

St-Georg. Sioussat

Vol. XVI

SEPTEMBER, 1921

No. 3

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*Hookstown
pp. 213, 215, 219 + Tom's choice 218
Pembroke
p 217, 218*



PUBLISHED BY
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ISSUED QUARTERLY
ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.00-SINGLE NUMBERS, 75cts.

BALTIMORE

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VOLUME XL

This volume is ready for distribution and contains the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Province, during the Sessions held from 1737 to 1740. During this period, Samuel Ogle was Governor and he met difficult situations with tact and firmness. It was a time of dissension between the two Houses and Sessions were often dissolved without any laws being passed.

At the Session held in April and May 1737, Benjamin Tasker was President of the Upper House and James Harris, Speaker of the Lower one. It was the third Session of the Assembly elected in 1734 and was a rather peaceful one. Addresses to the King and the Prince of Wales were adopted on account of the marriage of the latter. The Upper House refused to pass the Journal of Accounts, because the Lower one would not appropriate money for the Chief Justice of the Provincial Court. There are signs of the settlement of the "remote and back part of the Province." The growing grain trade is shown by a vote to permit inhabitants, who were not tobacco-makers, to pay in specie instead of in tobacco.

In August 1737, a very great drought caused a brief Session to prohibit the exportation of grain. The Pennsylvania border troubles took up some time. Richard Tilghman became President of the Council.

A new Assembly met in 1738 and a childish quarrel arose, in which the Lower House stood upon its dignity because of the manner in which a message from the Upper House was sent. Consequently, no laws were passed. Colonel John Mackall was Speaker and Matthew Tilghman Ward, President of the Upper House. Some of the officials in Dorchester and Talbot had to answer charges of oppression and extortion before the Lower House.

In 1739, a new Assembly held a session and again passed no laws. The Lower House again showed itself irritable and irascible and also refused, as usual, to pass a perpetual law as to fees. The Delegates finally refused to continue the temporary laws and Ogle refused to sign any laws passed, lest the meeting should become a Session and then terminate these laws.

A third new Assembly met early in 1740 and managed to pass one law for the raising of troops to serve in the war between England and Spain. The Lower House chose Philip Hammond of Anne Arundel County as Speaker and showed itself very much afraid that it should be overruled by the Upper one. It also adopted an address to the King, reciting grievances, and was insistent upon a claim to have an agent appointed in England.

It is expected that volume XLI will continue the Judicial Business of the Provincial Court from 1658, being the third volume of the Court Report Series.

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THE MARYLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1921.

No. 3

THE BALTIMORE COUNTY "GARRISON" AND THE OLD GARRISON ROADS

WILLIAM B. MARYE

PART II

THEORY OF THE SENECA INDIAN ROAD

When we try to trace the course of the rangers' road which ran west from the Garrison to the Great Falls of Patapsco River, we have to depend solely on Captain John Oldton's own description of this road; for, so far as this author is aware, there exists, outside of the captain's two reports, not a single substantial clue in the old records which might serve to guide us.

We can only note the fact of the existence, more than forty years after the date of Captain Oldton's reports, of a road called "The Soldier's Road," without being able to identify it with any modern road. An order of the Baltimore County Court, dated in August, 1740, directs that a road be cleared "from John Paca's quarter to Colonel William Hammond's quarter and there to intersect the Soldiers Road and to keep the top of the ridge from John Bakers until it intersects the said road from Hammond's quarter." (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber T. R. No. 2 (?), 1739-1740, f. 293.)

Captain Oldton's two reports agree in attributing to this garrison road a length of twenty miles. The earliest report (1696)

reads: "From the Garrison to a Cabin between Judwins Falls (Gwinn's Falls) and the main falls of Patapsco a west course 10 miles, then a west course to the main falls of Patapsco 10 miles more." In the second report (1697) the road to Patapsco Falls is thus described: "ffrom our Garrison to Potapsco 20 miles, thus to Guins falls four miles, thence to a branch of the same falls four miles, thence to Potapsco main falls twelve miles."

It is difficult to understand how even the crookedest road, running from the known site of the Garrison to Patapsco Falls, and tending in a westerly direction, could reasonably have had a length of twenty miles. Captain Oldton may have overestimated the distance; although this seems to be the only instance in which he was guilty of exaggeration to any very palpable extent.

The lengths ascribed to those two sections of the road which lay between the Garrison and Gwinn's Falls and between Gwinn's Falls and a branch of the same—four miles in each case—present no difficulties whatever. Captain Oldton's error—if, indeed, he committed any error—appears to lie in his estimation of the distance between the branch of Gwinn's Falls and the Main Falls of Patapsco River, between the "cabin" and Patapsco Falls.

An explanation which relieves Captain Oldton's report of all suspicion of gross inaccuracy may be found in the theory that the road from the Garrison westward crossed the North Branch of Patapsco Falls, and went as far west as the South Branch, known in eighteenth century records as the Western or Delaware Falls of Patapsco. It seems not improbable that somewhere on the South Branch the road from the Baltimore County Garrison met the two roads of the Potomac River rangers—the road which went from the Patapsco to the Garrison on Potomac River and that which led from Patapsco to the Sugar Lands on Potomac.¹

To what branch of Gwinn's Falls did Captain Oldton refer

¹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, June, 1921, p. 125, note.

in his second report? I am inclined to believe that he referred to a stream which, in eighteenth century records, is called either by the name of Red Run, or by that of Soldiers Delight Branch,² but is known today only by the former name. The choice, however, seems to lie between Red Run, Horsehead Branch and Scutt's Level Branch.

The road, which was later known as the Old Indian Road, and led from the neighborhood of the Garrison to Patapsco Falls, probably existed long before Captain Oldton's time, and may have been used by the Baltimore County rangers in ranging westward; but it does not appear to be that road which is described in Captain Oldton's reports. Captain Oldton estimates the distance on his road between Gwinn's Falls and a branch of the said falls as four miles. The distance between Gwinn's Falls and Scutt's Level Branch by the Indian Road was probably less than two miles.

In his delightful description of Soldiers Delight Hundred the late Mr. Edward Spencer advances the theory that the name of Soldiers Delight originated with the Baltimore County Rangers, who "christened" the region in a spirit of irony, because of its impenetrable thickets of blackberry bushes and greenbriars.³ That there is latent irony in the name this

²The fact that these two names belonged to one and the same stream is proved by the description of a tract called "Timbered Level," surveyed for Samuel Owings November 4th, 1746, which will be found on page 180 of a manuscript book entitled "Collection of Land Certificates Chiefly in Baltimore and Anne Arundell Counties, to which is Added a List of Postponed Certificates from the Years 1703 to 1734." This book bears the date 1766 and belonged to Barrister Carroll. It is now the property of Mr. Alexander Preston. "Timbered Level" is there described as beginning "at a bounded chestnut tree by a parcell of black and spanish oaks (supposed to be the bounds of Edmond Howard's land) on the side of the point of a hill which descends into the Red Run or Soldiers Delight Branch, etc., etc." The certificate of "Timbered Level" at Annapolis contains no mention of Red Run.

³"Soldier's Delight Hundred in Baltimore County" by Edward Spencer, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume 1. The author of this article shows a very rare appreciation of the charm of desolate waste places, of the peculiar beauty and mystery of stunted woods extending for miles

author ventures to doubt; ⁴ but, in seeing a connection between it and the Baltimore County rangers, Mr. Spencer was probably correct; for there is every reason to suppose that the rangers' road to Patapsco Falls passed over this once extensive tract of barren land, and not unlikely that the rangers bestowed upon it the title it bears today. What seems to be the earliest recorded allusion to the place will be found in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Howard's Fancy," which was laid out for Joshua Howard on the 5th of July, 1722.⁵ Failure to find earlier mention of the Soldiers Delight may be ascribed to the fact that, until vacant land in the lower parts of Baltimore County began to become scarce, and until the mineral deposits of regions like Soldiers Delight began to be appreciated, such localities were avoided by persons taking up land; and it is to the descriptions of surveys that we owe the record of most of our early place-names, which otherwise come down to us from the past by word of mouth, and may escape being recorded in any document, either ancient or recent.⁶

over poor, stony ground. He exhibits a fine regard for the quaint old place-names which have sprung from men's experience in the wilderness which he describes.

⁴Place-names do exist around us, however, in which there is irony. An example appears to be that of "Feather-bed Lane," a stretch of the old Joppa or Rolling Road which lies between Kingsville and Fork in the Eleventh District of Baltimore County. This road was once one of the worst in the county; but about twenty-five years ago it was macadamized, and was then for a time considered the county's best road. The proprietors of Record's fertilizer works on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River put up a sign at Kingsville which read: "This is Sunshine Avenue. Record's, Three Miles." A title more inane, more banal, it would be impossible to imagine; but "Sunshine Avenue" achieved instant popularity, and as "Sunshine Avenue" the road between Kingsville and Fork is known to this day.

⁵"Howard's Fancy" is thus described: "Lying in Baltimore County, on the south side of Gwinn's Falls, beginning at two bounded red oaks and two bounded spanish oaks standing on a point on the south side of a branch descending from the Soldiers Delight into the aforesaid falls." A hill called "Soldiers Delight Hill" is mentioned in the survey of a tract called "Murray's Farm" laid out for Josephus Murray. This hill lies not more than three miles north-east of Woodensburg. The connection between this hill and Soldiers Delight is not apparent.

⁶An example of a place-name which, so far as I am aware, is found in

From the western end, or from somewhere near the end of the road which ran from the Garrison to Patapsco Falls, a road ran down through what is now the western or south-western part of Baltimore County to what were in 1697 the frontier plantations. This road, according to Captain Oldton's report, was fourteen miles in length. Whether this road is traceable today, whether all or any part of it still exists, is a question the discussion of which had best be reserved until we have disposed of more certain things.

Of all the roads over which the Baltimore County rangers traveled in their patrol of the wilderness there remains but one which at the present day can be followed almost from end to end, and of which, beyond all possibility of doubt, fragments still exist and are still in use; and this is the only known "garrison" road of which Captain Oldton makes no mention in his reports. This road was evidently the way by which the rangers returned to the Garrison from their excursions to the westward, and it was probably, in part at least, the "short-cut" by which provisions, munitions and building materials were carried to the fort, and the road taken by the rangers when they went home on leave of absence.

The author has quoted elsewhere in this series of articles an order of the Baltimore County Court, dated June, 1738, and directed to Christopher Gist, "to clear the old Indian Road from the Garrison Road down by Captain John Risteaus to go by the head of the Western Glade, etc."⁷ The "Garrison Road," to which allusion is made in this order of court, is that which we shall now endeavor to trace, the road which led back to the Garrison from the settlements, or that part of it which lies above the Old Court Road. The road still known as the Garrison Road, which runs between the Old Court Road and Steven-

no extant record, but is none the less probably a very old name, is that of the Devil's Dancing Ground or Devil's Woodyard, a bare spot in Bush River Neck, at the head of Abby Island Creek, where, it is said, nothing will grow.

