much interest in religious and philanthropic movements. He was for several terms a vestryman of St. George’s Protestant Episcopal Church

of St. Louis, and a member of the Diocesan Convention of Missouri. He was one of the organizers of St. Luke's Hospital of St. Louis.

"On November 24th, 1880, Colonel Spencer married in this city, Alice Herbert Carlyle Whiting, daughter of George William Carlyle Whiting of Loudoun County, Virginia, and Mary Anne DeButts Dulaney, his wife. They had no children.

"With relief from the cares of professional activity came fuller opportunity to gratify his literary tastes, and his latter years were occupied in the indulgence of his keen interest in history, biography, and genealogy. He wrote a number of entertaining articles published in Baltimore newspapers on family history, including the following: "The Countess of Warwick—The Last of the Despercens," and a "History of the Martin Family of England and Talbot County, Maryland," and published several books, among them "The Carlyle House and Its Associations" and "Memoirs of the Hon. Nicholas Thomas of Talbot County." He also contributed at different times to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, articles entitled "The Provincial Flag of Maryland," "Hon. Daniel Dulany (the Elder)," and "Hon. Daniel Dulany (the Younger)." Among his other writings Colonel Spencer published in the *Baltimore Sun* numerous poems of merit and distinctive style, and it is regrettable that he did not gather them into a more permanent form. All of his historical writings display thought and research, and that care and attention which a conscientious author of taste and cultivation always bestows on his writings. He never made a historic or other statement of fact unless he had convinced himself of the correctness of it, sometimes expending days of thought and research in his efforts to get the truth. His style was direct and chaste, but at the same time replete with feeling controlled by good judgment, and was invariably adapted to the subject in hand.

"He became an active member of this Society April 13th, 1891, on the nomination of the late Judge Albert Ritchie, and was elected a member of the Committee on Membership in 1907, and Corresponding Secretary of this Society in 1909,

which latter position he held at the time of his death. In both positions he rendered most efficient and valuable services. As Corresponding Secretary he was assiduous and painstaking in the discharge of every duty, and as a member of the Society he never lost an opportunity to make known the rich store of historical and biographical data owned by the Society, or to urge upon the officers and members the necessity of an adequate endowment.

“His conspicuous courtesy and kindness of heart rarely failed to impress every one who had the good fortune to come in contact with him, while his knowledge of the advantages and possessions of the Society, combined with his cordiality and courteous manner and wide acquaintance among the best citizens both within and outside of this State, enabled him to present the strongest appeal for new members. The records show that a very considerable part of the large increase of membership of the Society within the last ten years is due to his efforts.

“His most striking personal characteristics were enthusiasm, modesty, cheerfulness and courtliness.

“In his death the Society has lost a valuable and highly esteemed officer.

(Signed) Richard M. Duvall, *Chairman*,  
Walter I. Dawkins,  
Ruxton M. Ridgely.”

Mr. Duvall moved that a copy of this minute be spread upon the records of the Society, and that a copy be sent to Mr. Spencer's widow with an appropriate letter from the Recording Secretary. The motion was carried.

In putting the motion the President said that members of the Council who had been brought into perhaps closer contact with Mr. Spencer than other members of the Society, heartily endorsed everything set forth in the minute which had just been read, and that they are very conscious of the loss sustained in the death of the late Corresponding Secretary. He added that it was the sense of the last meeting of the Council that the

office left vacant by Mr. Spencer's death should not be filled until the annual meeting.

Under the head of Necrology the death of the following members was reported: Mrs. Reuben Foster, Louis F. Young, Professor Oliver Herman Bruce, Mr. Somervell Sollers, Mr. Richard H. Spencer and Mr. Frederick W. Story.

Mr. Dielman then read the following extract from the minutes of the last meeting of the Library Committee, upon the death of the late Frederick W. Story, and the same was ordered to be spread upon the minutes and a copy sent to Mrs. Story.

“At a meeting of the Library Committee of the Maryland Historical Society, held on September 29, 1920, the following minute was entered on its records and ordered to be presented to the stated meeting of the Society:

“In the death of our esteemed colleague, Frederick W. Story, Esq., on September 14, 1920, this Committee has been deprived of the counsel and co-operation of one of its most active, influential and valued members.

“Born in Boston sixty-eight years ago, Mr. Story came to Baltimore about 1880. He was elected a member of the Society in 1885 and for thirty-three years thereafter was on its Library Committee.

“For many years a member of the Bar Association of Baltimore, in the practice of his profession he was acknowledged to be without a peer in the field of titles and descents. His knowledge of genealogy and heraldry was profound, and he could not only blazon a coat of arms in a manner worthy of a professional limner, but could also interpret armorial bearings with the certainty and skill of a herald.

“A devout churchman, and for many years a vestryman of St. Michael's and All Angels' P. E. Church, he was in his daily life and conversation a singularly chaste and consistent Christian gentleman.

“The addresses he made before the Society were scholarly and interesting, but as they were unfortunately never committed to writing, we have only the memory of the spoken word.

“He gave of his time, his talents and his wisdom to the service of the Society, and we who for years have sat with him round the council table desire to record the sense of great personal loss in his death.”

Judge Dawkins spoke of the loss we have sustained in the death of Mr. Story. He paid a high tribute to his indefatigable zeal and interest in the Society, and his wide knowledge of books, particularly those dealing with Baltimore history. Judge Dawkins also spoke of Mr. Spencer and his wonderful knowledge of Maryland history, his love of his native State, and his courtliness of manner which truly classed him as a gentleman of the old school.

Mr. Duvall added his tribute to that of Judge Dawkins concerning Mr. Story, and stated that he knew no man more efficient in his profession nor one who could better analyze a case.

The President stated that he had known Mr. Story for a great many years, and had always entertained for him the highest regard. He said that he had been asked to represent the Society at the funeral of Mr. Story, and had been impressed with the tributes which men from all walks of life had paid “Fred Story.”

The President then called for the report of the Special Committee which had been appointed to prepare a minute upon the death of our late President, former Governor Warfield, whereupon Mr. Radcliffe, a member of that committee, reported that such a minute had been prepared, a copy of the same had been transmitted to the family of President Warfield, and it had been published in the *Magazine*.

The business of the evening was then discontinued, and a paper was read by Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth, entitled “Some Notes on William Goddard, Journalist and Printer, of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Maryland.”

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