⁷ "The Old Indian Road," Part II, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1920, p. 219.

son Station, is certainly the modern representative and legitimate heir of this ancient Garrison Road, whether it does, or does not, follow exactly the same course.⁸ This road at present passes some distance to the westward of the site of the Garrison. Originally, we may suppose, it intersected the road which went from the Garrison to Patapsco Falls, if it did not itself lead direct to the Garrison.

To sections of the Garrison Road which lie south of the Old Court Road references exist which are almost contemporary with the dates of Captain Oldton's reports.

A tract of land called "Christian's Deary," surveyed for one John Christian December 1st, 1699, is described as beginning "at a bounded black oak standing by a small pocoson (Indian word for swamp—W. B. M.) on the north side of the Garrison road." This land was later (June 26th, 1746) resurveyed,

⁸ George Risteau, son of Captain John Risteau, had the course of a road in this immediate neighborhood altered in the year 1758; but it is uncertain what road was thus changed. His lands embraced the site of the Garrison and the upper part of the present Garrison Road. In March, 1758, he presented to the Baltimore County Court a petition in which he states that he has "a road that goes through his land and by turning of it a small distance can make the said Road a better and nigher way"; and he requests permission to have the road diverted. The Court appointed William Rogers and Nicholas Ruxton Gay, Gentlemen, to view the road, who in June, 1758, made report as follows:

"We the Subscribers being appointed by Baltimore County Court to view the road lately Petitioned for by George Risteau to be altered and made as convenient as the former Road do say that if the said Road is turned or altered in the manner as the said George Risteau proposeth and sheweth to us It would be rather better and more level than the old road and as nigh or nigher in our opinion and that the turning or altering the said road as prayed for by the said Risteau would ease the said Risteau of the expense of a long lane through his Plantation or keeping of two gates, etc., etc." The petition was granted, but the petitioner was ordered to clear the new road at his own expense. (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, "Sessions," 1757, June Court, 1758, f. 127-128). The change in the road must have been considerable to eliminate a long lane. It is not easy to see where such a change could have been made in the Garrison Road within the Risteau lands. A map of these lands will be found with the author's "The Old Indian Road," Part II, in the September, 1920, number of this *Magazine*.

together with "Cromwell's Island" (surveyed for Thomas Cromwell October 19th, 1702), for Captain Darby Lux, and called "Darbyshire."

The beginning of "Christian's Deary" (which is also the beginning of "Darbyshire" and of "Deer Park") lies, as well as I can determine, about half a mile due south of the Old Court Road, and about the same distance due east of the Western Run of Jones Falls. There does not seem to be any road at this point today of sufficient antiquity to be identified with the original Garrison Road, and the point lies too far to the east to have any obvious relationship with the present Garrison Road which runs from the Court Road to Stevenson Station; and this may be taken as evidence that the present Garrison Road does not follow the course of the original road.⁹

*The surveyor, in laying out "Darbyshire," found it necessary to run out the lines of "Cromwell's Island," which he describes as follows: "Beginning for 'Cromwell's Island' at a bounded white oak standing by a bounded red oak (now down) which said red oak is deemed to be the original beginning tree of said land and lies by a branch side on the west side of the main road leading to the Garrison from Baltimore Town." It is possible that neither the beginning of "Cromwell's Island" nor that of "Christian's Deary" stood directly by the Garrison Road, but that the Garrison Road ran between the two points, which lie about half a mile apart. This section of the Garrison Road is referred to in the description of a tract called "Bedford Resurveyed," which was laid out for Mathew Coulter April 6th, 1732, "lying in Baltimore County, between the Garrison Road and Gwinns Falls." The town of Pikesville stands on a part of this tract.

The foregoing reference to the Garrison Road as a main road leading to Baltimore Town is misleading. The Garrison Road which we are now tracing never led to the original site of Baltimore, although it apparently had branches which led in that direction even before the town was laid out in 1729. Certain it is that long before the middle of the eighteenth century a road branched off from the Garrison Road, probably near Hookstown, or where the present Reisterstown Turnpike and Garrison Avenue come together, and passed into Baltimore Town by the site of Druid Hill Park. This road may, I believe, be regarded as the predecessor of the Reisterstown Road between the City and Hookstown. It gave its name to the Garrison Road above where the two roads joined. Thus a tract called "North Carolina," surveyed for James Richards July 15th, 1746, which adjoins "Darbyshire" on the south, and lies between "Darbyshire" and "Pemblicoe," begins "on the north side of a small stony branch or

On April 26th, 1699, there was laid out for Captain John Oldton and Thomas Hedge in partnership a tract of eight hundred acres called "Pemblicoe," which is described as follows:

glade and on the east side of the great road leading from Baltimore Town to the Garrison Ridge." The road thus described is certainly the Garrison Road.

A tract called "Cole's Adventure" is described in a deed dated 1773 as situated "on the great road leading from Baltimore Town to the Garrison Forest" (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. L. No. G., f. 370). This land lies on the west side of the Reisterstown Turnpike, and runs as far north as the intersection of that road and Garrison Avenue. The former road is evidently the road described in the deed.

In the year 1756 the Baltimore County Court "continued" John Demmett overseer of the following roads: "of the road from the widow Butler's to Baltimore Town Gateway and from Baltimore Town to the Falls at Jonathan Hanson's old mill" (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings Liber B. B. No. C., November Court, 1756). The "widow Butler" was the widow of Henry Butler, whose residence was on a tract called "The Hope," which was surveyed for him February 27th, 1704. It lies on the Garrison Road (which, however, is not mentioned in the survey) adjacent to the north-west corner of the "Pemblico" tract, and a part of this land was taken away by "Pemblicoe" which was an elder survey. The site of Hanson's mill is now covered by the Fallsway.

In November, 1733, the court appointed Samuel Owings overseer "of the roads from Henry Butlers up by the Garrison to the North Run and from said Butlers by George Oggs and James Wells to Gwins Falls, etc." ("The Old Indian Road, Part II, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1920, p. 208). The roads here alluded to were the Garrison Road as far as the Garrison and a continuation of the same to the North Run of Jones Falls, and a road which diverged from the Garrison Road somewhere south of Pikesville, and ran north-west to and across the lands which belonged to George Ogg in 1733, the present Craddock place, "Trentham." This last road was the predecessor of the Reisterstown Turnpike in that locality. Additional information about it will be found in my second article on the "Old Indian Road."

In November, 1754, the court appointed Joseph Cromwell overseer of the following roads: "From Samuel Owings until it intersects the main wagon road by the widow Butler's from Thomas Bond's to Jones Falls and from Monk's until it intersects the waggon road to Baltimore Town near the Widow Buchanan's" (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber B. B. No. A., f. 443). Eleanor Buchanan, widow of Dr. George Buchanan, was then living on the Buchanan estate, "Auchentoroly," which was on the site of Druid Hill Park.

In the year 1754 Cornelius Howard had a land commission on the tract called "Lunn's Lott," now in the heart of Baltimore City. Before this

"Lying on the north side of Patapsco River and on the west side of Jones Falls in the woods below the Garrison, beginning at a bounded hickory on the west side of the Garrison road,

commission William Parish, a Quaker, made the following affirmation: "being at one other place near the head of a branch and on the south side of the main road leading from Baltimore Town towards the Garrison Forrest and a little below Mr. William Lux's dwelling house and where we have now set up a stone which said dwelling house bears therefrom north 85 degrees west, this affirmant declares that he was at this place some years agoe in company with Mr. Richard Gist late of this county deceased and then there was a bounded hickory standing and the said R^d Gist told this affirmant that the said bounded hickory was a bounded tree of Lun's Lott" (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, 273). We are further informed that William Lux's dwelling house was formerly the dwelling house of Dr. George Walker, and that it stood on a tract adjacent to "Lunn's Lott." This was the Chatsworth mansion, which, with a large plantation, William Lux inherited from his father-in-law, Dr. George Walker. The situation of "Chatsworth," as surveyed for William Lux, and of "Lunn's Lott" is shown on a map of surveys and resurveys which lie within the limits of Baltimore City, published in Scharf's *History of Baltimore County*.

In August, 1728, the court appointed Henry Butler overseer of the roads "from Patapsco Ferry (probably at the Ferry Point, now Ferry Bar, on the Middle Branch; otherwise at Gorsuch's Point, now Lazaretto) to Jones Falls at Mary Hansons mill, from the said Mill to Guinns Falls, from the same Mill to Guinns falls leading to the main falls above Christopher Randalls plantation, from the Garrison Ridge to the Rowling landing at Guinns falls and from the said Ridge to Mary Hansons the church road" (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber I. W. S. No. 6, 1728-1730, f. 26).

The earliest mill erected by Jonathan Hanson on Jones Falls stood in the neighborhood of Bath Street, where the ford of the old Main Road (Philadelphia, Joppa or Post Road) crossed the Falls, on part of "Cole's Harbour" or "Todd's Range" conveyed to Jonathan Hanson, millwright, by Charles Carroll June 9th, 1711. Old Saint Paul's church stood near the intersection of the North Point and Sollers' Point Roads, in Patapsco Neck, on Colegate's Creek. This "church road" from the Garrison Ridge to Mary Hansons' I would identify with the "main road leading from Baltimore Town towards the Garrison Forrest" of later records, or as a branch of the Garrison Road, which led from about the site of Hookstown down across the central parts of what is now Baltimore City, to intersect the old Main or Philadelphia Road at Jones Falls.

This road I would also identify with a road which led from Henry Butler's (which was on the main Garrison Road) to Walker's Mill, mentioned in an order of Baltimore County court dated November, 1733.

thence south-east by south 320 perches to a bounded white oak on the east side of the said road, then east and by north one and one half degrees north 130 perches, north east 198 perches,

("The Old Indian Road," Part 2, p. 209, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1920.) The same year and month—November, 1733—William Rogers was appointed overseer of the roads "from the old church (i. e., Saint Paul's, in Patapsco Neck) to Walker's Mill and from the said Mill to the Herring Run" (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber ———, 1733-1734, f. 188).

On July 6th, 1733, Dr. George Walker and Jonathan Hanson obtained a writ of *ad quod damnum* on twenty acres of land on both sides of Jones Falls for the purpose of erecting a mill. Ten acres of this tract they already possessed. The tract names are not given. (Chancery Record, Liber I. R. No. 2, f. 652.) Hanson already owned the thirty acres of "Cole's Harbour" which he purchased of Charles Carroll, and, farther up Jones Falls, two hundred acres called "Mount Royal," surveyed for him in 1720 on escheated land called "Saint Mary's Bow." About the middle of the eighteenth century Edward Fell had granted to him for a mill site, under a writ of *ad quod damnum*, a parcell of land composed of parts of "Lunn's Lott," "Cole's Harbour" or "Todd's Range" and "Roger's Inspection," beginning at the first boundary of the land granted to George Walker and Jonathan Hanson for a water mill under writ of *ad quod damnum*. The two mills (built *circa* 1711 and 1733 respectively) were later called Moore's Mills. It seems highly probable that the mill called Walker's stood on the extreme lower part of Jones Falls, not far above the mill erected by Jonathan Hanson in 1711 or thereabouts, and I would identify it with the upper Moore's Mill shown on Warner & Hanna's Plan of Baltimore, 1801. Walker and Hanson conveyed their joint interests in their mill seat on Jones Falls to Dr. Edward Fottrell in 1741.

The purpose of this long and, I fear, extremely tiresome note has been to show, in the first place, how the upper part of the Garrison Road came to be described as a main road leading to Baltimore Town, and in the second place, to prove that the road which led out of the Garrison Road into and across what is now the central part of our city, existed before 1729, the date of the founding of Baltimore. That this road was useful to the early settlers of Garrison Forest as a short way to church and to the mill is enough to account for its existence prior to the laying-out of Baltimore Town; but there seems to be a chance that it antedated the settlement of the backwoods, and was part of the original system of "Garrison Roads." We have already noted the fact that Captain Oldton and all of the men who served under him were inhabitants of Patapsco or of Back River Necks. (They were probably all inhabitants of the former place.) Such a road as this would have served them admirably as a "short-cut" in passing between their plantations and the Garrison.

north west and by west 381 perches, south west by west 320 perches, thence by a straight line to the beginning."

The foregoing references to points on the Garrison Road are chiefly important because of the relatively early date; but the fact that they are associated with Captain Oldton, himself, enhances their interest. "Pemblicoe" is the land on which the Pimlico Race-course is situated, and from which it derives its name.¹⁰ The spot where "Pemblicoe" originally had its beginning probably lies in the neighborhood of the place where a line drawn east from the Reisterstown Turnpike, at the entrance to Mount Hope Asylum, would intersect Park Heights Avenue, or within a quarter of a mile of this spot.¹¹

Not quite fifty years after "Pemblicoe" was laid out the Garrison Road ran an eighth of a mile to the westward, instead of to the east, of the beginning boundary of that tract. In the year 1747 Michael Macnamara, who bought "Pemblicoe" from the administrators of John Oldton and of Thomas Hedge the younger,¹² had a land commission to determine its bounds—it was then known by its proper name of "Pimlico"—; and on March 30th of that year John Price, aged about fifty-seven years, brought the commissioners "to a small bounded red oak standing on a rising ground about forty perches to the eastward of the present Garrison road and at the back of Henry Butler's new design,"¹³ and there made oath, "that about two years agoe

¹⁰ Pimlico is, of course, a London place-name. It is said to have originated with a certain Pimlico, an Italian, who resided in London several centuries ago.

¹¹ To arrive at this conclusion I have not consulted any modern deeds, and there is a possibility that the beginning tree of "Pemblicoe" did not stand in the vicinity of this place. This location, however, is in harmony with a number of known facts and conditions, and I should be surprised if it is any considerable distance from the correct one.

¹² "The Baltimore County Garrison and the Old Garrison Roads," Part 1, Note 15.

¹³ As was stated in Note 9, Henry Butler owned "The Hope," which he took up in the year 1704. "The Hope" and "Pemblicoe" overlap one another, and the first line of "Pemblicoe" apparently runs diagonally across "The Hope." In Note 9 I have quoted several early references to a main road which passed by Henry Butler's, which I have identified with the Garrison Road.

Henry Butler now deceased told him that the bounded red oak above mentioned stood within the length of his mare he then rode on of a bounded hickory that was the beginning of the aforesaid tract of land.”¹⁴

In the will of Thomas Bale of Baltimore County, which is dated March 14th, 1706, the testator leaves to his sister, Hannah, a tract of land which he bought of Andrew Hurd called “Toms,” situated “on the Garrison Road.” This land was unquestionably a tract called “Toms Choice,” which was laid out August 23rd, 1705, and was patented in the name of Thomas Bale. “Toms Choice” lies west of “The Hope” and of the “Pemblicoe” tract, and adjoins the former. It is hardly probable that the Garrison Road ever ran through this land. It is more likely that it skirted or touched its easternmost boundary, which stood on or near the first line of “Pemblicoe.”

In the month of March, 1737/8, a certain Thomas Demmett had a land commission for the purpose of determining the bounds of a tract of land called “Cole’s Adventure,” which was surveyed for John Cole in the year 1706, and is described in the proceedings of the said commission as being situated “on a run called Gwins Run.” Henry Butler, aged between sixty and seventy years, led the commissioners “to a certain place about fifty or sixty yards to the eastward of the present Garrison road” and showed them the spot “where a bounded spanish oak the third boundary of the above said land grew near the Pimlico swamp, but the tree is now quite decayed and lost.”¹⁵

The third boundary of “Cole’s Adventure” lies very near the second boundary of “Pemblicoe”; and it seems not unlikely that the Garrison Road at this point had not changed its course between 1699 and 1738. The site of this boundary is probably in the immediate neighborhood of what was formerly

¹⁴ Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 149.

¹⁵ Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 27. John Cole, Senior, aged about 67 years, testified before the same commission that the beginning tree of “Cole’s Adventure” stood about a hundred yards to the eastward of Gwinn’s Run.

known as Hookstown, at the intersection of Garrison Avenue or Boulevard¹⁶ and the Liberty Road, or not more than a quarter of a mile north of that place.¹⁷

No trace of the old Garrison Road between Hookstown, where the present Garrison Avenue and the Reisterstown Turnpike meet, and the Old Court Road is to be seen on any modern map with which this author is acquainted;¹⁸ but between Hookstown and the Frederick Road the Garrison Road is still in existence, and in all probability, except for certain minor changes, it follows approximately the same course as that which it had in the days of the Baltimore County rangers.

On a plat made in the year 1811 by Mr. Samuel Green of lands belonging to the Baltimore Iron Works Company, more commonly known as the Baltimore Company, the route of the "Old Garrison Road" is indicated from a point a little more than half a mile north of the "new cut" Liberty Town Road southward, between Gwinn's Falls on the west and Gwinn's Run (otherwise known as Peck's Branch) on the east, to a point on the Frederick Town Turnpike equidistant between Gwinn's Falls and Gwinn's Run.¹⁹ South of the Windsor Mill

¹⁶ Needless to say, these titles—"Avenue" and "Boulevard"—are very recent. They follow inevitably in the train of "real-estate developments," of suburbanization, of the process of altering a simple old countryside, with its roads and farms, into the complex and the more or less tawdry *banlieue* of a great city.

¹⁷ The situation of "Cole's Adventure" is shown on a plat of the division of the Baltimore Iron Works Company's property made by Samuel Green from a survey executed May 11th, 1811, and filed in the case of Charles Carroll of Carrollton et al. versus John Taska (Tasker) Carter. The proceedings of the suit will be found in Liber 79, f. 67, of the Chancery Record. "Cole's Adventure" begins at a point a short distance to the west of the Reisterstown Turnpike and about an eighth of a mile above the intersection of the Reisterstown Turnpike and the Pimlico Road.

¹⁸ The turnpike between Baltimore and Reisterstown was laid out in 1787 (Laws of Maryland, 1787, Chapter XXIII). The new road doubtless rendered upper parts of the Garrison Road of little use, which may account for their disappearance.

¹⁹ For my knowledge of this invaluable map, as well as for a tracing of the same, I am indebted to Mr. Edward V. Coonan, who has in his possession a perfectly preserved copy. Another copy will be found in the

Road a short section of the Old Garrison Road is not shown, because the surveyor did not at this point use the road as the boundary of lots. North of the Windsor Mill Road a curve of the Garrison Road is shown which no longer exists. Provision for the straightening-out of this curve was made in Mr. Green's survey.²⁰

Before we may consider the question of the ultimate destination of the Garrison Road, it is necessary that the reader should be acquainted with the topography of that part of Baltimore City which lies immediately east of Gwinn's Falls and north of Carroll Park. The large brook, known from very early times as Gwinn's Run or as Gwinn's Little Falls²¹—one of the most considerable branches of Gwinn's Falls—rises near the intersection of the Garrison Road (now Garrison Avenue) and the Reisterstown Turnpike, and empties into Gwinn's Falls

Maryland Land Record Office, where it was filed in the case of Charles Carroll of Carrolton et al. versus John Tasker Carter et al. The proceedings of this suit will be found in the records of the High Court of Chancery, Liber 79, f. 67 et seq.

²⁰ Chancery Proceedings, Liber 79, f. 67 et seq. The Garrison Road was straightened along a line which ran from Wooden's beech tree to Ogg's white oak, and which is shown on Samuel Green's survey. A map of Baltimore County published in 1850 by James M. Stephens from surveys made by J. C. Sydney and P. J. Browne shows the Garrison Road between Hookstown and the Frederick Turnpike as it is today; although, in common with most other roads shown on this map, the Garrison Road is not given any name. The peculiar virtue of this map is that it shows the present Garrison Road clearly, while on later maps the course of the road is more difficult to follow on account of the maze of new or projected streets which surrounds it.

²¹ The earliest recorded reference to this stream is, I believe, that which is found in the certificate of survey of the well-known tract "Parish's Range," laid out for Edward Parish of Anne Arundel County October 5th, 1679, and described as follows: "Lying . . . on the north side of Potapsco River and upon the main falls of a branch called the Middle Branch (Gwinn's Falls—W. B. M.), beginning at a bounded oak a bounded tree of the land of Edward Horton and Richard Gwin (i. e. "New Town," surveyed 1672) standing by the little falls (i. e. Gwinn's Run)." In a deed dated August 25th, 1697, from Edward Parish to John Wooden for part of "Parish's Range," Gwinn's Run is described as "a stony branch called Gwins Little Falls."

about a quarter of a mile below Wilkins Avenue and half a mile above the Washington Turnpike. The upper reaches of this stream are now covered by a sewer, and one of its principal affluents has totally disappeared under city streets.²² In primitive times Gwinn's Run, which has a length of about four and a half miles, formed with Gwinn's Falls a long neck of land, narrowing towards the south, and accessible, except by fords, only from the north.

The destination of the old Garrison Road, as revealed by Samuel Green's map, was evidently some part of the country west of Gwinn's Falls. Such would be the inference we would naturally draw from the direction in which the road is observed to be going. Had its original destination, moreover, been some point or locality to the eastward of Gwinn's Falls, it would hardly have been laid out far down into the neck between that stream and its affluent, Gwinn's Run, when the simple expedient of turning it to the east of the sources of Gwinn's Run, instead of to the west, would have rendered the fording or bridging of that large brook near its mouth, where its volume was greatest, unnecessary.

The history of colonization on Gwinn's Falls begins, as far as there are records to inform us, with a certain Richard Gwin (Gwinn or Guin) who, on April 25th, 1672, in partnership with one Edward Halton, took up a tract of land called "New Town" in the angle or "neck" made by the intersection of Gwinn's Falls and Gwinn's Run. With the larger of these two streams his name will doubtless be associated for all time. The

²² A stream, the head springs of which lay west of Druid Hill Park in the neighborhood of Auchentoroly Terrace, and south of the Brown estate, "Mondawmin." Its course for some distance appears to have been along the lines of Payson, Pulaski and Smallwood Streets, and it emptied into Gwinn's Run near the intersection of Lexington Street and the Calverton Road. This stream is clearly shown on a map of Baltimore County published by James C. Stephens in 1850. On a plat filed in the case of Charles Carroll of Carrollton versus John McClellan, 1814 (Package Plats, No. 28), it is marked "Gwin's Run," while the larger stream is called "Gwin's Little Falls," a distinction I have never observed elsewhere in the records.

smaller is today generally called Peck's Branch; but on maps is still described as Gwinn's Run.

Some time before his death in the year 1692 Richard Gwin cleared a plantation on "New Town,"²³ but it is extremely

²³This is proved by a deposition of William Bond, aged forty-eight years, taken in June, 1733, before a land commission held on behalf of John Stewart to determine and fix the boundaries of "New Towne" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 2, f. 166 et seq.). The facts revealed by this deposition, humble and bucolic as they may seem, are part of the history of the land on which Baltimore City now stands, and I therefore quote the deposition almost in full, omitting only such parts as prove nothing connected with my subject and could not possibly interest anyone. "William Bond, aged about 48 years, deposeth that about 30 years ago Mr. James Carroll told Peter Bond, who was then seating the land he had by his wife, that he had better decline seating there and that he would let him have warrant and shew him land in some other place (James Carroll then owned a tract called "Saint James Park," which adjoined "New Town" on the south, and was surveyed in the year 1700. It was later included in "Georgia."—W. B. M.) and the said Peter Bond answered he believed he had evidence good enough to support his pretensions and this deponent further declares that some time just before or just after he saw a certain Charles Gorsuch a Quaker affirm before some magistrate and as he remembers it was Mr. Thomas Bale who was then a Magistrate that a bounded white oak in the Bottom where Dr. Carroll's Mill now is was the beginning bounded tree of the land the said Peter Bond had by his wife and that it was taken up by her father Richard Gwin and this Deponent further declareth on the oath aforesaid that a white oak by the said Dr. Carroll's Mill race and near midway from the mill to the head of the race he verily believes to be the said tree the Question being asked at the instance of Dr. Carroll whether this deponent knew anything of the said land of his own knowledge he answered that he had heard some people say that there stood a bounded tree between the now rolling road and Gwins falls near a gullie a little below where John Parish his plantation now is and that he believes they also told him it was a tree of the said land or Parishes land he is not positive of which or either and this Deponent further sayeth that he has heard the old men (vizt Charles Gorsuch and Isaac Jackson) say that old Richard Gwin who was one of the takers up of the said land did seat or settle a plantation between where the head of the mill race now is and the mouth of a run called Gwins Run . . . he (i. e. the deponent) being further asked whether he knew how his brother Peter Bond came by the said land he answered he always understood he had it with his wife said Gwins daughter . . . he being further asked how far he thinks it was higher up the falls where his brother Peter Bond first settled he answered he did not know

doubtful if he ever resided on this land. The plantation was probably merely a "quarter," and its owner had his home somewhere on tidewater on the south side of Patapsco River, where the remainder of his lands lay.

Richard Gwin was a man of more than average consideration in the community in which he lived. The title of "Mr." was freely used with his name, a title which was very grudgingly bestowed in the seventeenth century. In the year 1686 he was appointed a Justice of the Baltimore County Court, but, on account of "scandalous and infamous liveing," was not allowed to take the oath of office.²⁴ Harsh words such as these were liberally applied in those days, and the truth of the whole matter seems to be that Gwin was not so much a man of bad moral character as he was one who liked to defy public opinion.²⁵ At all events Richard Gwin was evidently a man of some ability, and his morals were doubtless no worse than those of many of his neighbors who were shocked by his audacity.

In his will, dated 1692, Richard Gwin bequeathed to his daughter Eleanor Gwin the land called "New Towne," of which he was then possessed in full. Eleanor Gwin married (1st) Peter Bond, the younger, son of the immigrant, Peter Bond, and (2nd) Hill Savage.

the distance but that it was between where the dwelling house now stands and Gwins Run side and that they cleared down the run towards the mouth thereof he being further asked whether he knew if any part of Parishes land was Setled at the same time he answerd that there was a little Plantation settled by George Ogg but that he did not know whether it was any part of Parishes land or not being asked if he knew of any other bounded tree higher up the said falls he answered that about 27 years ago he see a white oak bounded for a tract of land his brother Peter Bond then took up part of which he after sold to John Wells and that the said tree did stand within a few strides of Gwins falls on the upper side of a spring near a house which the said Peter Bond built for himself on Newtown when he let his father and mother live in the house he first built on the said land."

²⁴ Md. Archives, Vol. V, p. 524.

²⁵ The difficulty in which Richard Gwin became involved and how he successfully extricated himself will be found recorded in the Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber D., 1682-1686, November court, 1685, and March court, 1685/6.

In the year 1705, or thereabouts, Peter Bond settled on "Newtown," which he then held in right of his wife, the daughter of Richard Gwin.²⁶ About 1719 he built a mill on Gwinn's Falls, according to a deposition taken some years later.²⁷ This mill must have stood on the Falls a short distance below the present Wilkens Avenue Bridge.

In 1733, or thereabouts, Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, who was at that time already possessed of that very large tract known as "Georgia,"²⁸ later "Mount Clare," was the owner of two mills situated on Gwinn's Falls. One of these mills stood just below the beginning boundary of "New Town," on part of "Georgia," about a quarter of a mile or less above the mouth of Gwinn's Run, probably on or near the site of the old Mulling-

²⁶ See Note 23.

²⁷ In June, 1733, before John Stewart's land commission on "New Town" (Note 23), one Charles Wells, aged thirty years, deposed that fourteen or fifteen years before a certain Joseph Parkinson, who was then a servant to Peter Bond, informed him "that if his Master had not Com'd to him he had cut down his masters bounded tree"; and that "when he (i. e. the deponent) lived with Peter Bond they went several times to run out the said Peters land and they always went down into the Bottom where Dr. Carrolls Mill now is to begin, and he heard Joseph Perkinson say it was when he was falling Timber to build a Mill in the said bottom that he had like to have cutt down the said tree."

²⁸ The tract called "Georgia," which is sometimes referred to as "Georgia Plantation," and is now generally known as "Mount Clare," was surveyed and patented to Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis in the year 1732, and contained 2368 acres. In addition to much vacant land it embraced the following original surveys: "Black Wanut Neck," surveyed for Hugh Kensey, 1663; "Howard's Chance," surveyed for John Howard, 1668; "Saint James Park," surveyed for James Carroll, 1700; "Gill's Outlet," surveyed for John Gill, 1714; "Mill Haven," surveyed for John Mercier, 1695; "Monmouth Green," surveyed for Thomas Bale, 1702; "Barley Hills," surveyed for Dr. Charles Carroll, 1728; "Discovery," surveyed for Dr. Charles Carroll, 1729. The first four of these tracts lie on the east side of Gwinn's Falls; the remainder are situated west of Gwinn's Falls. Something less than a thousand acres of "Georgia" lies east of Gwinn's Falls; the remainder lies west of that stream, and was conveyed by Dr. Carroll in 1733 to the Baltimore Company, of which he was a member. The situation of the eastern part of "Georgia" is shown on the map of tracts lying within Baltimore City published in Scharf's *History of Baltimore County*.

ton Mill.²⁹ The other mill appears to have been situated a short distance above the Washington Turnpike, where a large mill structure still stands.³⁰ The dam was situated at or but a

²⁹In June, 1733, before John Steward's land commission on "New Town" (Notes 23 and 27), William Hammond, aged thirty-two years, deposed "that a certain white oak by Dr. Carroll's Mill race and about half way between the said Mill and the head of the race was shewed him by a certain John Snow on the 19th of July last and the said Snow told him that when he was a servant to Peter Bond about 20 years agoe the said Bond shewed him the said white oak and told him it was his beginning tree of a tract of land he had with his wife." Edward Roberts, aged about fifty-nine years, deposed "that about 30 years ago he was looking for cattle in the bottom by Gwins Falls where Doctor Charles Carrolls Mill now stands and he there saw Old Peter Bond, who told him he had been often looking for the beginning bounded tree of Richard Gwins land now his son Peters land and that he now found it in the said bottom a little above where the said Mill now is."

³⁰A deed which bears date March 25th, 1796, from Charless Carroll of Carrollton et al. to James Carroll (who was then possessed of "Georgia" or "Mount Clare" by inheritance from his uncle, Barrister Carroll) recalls the fact that "Doctor Charles Carroll long since deceased, when he conveyed to the Baltimore Company (i. e., in 1733) all that part of a tract of land lying in Baltimore County called Georgia situated on the west side of Gwinn's Falls" neglected to reserve to himself and his heirs "any portion or part of the said tract on the west side of the said falls to which his mill dam might be abutted," and that "from the institution of the said Company to the present day the said Dr. Charles Carroll deceased and those claiming under him have always abutted and still continue to abutt the said Mill Dam to the lands on the said west side." By this deed the parties of the first part conveyed to James Carroll a strip of land lying on the west side of Gwinn's Falls in consideration of five shillings. "And whereas, in the articles which were originally entered into between the Baltimore Company there is a clause prohibiting the said Company from erecting any grist mill or mills which might have been or may be prejudicial to the custom of a mill then erecting by the said Dr. Carroll, the said James Carroll for and in consideration of the release made to him of the lands herein described as a butment to the mill dam as aforesaid hath released all cause or causes of action . . . against the said company in consequence . . . of the said articles or covenant" (Land Records of Baltimore County, Liber W. G. No. V. V., f. 97).

The strip of land thus conveyed by the Baltimore Company to James Carroll lies along the west side of Gwinn's Falls between the mouth of Gwinn's Run and a point not far below the Brunswick Street Bridge, or near the beginning of "New Town." It is shown on the plat of "Mount

short way below the mouth of Gwinn's Run. Ruins of a dam are still to be seen on Gwinn's Falls immediately below the spot where Gwinn's Run empties into the Falls, and the old mill race can still be traced down as far as Mount Clare Mill.

In the month of June, 1736, by virtue of a writ of *ad quod damnum*, there was surveyed for the Baltimore Iron Works Company,³¹ of which Dr. Charles Carroll was a member, a tract

Clare" as surveyed for James Carroll in 1811, where it can easily be identified by reference to the description of the survey; and it is also shown on a plat filed in the suit of Nicholas C. Carroll et al. versus James Carroll, 1826 (Package Plats, No. 25). The reason for the acquisition of this strip of land by James Carroll evidently was, not only that he might own the west abutment of the dam, but also the land above the dam flooded by the mill-pond. The dam was obviously therefore situated at or just below the mouth of Gwinn's Run, where remains of a dam exist today. (This could not have been the dam which served the mill belonging to Dr. Carroll, which stood near the beginning of "New Town.") The mill which it served was probably on the site of the old Mount Clare Mill, which is shown on maps of Baltimore City of a generation ago. The old mill race is still plainly to be seen. I believe it certain that this was the mill of Dr. Charles Carroll to which frequent reference is made in records of about the middle of the eighteenth century. What became of the mill farther up Gwinn's Falls I do not know.

On February 1st, 1753, Dr. Carroll wrote to his son Charles Carroll (afterwards Barrister Carroll) who was then in London:

"Neither need I mention to you the implacable malice of some here agst me which laid me under a necessity of pulling down my Furnace at Patapsco, before it made Pig Iron to pay the charge of erecting it, and this by the popish Int: combined against me, however as I would make the best of it. It is that Furnace, wheels and site thereof I am converting into a merchant mill which I expect to go next Fall." Where this furnace and mill stood I am not aware, unless it too was on the site of Mount Clare Mill.

³¹ The Baltimore Iron Works Company or Baltimore Company was organized in October, 1731, with a capital of £3500 (Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber P. L. No. 8, f. 220 et seq.). The original members of the company were Charles Carroll, Benjamin Tasker and Daniel Dulany, Esquires, Dr. Charles Carroll and Daniel Carroll of Duddington Manor. This company flourished for many years and carried on actively its business of mining, smelting and forging bog iron ore. It owned many slaves. In the vicinity of Baltimore Town the Baltimore Company owned many thousands of acres, including the tracts known as "Gorsuch," "Phillipsburg" and "Orange" on the east, "Bear Hills" on the north, "Frederickstadt" and a large part of "Georgia" on the west. In 1785

of one hundred acres, situated on Gwinn's Falls, in the neighborhood of the mouth of Maiden's Choice Run, as a site for a forge.³² This tract was made up of parts of "Georgia," "New Town" and of "Bond's Increase."³³ The forge, which the Baltimore Company erected on this tract, stood somewhere between Wilkens Avenue and the Brunswick Street Bridge over Gwinn's Falls. The dam appears to have been located just north of the Wilkens Avenue Bridge, where foundations of a dam may still be observed. The mill-pond, or "Old Forge Pool," as it was called, extended up Gwinn's Falls a quarter of a mile beyond the Frederick Turnpike.³⁴

Several years prior to 1736 the Baltimore Company had built a furnace on a small branch of Gwinn's Falls known as Charles's Run, which empties into the west side of the Falls at or very near the head of tidewater, or opposite to the point

the Baltimore Company was possessed of a furnace and two forges, more than twenty-eight thousand acres of land and two hundred or more negroes. (*Md. Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, March 28th, 1785.)

³² Chancery Proceedings, Liber I. R. No. 2, 1730-1736, f. 787. This tract, which was surveyed June 15th, 1736, begins "at a bounded white oak saplin growing out of the Root of a leaning white oak near a spring on the north side of Gwinn's falls nigh the upper end of the Saw Mill Race and below the Dam of the said saw mill." This mill was doubtless the one built by Peter Bond. The jury appointed to condemn the tract "for setting up a Forge Mill for the manufacture of pigg iron," appraised the land on the west side of Gwinn's Falls and on the south side of Maiden's Choice Run, at three shillings per acre, and the land on the east side of Gwinn's Falls at eighteen shillings per acre.

³³ A small tract surveyed for Peter Bond September 28th, 1704, between "New Town" and Gwinn's Falls.

³⁴ References to the Old Forge Pool will be found in a deed from the Baltimore Company to James Carroll dated March 25th, 1802 (Liber W. G. No. 71, f. 502, Balto. Co. Land Records); in the resurvey, "Mount Clare," laid out for James Carroll, 1811; and in depositions taken before a land commission held in 1806 to determine the bounds of "Georgia," "New Town" and other tracts on behalf of James Carroll (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 95, f. 162 et seq.). The lowest mills on Gwinn's Falls, belonging to the Ellicott family, to which allusion is made in these depositions, were situated just north of the Frederick Turnpike, and are shown on Samuel Green's plat of the lands of the Baltimore Company, 1811.

where Nantecoke Street extended intersects the Falls.³⁵ The furnace stood on the east side of Charles's Run, about five hundred feet south of Gwinn's Falls.³⁶ There is reason to believe

³⁵By a deed which bears date September 25th, 1733, Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis conveyed to Benjamin Tasker, Charles Carroll and Daniel Dulany of Annapolis, Esquires, and to Daniel Carroll of Duddington Manor, Gent., a tract of eighteen hundred acres lying on the west side of Gwinn's Falls, of which fourteen hundred acres were part of "Georgia" (Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber P. L. No. 8, f. 220 et seq.). This deed recalls the fact that the said parties "by their several quinqu partite deeds . . . bearing date the 1st of October, 1731, mutually covenanted, etc., to enter into a copartnership or company and at their equal charges and by equal dividends to make one stock of £3500 . . . to be employed used and laid out in the purchase of lands contiguous to Patapsco River in Baltimore County and erecting and building on Gwinn's Falls or a Branch of the said Falls called Charles's Run on a tract of land called Mill Haven one good sufficient furnace for running pigg metal from Iron Oar with all other buildings necessary and requisite to be occupied with such furnace." In payment for the land Dr. Carroll was allowed £634 as so much paid on his share of £700 for a one fifth interest in the company. We note, by the way, that on March 15th, 1765, a one-fifth share of the stock of the Baltimore Iron Works Company was offered for sale in the Maryland Gazette at £5200. The founding of the Baltimore Company marks the beginning of great business enterprise in and around the site of Baltimore. "Mill Haven" was not in Dr. Carroll's possession at the time when the Baltimore Company was formed. It was conveyed to him on April 11th, 1732, by Dr. George Buchanan and Eleanor his wife, and was resurveyed in "Georgia" the same year. Dr. Carroll was intimately acquainted with Dr. Buchanan, and there was probably some agreement between them about the land. On December 14th, 1733, the following advertisement, signed by Dr. Carroll, appeared in the Maryland Gazette: "At the Iron-Works on Patapsco River in Baltimore County will be employ'd Labourers to cut Wood, etc. etc." The furnace was certainly standing at that time. By virtue of a writ of *ad quod damnum* which bears date January 12th, 1733/4, there was surveyed for the Baltimore Company a tract of 100 acres, part of "Georgia," described as situated "on Charles's Branch and Gwyn's Falls," "beginning at the mouth of a small cove . . . below the furnace" (Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber P. L. No. 2, f. 594 et seq.). Another part of "Georgia," condemned for the Baltimore Company and surveyed April 19th, 1748, begins "at the sst end of a large rock on the north side of the Middle branch opposit to the Baltimore Iron Works furnace." (Book of Baltimore and Anne Arundel County surveys which belonged to Barrister Carroll, 1766.)

³⁶The old furnace is shown on Fielding Lucas's Plan of the City of

that deep water formerly extended up Gwinn's Falls as far as the mouth of Charles's Run, and that the landing known as the "Iron Works Landing" was situated there, or in that vicinity.³⁷

Baltimore, 1841, which shows a building marked "Balt Co. Furnace" on "Charles Run." Charles's Run or Branch is mentioned in the certificate of a tract called "Johnson's Interest," surveyed for Anthony Johnson, October 25th, 1695, one of the tracts conveyed by Dr. Carroll to the Baltimore Company in 1733. I think that it was named for Charles Gorsuch. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad skirts the shore of a large ice-pond which is fed by the waters of this stream.

³⁷ In the month of August, 1739, John Paca, Joshua Sewell and John Baker presented a petition to the Baltimore County Court, in which they set forth that they have "plantations settled in and near the fork of the Great Main Falls of Patapsco," and are obliged "to roll all their tobacco to the Patapsco Iron Works landing." The petitioners request "that a rolling road may be cleared from John Paca's quarter to Capt. Jones's quarter (Captain Philip Jones. This was on Soldier's Delight—W. B. M.) untill it intersects the Soldiers Delight Road." The petitioners promise to maintain the new road at their own expense "untill such time (as) the neighborhood is more fully settled" (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber T. R. No. 2, 1739-1740, f. 79).

In March, 1738/9, Christopher Randall, Joshua Owings, Daniel Rawlings and Charles Wells presented a petition to the Court, in which they state that they have "altered our rowling road leading from Soldiers Delight to the Iron Works a nearer way and much better for rideing or rowling tobacco than the former road was"; and they request that the overseer of the road in the Upper Hundred of Patapsco be compelled to mend their new road (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber H. W. S. No. I. A., 2, f. 357).

That the road from the Soldier's Delight to the Iron Works existed very soon after the founding of the Baltimore Company is proved by an order of court dated November, 1733, which directs Charles Wells to be overseer of the road "From Jones's Quarter to the Iron Works" (See "The Old Indian Road," Part II, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1920, p. 218. This order is there quoted in full). The date of this order makes it quite certain that the Baltimore Company's furnace on the west side of Gwinn's Falls near the mouth of that stream was meant. No other iron-works existed in that part of Maryland at this time.

In November, 1734, William Peticoat was appointed overseer "of all the roads in Soldiers Delight hundred lying between the main falls and Gwinn's falls of Potapsco," including "the rowling road from Captain Jones's qr. (quarter)." The same court appointed Oliver Cromwell overseer "of all the roads in the upper hundred of Potapsco between the main falls and Gwinn's falls," including the following: "the roaling road from the Iron Works till it intersects the Indion (the Indian Road is now the Old Court Road—W. B. M.), the roaling road from the head of Potapsco

An acquaintance with the foregoing facts is necessary in order that we may understand certain records which have a bearing on the question of the course and destination of the old Garrison Road.

to the Dogwood branch . . . (the road), from William Hamiltons to the Iron Works . . . the road that leads from the Main Falls of Patapsco to Ragland roaling road." (These orders are quoted in full in "The Old Indian Road," Part II, p. 218-219.)

It is evident that the Court intended to divide the rolling road, which ran from Captain Philip Jones's quarter on Soldier's Delight to the Iron Works landing, between the overseers of Soldiers Delight Hundred and Patapsco Upper Hundred respectively. Soldiers Delight Hundred was created in November, 1733, and was divided from Patapsco Upper Hundred by the Old Indian or Court Road. The court appointed Petticoat overseer of the upper half of the road from Soldiers Delight to the Iron Works as far down as the Indian or Court Road, and Cromwell overseer of the lower part from the Iron Works to the Indian Road. "Ragland" was the name of the country which lies on the east side of Patapsco Falls about and below Ellicott's City. I think that "the rolling road from the head of Patapsco to Dogwood Branch," and the road called "Ragland rolling road" both ran to a landing at the head of tidewater on Patapsco Falls at or near Elk Ridge Landing.

Both of these "rolling" landings—the one on Patapsco Falls and that which became the Iron Works Landing, on the west side and near the mouth of Gwinn's Falls—appear to have existed earlier than 1733. In August, 1728, the court appointed Henry Butler overseer of the road "from the Garrison Ridge to the Rowling landing at Guinns falls." The greater part of this road must have been the original Garrison Road. The same court appointed George Bailey overseer of the roads "from the Soulders (sic) Delight to the landing at the head of Potapsco, from John Belt Jr. his plantation in the forrest to the said landing." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber I. W. S. No. 6, 1728-1730, f. 26 et seq.) The two landings are therefore seen to have been distinct.

In the month of August, 1730, the Court appointed William Hammond overseer of the roads "in that part of the upper hundred of Patapsco lying between the rolling road from the Soldiers Delight (and?) Gwins falls to the Landing and all between the main road leading from Potapsco falls inclusive of both the said roads, and that he have power to command Loyd Harrys, Charles Wells, George Buchanan their male Taxables and half Mrs. Hoxsons hands that lye between the above said two roads and the main falls of Potapsco." The same Court then appointed William Hamilton overseer of the roads "between the main road from Potapsco falls (to?) Gwins falls, the rowling road from the Soldiers Delight to the landing and the main falls of Potapsco exclusive of both the said roads." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber ———, 1730-1732, f. 4.)

North of "New Town," and between Gwinn's Falls and Gwinn's Run, lies a well-known tract of land, "Parish's Range," which was laid out for Edward Parish of Anne Arundel County in the year 1678.³⁸ The first person to settle on this land appears to have been a certain George Ogg, who had a plantation thereon at least as early as the year 1703.³⁹ This plantation was evidently situated on a part of "Parish's Range" which Ogg purchased of Edward Parish August 25th, 1697. The land which Ogg bought of Parish is a long and relatively narrow strip, having a length of two miles and a width of about a quarter of a mile. It is bounded on the east by a strip of similar dimensions and the same acreage, which was conveyed out of "Parish's Range" by Edward Parish to John Wooden in 1697. It extends from a short distance north of the intersection of Garrison Avenue and the Liberty Town Turnpike southward to the neighborhood of Winchester Street. The exact location of the tract may be observed by comparing Samuel Green's plat of the Baltimore Iron Works Company's property, to which we have alluded elsewhere, with a plat filed in the case of Charles Carroll of Carrollton versus John McClellan, 1814. (Package Plats, No. 28.) The reader may thus ascertain for himself the fact that the Old Garrison Road, as shown on Samuel Green's plat, traverses George Ogg's part of Parish's Range" from end to end.

According to a deposition made by William Parish in the month of March, 1744/5, George Ogg was living on his division

Mention of Elk Ridge Landing will be found in the Maryland Gazette for May 27th, 1729. A tract called "Addition to Herbert's Care," laid out for Eleanor Herbert May 11th, 1703, is described as lying "in the woods on a Ridge called Elk Ridge, beginning at a bounded red oak on the side of a hill on the west side of the Rowling Roade." This "rolling road" may have gone to Elk Ridge Landing.

³⁸ Mr. Ruxton M. Ridgely, a descendant of the Parish family and well acquainted with the history of "Parish's Range," informs me that the tract actually contained much more than two thousand acres for which it was laid out.

³⁹ See the deposition of William Bond quoted in note 23. The deponent did not know whether or not Ogg's plantation was on "Parish's Range," but there is no doubt that it was.

of "Parish's Range" thirty-four years before that date.⁴⁰ It is highly probable that he made his home on this land from about 1703 until he died. His son, George Ogg, Jr., sold the tract to John Willmot in 1736, who conveyed it in 1738 to John Wooden.

In the month of November, 1709, the Baltimore County Court issued the following order:⁴¹

"Geo: Ogg of Baltimore County planter having turned the road to the great nuisance of the neighbour-hood Richard Gest with the said neighbours having preferred a petition to the Court that the road might be continued in its old place which was by the consent of the court granted."

From the proceedings of a court held March, 1709/10, we learn that the road thus "turned" was the Garrison Road, and that it had been diverted from its original course three or four years previous to that date:⁴²

"To the Worshipful the Justices of Baltimore County now sitting the petition of Geo: Ogg humbly sheweth that about the middle of the last month Henry Buttler⁴³ Overseer of the Garrison road to Potapscoe came with an ord^r of Court granted last Nov^r 1709 whereby under pretence of bringing the said road where it formerly went altho it hath been this three or

⁴⁰ Before a land commission held in March, 1744/5, on behalf of John Wooden, to determine the bounds of "Parish's Range," William Parish, aged about 60 years, deposed "that about 34 years ago the woods being then on fire old George Ogg desired him this affirmant to take a walk with him in the woods and brought him to the place where he now stands and shewed him either a bounded red oak or a spanish oak . . . and further affirmeth that the said Ogg told him this affirmant that the aforesaid bounded oak was his bounded tree part of Parrish's Range being the land he then lived upon." (Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 108.)

⁴¹ Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber I. S. No. B., 1708-1715, f. 70.

⁴² Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber I. S. No. B., 1708-1715, f. 95.

⁴³ In November, 1709, the court appointed Henry Butler, carpenter, overseer "of the highways from Gwins Falls unto Jones Falls and for the back roads between the said falls." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber I. S. No. B., f. 70.)

four y^r by consent of most of the Inhabitants therein concerned where it was when this order was granted hath marked the said road through yo^r petitioners cornefeild and wheat patches to the great damage and inconvenience of yo^r pet^r now yo^r petitioner haveing noe certaine knowledge of the said order before it came to be put in execution and being thereby deprived of makeing any lawfull defence humbly desireth that yo^r worshipp would please to Superseed the said order whereby yo^r petitioner is damnified and incommoded and grant an order to any Two or three indifferent persons to view the said road and make report to this worshipfull Court, etc., etc."

On reading this petition, the Court ordered that Major Thomas Hammond, William Talbott and Edward Stevenson, Gent., "doe view the said road and that the said road be made convenient for the Inhabitants adjacent with the least prejudice that may be to the petitioner Geo: Ogg and that the execution of the former order be stopped."

Between what points George Ogg diverted the Garrison Road from its original course there appear to be no means of knowing, but the question is unimportant. The Ogg tract was long and narrow. What changes were made in the road were made within the limits of this tract, and there is therefore no reason to suppose that the present route, within these limits, lies any considerable distance either to east or west of the ancient one.

By the foregoing record, which takes us back to a time not later than the year 1706, that is, three or four years earlier than the date of George Ogg's petition, the relative antiquity of that part of the Old Garrison Road which lies to the south of the present Liberty Town Turnpike is established. In point of age this record is, for that part of the road, a solitary one.⁴⁴

⁴⁴A few other references of early date which appertain to that section of the Garrison Road do exist, but the road is called by other names. William Parish deposed before John Wooden's land commission on "Parish's Range," in March, 1744/5 (Note 40), with regard to certain trees "standing in the woods near to John Parish's Plantation and near to the main road," "that he has been several times at the aforesaid trees in company with old George Ogg, old Edward Parish and old John Wooden

The disappearance of the Garrison Road south of the Frederick Turnpike Road (unless, indeed, it followed approximately the course of the present Millington Lane) is fully explained by an Act of the Maryland Assembly passed in the year 1797, and entitled: "An act to open a road from Pratt-street extended, through the land of James Carroll, till it intersects the road to Elk-Ridge Landing, and to shut up and stop all those parts of the old Frederick and Garrison roads therein mentioned," which reads as follows:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, that William Hammond, Cornelius Howard and James Baker, or any two of them, be commissioners to lay off a road from Pratt-Street Extended, across the lands of James Carroll, at the expense of the said James Carroll, to the road leading to Elk-Ridge Landing, thirty feet wide, and to return a plot of the same to Baltimore County Court, which shall be ever after deemed and taken to be a public road.

"And be it enacted, That when the road aforesaid is laid out and opened, that then all that part of the old Frederick road near the city of Baltimore on the lands of the Baltimore Company and James Carroll, which branches from the road leading from the city of Baltimore to Elk Ridge landing and afterwards unites with the Frederick turnpike road about 180 perches westwardly of Gwinn's falls, be stopped and shut up and hereafter not considered as a public road. "And be it enacted, that all that part of the old Garrison road running on the land of the said James Carroll to the southward of the Frederick turnpike road, be and is also stopped and shut up, and hereafter is not to be considered as a public road." ⁴⁵

and has known them above thirty years and says that the said bounded trees are the beginning trees of George Ogg and John Woodens land part of Parish's Range now in the possession of John Wooden." The "main road" there mentioned was certainly the Garrison Road. I think it probable that the Garrison Road was meant by the "now rolling road" mentioned in the deposition of William Bond, which is quoted in Note 23. For a reference to this part of the Garrison Road as the "road to the Iron Works" see Note 56.

⁴⁵Laws of Maryland, 1791-1798, Chapter XLII, 1797. For knowledge of this most valuable record I am indebted to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.

At this time James Carroll owned all the land on the east side of and adjacent to Gwinn's Falls, including the site of Carroll Park, from the mouth of the Falls north as far as the present Brunswick Street Bridge. The only land which he owned west of the Falls was a narrow strip of less than three acres which he purchased of the Baltimore Company in 1796 as an abutment for the Mount Clare mill-dam and mill-pond. The Baltimore Company owned all the land adjacent to the west side of Gwinn's Falls, (except the strip deeded to Carroll in 1796) as far north as the Frederick Turnpike, and farther still, besides which it owned part of "New Town" on the east side of the Falls between the Frederick Turnpike and the Brunswick Street Bridge.

On T. H. Poppleton's famous Plan on the City of Baltimore, as laid out in the year 1817, the course of the old Elk Ridge Road between Gwinn's Falls and the intersection of Cross Street with Columbia Avenue is clearly shown. The old road ran some distance to the north of the Mount Clare mansion, following for a number of blocks the line of Cole Street. At about the intersection of Cole and Monroe Streets, it turned south-west, running within less than a quarter of a mile of Gwinn's Run. It crossed the old mill-race and Gwinn's Falls between Mount Clare Mill and the mouth of Gwinn's Run, at the point where Herkimer Street extended would intersect the Falls.

The Old Frederick Road probably branched from the Elk Ridge Road not far east of Gwinn's Run, crossed first Gwinn's run and then Gwinn's Falls, and intersected the Frederick Turnpike at Carroll, east of Loudon Park Cemetery, from which point westward the old road to Frederick still exists.

South of the Frederick Turnpike, between Gwinn's Falls and Gwinn's Run, the Old Garrison Road before 1797 must have run in a southerly direction on James Carroll's land, skirting the lands which then belonged to the Baltimore Company. Such a course would have taken it almost directly to a ford on Gwinn's Falls, known since locally early colonial times, as

records exist to prove, and for how many years or generations before the first reference to the place is found in the records, no man can tell. It is quite likely that the Old Garrison Road and the Old Frederick Road met a short distance east of Gwinn's Falls and crossed the Falls at this fording-place.

In the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Skeeman's Venture," laid out for George Skeeman on February 16th, 1716/17, the ford is mentioned. This tract is described as follows:

"Lying in Baltimore County on the south side of Pattapscoe main,⁴⁶ beginning at two bounded white oaks standing nigh together betwixt two little Ivy hills⁴⁷ and standing opposite to Peter Bonds⁴⁸ plantation and his fording place on Gwinn's falls, a branch of Pattapscoe river, a great stone lyeing in the said Falls, and opposite to a bounded dogwood tree a bounder of a tract of land called Bonds Interest."⁴⁹

On a plat filed in the suit of Nicholas Carroll and others, versus James Carroll, dated 1828, "The Old Ford" is shown where it crossed Gwinn's Falls a short distance below the outlet of "The Old Forge Tail Race" of the Baltimore Company's forge, and not far above Mullington Mill, at or very near the spot where the beginning boundary of "New Town" stood. The site of the old ford cannot be more than a few feet from the bridge over which Brunswick Street now crosses the Falls.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ A loose way of speaking common in land certificates of that date. This tract lies north of the Main Falls of Patapsco.

⁴⁷ "Ivy hills" appears to mean hills covered with mountain laurel, which is sometimes called "ivy."

⁴⁸ In the suit of Hill Savage and Eleanor his wife executrix of Peter Bond versus John Talbott, November 17th, 1719, George Scayman "next door neighbour to Mr. Peter Bond and much conversane (sic) at his house," being sworn deposed "that sundry times he heard Peter Bond deceased say that he would and had charged John Talbott 500 tobacco for storage." (Court Proceedings of Anne Arundel County, "Judgments," Liber R. C. No. 1, 1719-1720.)

⁴⁹ Also called "Bond's Increase" and "Bond's Addition."

⁵⁰ Package Plats, No. 25. I am indebted to Mr. Edward V. Coonan for knowledge of this plat. On it are shown "Georgia" and "New Town." Part of the latter is marked "The Tract," meaning, we suppose, the land

This place, which the inferences we draw from the old records would endow with so much romantic interest (for nothing, I think, so fascinates our fancy as an ancient ford), where, if the real facts are not somehow at variance with what reasonably seems to be true, not only the road of the Baltimore County rangers crossed Gwinn's Falls, but the great highway of the Seneca Indians from the North to Potomac River, is today a scene so disgusting and sad that all who have not urgent business there should avoid it. The "little ivy hills" have disappeared under a spreading confusion of slaughterhouses and stockyards, and the once beautiful high banks on the west side of the Falls are covered with trash and refuse. From the eastern bank the cries of dying animals are plainly audible. At times a rivulet of blood issues from a drain and tinges the waters of Gwinn's Falls a sickening red. Below the railroad bridge Gwinn Run, degraded to the condition of a sewer, flows through a remnant of a meadow, by banks where a few forlorn beeches still grow, and empties into the larger stream. Here and there one sees pitiful crumbling relics of a wholesome past: fragments of mill walls or foundations, the winding hollows of the old mill-races, the stone piers of the mill-dams. In the meadow by Gwinn's Run a great elm tree is standing; and on the east side of Gwinn's Falls, north of the railroad, stands an aged white oak. In every direction a once noble landscape is in the process of being engulfed in the relentless city, which, before it destroys forever, first sullies unspeakably. In the midst of such ugliness and squalor it is difficult to imagine the past.

The last of the "garrison roads," which we shall now attempt to trace, is that road which, according to Captain Oldton's report of the year 1697, ran from Patapsco Falls "to the Inhabitants," and was fourteen miles in length. It seems highly

in dispute. "Skeeman's Venture" is shown, but is incorrectly named "Skeymore alias Seamore's Adventure." The proceedings in the suit of Nicholas Carroll and others versus James Carroll I have never been able to find.

probable that this road intersected the Garrison Road at the fording-place we have just described, and that the Baltimore County rangers habitually used the Garrison Road as a short-cut for returning to the Garrison from ranging to the westward.

Between various fords on the Main Falls of Patapsco River and fords on the lower reaches of Gwinn's Falls there existed in the eighteenth century three main roads, which, because their origin is mysterious and not explained by any known records, may possibly have been survivors of earlier military roads or even of Indian paths.

In November, 1733, the court appointed Charles Wells overseer of the road "from the lower wading place of the main falls of Potapsco to the second wading place of Gwinns Falls and of the road "from the lower fording place of Gwinns Falls to Moales Point."⁵¹ The lowest ford on the Main Falls of Patapsco River was situated in the immediate neighborhood of Relay or Avalon, near the site of the old Hockley Forge.⁵²

⁵¹ In November, 1734, the Court appointed Oliver Cromwell overseer of the road "from Moles to the lower fording place of Gwins falls" and of the road "from the wading place of Gwins Falls to the wading place of the Main Falls of Patapsco." These appear to be the same as those of which Charles Wells was appointed overseer a year before. Both of these orders of court will be found quoted in full in "The Old Indian Road," Part II, p. 218-219. Moale's Point was the point at the mouth of the Middle Branch, on the south side.

⁵² In the year 1760 there was condemned for the Baltimore Company, under a writ of *ad quod damnum*, "for the building and setting up a Forge Mill and other conveniences . . . for carrying on an iron work," a tract of 100 acres "lying at the Main Falls of Patapsco River at the fording Place from Baltimore County to Anne Arundel County or near to the navigable water at the head of the said river at some distance above the said Fording Place in Anne Arundel County aforesaid." (Chancery Proceedings, Liber B. T. No. 1, 1757-1762, f. 56.) The tract is described as follows: "lying and being in the county aforesaid (Anne Arundel) at the Main Falls of Patapsco River at the Fording Place from Baltimore County to Anne Arundel County, beginning at two bounded sapling oaks standing at the end of the north-west by north line of a tract of land called Foster's Fancy, it being the second line of the said land and the beginning of a tract called Hockley as also the beginning of a tract called Barren Hills, etc., etc." In an old manuscript book dated 1766 and entitled "Collection of Land Certificates Chiefly in Baltimore and Anne

The second ford above the mouth of Gwinn's Falls was probably the one which was situated where Brunswick Street bridge now stands; and the first ford on Gwinn's Falls appears to have been located between the Washington Turnpike and the mouth of Gwinn's Run, somewhere along the old mill-race, now in Carroll Park.⁵³ How much older than 1733 was this road

Arundel Counties," which belonged to Barrister Carroll, I find (on page 460) the copy of the certificate of a tract of condemned land on Patapsco Falls surveyed for Edward Norwood in 1760. To this certificate Mr. Carroll has appended a note which runs as follows: "The following certificate will help fix this beginning white oak with regard to Hockley Forge, vizt from the beginning to Hockley Forge condemned land run north 66 degrees east 52 perches to the falls (i. e. Patapsco Falls) at Hockley Forge tail race" . . . "now from this white oak go the meanders of the falls north 76 degrees west 10 perches to Dorsey's tail race and 16 (perches) to a bounded hickory at the fording place of the falls." The Hockley Forge belonged to the Dorsey family. The ford evidently crossed the Falls at the old Hockley Forge mill-race, the location of which, I am informed, is between Relay and Avalon. The land called "Hockley" is not to be confused with the Dorsey place, "Hockley-in-the-Hole," which has an entirely different situation and history. "Hockley" was surveyed for William Ebdon on June 23rd, 1669.

⁵³ As we have noted elsewhere, an inquisition was held in March, 1733/4, on behalf of the Baltimore Company, for the purpose of condemning 100 acres of land, part of Georgia, situated on Gwinn's Falls and Charles's Branch (or Run), as a site for a forge. (Chancery Proceedings, Liber P. L. No. 2, f. 594 et seq.) The forge was probably never erected on this site, and in Barrister Carroll's book of Anne Arundel and Baltimore County certificates of survey, the certificate of this tract is described as that of the "Baltimore Company's furnace land." In the original certificate the condemned land is thus described:

"Lying on Charles's Branch and Gwyn's Falls, beginning at the mouth of a small cove on the north side of the said cove, the said cove scituate down ye Branch below the furnace and runs from the mouth of the said cove south west 98 perches, thence south 65 degrees west 92 perches, north 2 degrees east 96 perches to ye aforesaid Gwyns Falls a little below the common fording place next above the Furnace, thence north 58 degrees west 104 perches, then north 37 degrees west 64 perches, north 59 degrees east 52 perches, south 37 degrees east 60 perches to the falls or run commonly called Little Gwyns falls, then south 59 degrees west 50 perches, south 58 degrees east 104 perches to the south side of the said Gwyns falls a little below the aforesaid Ford near a quarry, thence running with and bounding on the aforesaid Falls and branch to the beginning at the mouth of the aforesaid cove."

between the site of Relay and the lower part of Gwinn's Falls can not certainly be told.

This ford, as well as I can determine, was located a short distance above the present bridge of the Washington Turnpike, at or above the old Mount Clare Mill, and very near the spot where, as shown on Poppleton's Plan of the City of Baltimore, the old Elk Ridge Road crossed Gwinn's Falls in 1817.

In November, 1723, the Court appointed John Israel, John Giles and Christopher Randall to superintend the building of a bridge over Gwinns Falls. The Court further ordered that, when the said bridge was finished, the "main road" was to be cleared to it, "from thence to Coll Hammonds ferry house, where the ferry over Patapsco is to be kept, and from the landing on the south side of the said river to the Long Bridge or Saw Mill." (Court Proceedings of Baltimore County, Liber I. S. No. B., f. 82.) This order of Court probably gives us the origin of Hammond's Ferry Road. The old ferry was situated at the mouth of Deering's Cove on Patapsco River. The Saw Mill or Long Bridge was on the head of Furnace Creek, a branch of Curtis Creek. At what point on Gwinn's Falls the bridge was erected, if it ever was built, I do not know. I find no further allusions to it, but only references to fords.

In the Proceedings of the Baltimore County Court for March, 1738, we read the following notice:

"Whereas Dr. Charles Carroll has promised per his letter bearing date the 11th February 1738 directed to Mr. Gist to clear a new main road from his Mill race on Gwinns Falls to the Main road that leads from Baltimore Town to the said Falls at a small run near Mr. Charles Ridgely's which said road the said Carroll has promised to clear at his own expense and render the same passable sufficient both for man and horse accordingly as the law in such cases directs, It is therefore ordered by this Court that when the said Road is Cleared as aforesaid that Mr. Thomas Sheredine and Mr. William Hammond view the same and if they find it cleared and cossways sufficient, that then it be taken & Deemed the Main road and that the other Road be stopped up." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber H. W. S. No. I. A., 2, f. 352.)

The "small run near Mr. Charles Ridgely's" refers to some watercourse on the Ridgely lands, "Ridgely's Delight," a tract which adjoined "Georgia" on the east, on Ridgely's Cove; and it was probably one of the streams which emptied into the Three Prong or Three Pond Branch. If the reader will consult the tract-map in Scharf's History of Baltimore County, he will observe the fact that "Georgia" and "Ridgely's Delight" join at the intersection of Columbia Avenue and Cross Street, and it was doubtless at this point that the Main Road was diverted from its original course.

What seems to me the most plausible explanation of the foregoing record is that Dr. Carroll merely meant to define the limits between which he wished the course of the Main Road changed, and that the road

Another early road, which connected the Falls of Patapsco with one of the fords near the mouth of Gwinn's Falls, crossed

already crossed Gwinn's Falls at the ford adjacent to the mill-race of Dr. Carroll's mill. This was probably the first ford above the mouth of Gwinn's Falls. We know that it was the ford "next above the furnace," and that the furnace was situated very near to, if not actually at the head of navigable water on the Falls.

In November, 1750, Dr. Charles Carroll presented the following petition to the Baltimore County Court:

"To the Worshipful the Justices of Baltimore County Court The Petition of Doctor Charles Carroll sheweth that the Main Road towards the Falls of Patapsco leading from Baltimore Town from a small Run to the Westward of the Dwelling house of Mr. Lyde Goodwin to my Mill is at present a (sic) swampy and Low ground which in Winter Time is not fit to Ride or for carriage nor capable of being rendered fit without great charge wherefore at my own expense I have cleared a Road of sufficient weadth from the said Run upon a Dry Ridge that will at all times be good dry and passable to the said Mill your Worships may therefore please to order that the overseers of the Highways in that part may have the same marked as the High Road in lieu of the former for the better convenience of Passengers, which petition being Read and heard it is Ordered that Messrs. Thomas Franklin Charles Ridgely and John Ridgely lay out the said Road." (Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber T. R. No. 6, 1750, November Court, 1750, pages not numbered.)

Lyde Goodwin, who married a Ridgely, was then owner of part of "Ridgely's Delight." The Main Road was probably diverted this time at or near the same place where it was turned in 1738. This was the road which was later known as the Elk Ridge Road. As we have observed before, there is shown on Poppleton's Plan of the City of Baltimore, 1817, a road (indicated by dotted lines) which was undoubtedly the old Elk Ridge Road, which emerged from Columbia Avenue at Cross Street, passed around to the north of the Carroll mansion, "Mount Clare," and crossed Gwinn's Falls at the old mill-race, just above the Mount Clare Mill. There is no reasonable doubt that this was the road which Dr. Carroll had laid out in 1750. The road which he laid out in 1738 and the original road probably both ran a straighter course through "Swampy and Low Ground" between the site of the Carroll mansion and the Middle Branch of Patapsco River, which, it is said, extended to the foot of the hill on which the gardens and terraces of "Mount Clare" were laid out. But whatever changes were made in the course of the Elk Ridge or Main Road between "Ridgely's Delight" and Gwinn's Falls, there is no reason to suppose that the road ever crossed the Falls at any other ford than the one the situation of which we have just described.

A few remarks about this "Main Road" may be not inappropriate at this juncture. By this name was generally designated the old road which passed through the original site of Baltimore Town from the head of the

Patapsco Falls above the place where a certain Christopher Randall once had a plantation, which was at or very near the

Bay, skirting the tidewater rivers. How early this road existed is uncertain; but as early as 1682 a road connected the head of Patapsco River with the head of Gunpowder River. At this time there were ferries over Patapsco, Bush and Gunpowder Rivers.

A tract called "Long Point" surveyed for David Jones July 26th, 1682, begins "at a spanish oak standing on the west side of the main branch of Back River (i. e., Herring Run—W. B. M.) about two miles above the road from Patapsco to Gunpowder River." The situation of "Long Point" is shown on the late Mr. Story's admirable tract-map of lands east of Baltimore City, which hangs in the Baltimore Court House. The beginning of the tract is about two miles above the present Philadelphia Road.

A very early reference to the old Main Road at a point well within the old limits of Baltimore City is found in the certificate of an unpatented survey called "Cole's Chance," which was laid out for John Cole July 28th, 1694. A description of this tract will be found in a deed from John Cole to Robert Green, 1702. (Liber T. R. No. A., f. 191, Baltimore Co. Land Records.) "Cole's Chance," which was afterwards taken up within the well-known resurvey called "Orange," is thus described: "Beginning at a bounded red oak on the side of a hill descending into Kemp's Run (i. e., a small run which formerly flowed through the valley between Patterson Park and Highlandtown, and emptied into the head of the creek known as Harris's, Kemp's or Collett's Creek, which occupied the bed of Luzerne Street) and runs south by west 100 perches to a bounded red oak, south by east 12 perches to a bounded white oak by the Main Road, west by south 100 perches to a bounded white oak, north 16 degrees west 114 perches to a bounded maple in Mountenays Glade (i. e., the valley of the Harford Run or Mountenay's Run), etc. etc."

The course of the old Main Road through the eastern part of the city is shown on Warner and Hanna's Plan of the City of Baltimore, 1801. A section of the old road lying north of Monument Street between Ensor Street and Bond Street was closed in 1831 (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 211, f. 675). It was then called the Joppa Road.

The old Main Road crossed Jones Falls at the ford which was situated at Bath Street, just above the famous bend of the Falls which has long since been filled in and eliminated. It was here, on the west side of the Falls, that Jonathan Hanson's lowest mill was located. A deed from Charles Carroll to Jonathan Hanson, millwright, for part of "Cole's Harbour" or "Todd's Range," dated June 9th, 1711, begins "at a bounded beech standing on the west side of the north west branch (i. e., Jones Falls) by the main road."

It is generally believed that the western boundaries of Baltimore Town as laid out in 1729 followed the old Main Road, and that a part of this old road still survives in Crooked Lane, McClellan's Alley and Uhler's Alley.

A probable early reference to the old ford on Jones Falls, where the Main Road crossed, is found in the certificate of a tract called "Hale's Folly," surveyed for Nicholas Hale on February 19th, 1702, "on the north side of Jones Falls, beginning at a bounded white oak standing on the north side of the Roade leading from the said Hales Plantation to the common Wadeing place of the said falls." The road is not the main road, and it is fair to add that the ford may have been one higher up the Falls.

The old Main Road is probably identical with Columbia Avenue between Paca Street and Cross Street. This section of the road is mentioned in the certificate of a tract called "Brotherly Love" laid out for John Parish March 19th, 1714, "lying on the north side of Pattapsco Main, beginning at 2 bounded white oaks and a bounded hickory standing a little to westward of the main road on the south side of Jones Falls and on the east side of a branch of the said river called the Three Branch Points (i. e., the Three Pond or Three Prong Branch, which made up out of Ridgely's Cove)." This land in 1732 was resurveyed with other tracts for Charles Ridgely and called "Ridgely's Delight." At this time the beginning of "Brotherly Love" was ascertained to stand "a little to the westward of the main road between Jones Falls and Gwins Falls and about twenty perches from one of the branches of the Three Pond Branch on the east side of the said branch." Mention of "the main road which leads from Baltimore Town to Dr. Charles Carroll's Mill and Iron Works lying on Gwins Falls" will be found in a deed from Charles Ridgely to Lyde Goodwin of parts of "Rich Neck" and of "Howard's Timber Neck" dated April 24th, 1753. The "Iron Works" here mentioned are not to be identified with the Baltimore Company's mills, but must have been the furnace mentioned in a letter from Dr. Carroll to his son Charles, dated February 2nd, 1753, from which we have already quoted.

In November, 1743, the Court ordered "that the road be cleared from Potapsco Ferry (i. e., Ferry Bar) through Baltimore Town over the new Bridge and through Jones Town till it intersect the old main road." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber ———, 1743-1745, f. 74.) The bridge, as is well known, was situated at the intersection of Jones Falls and Gay Street.

In November, 1757, the Court appointed Valentine Larsh overseer of roads "from the Foot of Baltimore Town Bridge to Carroll's Mill and from Fell's Mill (on Jones Falls—W. B. M.) until it intersects the afore-said Road and from Baltimore Town to the Ferry point (Ferry Bar) and from Baltimore Forge (at Gwinn's Falls and Wilkens Avenue or just below Wilkens Ave.—W. B. M.) to Baltimore Town. At the same time Charles Carroll was appointed overseer "from the head of Potapsco to Doctor Carrolls Mill on Gwinns Falls from thence to Moale's Point and from thence to the head of Potapsco." McLain Bailey was appointed overseer "from the Dead Run to Baltimore Forge Dam from Baltimore Works to Hunting Ridge and from John Penns until it intersects the road to Potapsco falls and from Ray landing to Emmanuel Teals." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, "Sessions," 1757, f. 85-86.) The author is unable to identify all of the roads mentioned in the order last quoted.

site of Ellicott City or Ellicott's Lower Mills.⁵⁴ This road,

"In the proceedings of the Baltimore County Court (Liber I. S. No. B., 1708-1715, f. 276-277) we find a petition of the inhabitants "of both sides of the Main falls of Potapsco," presented in March, 1719, in which the petitioners set forth that they "are very much agreed by Xpher Randall of the place aforesaid by refusing the inhabitants of the place aforesaid their common and antient road to the Mill and church and oblige the said inhabitants to goe and uncommon road through bushes and mires soe that the poor inhabitants cannot go about their lawfull occasions without indangering both horse and man," and they request the Court "that the said Christopher Randall may allow us our common and ancient road." This petition is signed by Jos. Shewell, Joseph Harp, John Boden, Philip Sewell, James Gaskin, John Yeat, Edward Teale, John Mackinze, John Whippes and William Tucker or Tuckner.

At the same session of the Court Christopher Randall and others presented a petition, "who humbly begs of your worships for to grant us your petitioners an order of court to have a road cleared from the Riplings of the Main falls of Potapsco above Christopher Randalls to Edward Teales plantation which will be to the benefit of all the Inhabitants of the south side of the said falls and for the north side as far as Patuxent the old road being dangerous, deep and mirery which many times surprises we men and boys and makes business goe undone for want of knowledge of the other place which is passable almost in any weather which makes us the subscribers beg an order of your worships for to clear the same which once granted shall be cleared and well done to the great joy and benefitt of the Inhabitants of both sides of the said falls." This petition is signed by Christopher Randall, James Barley, John Marsh, Anthony Musgrove, Joshua Browne, Vallentine Browne, Christopher Walter, John Baker, Thomas Earpe, William Gosnell, John Mac-caney, John Frock, Charles Peirpoint, Charles Hall, John Petticoat, John Matson, John Hammond, Maurice Gosnell, Zebediah Baker, John Stinchcomb, John Belt, Henry Carrington, Tobias Eminson, William Baker, Maurice Baker, Peter Gosnell, Owen Williams, Darby Lane, Joseph Harpe and John Gates.

The court granted the foregoing petition and ordered Mr. John Israel to "view the roads therein mentioned and direct the clearing of a road as therein is prayed or in the most convenient contiguous place as shall seem to him the best conveniency and that that shall be for the future the road."

I cannot exactly locate the place where Edward Teale was living in March, 1719/20; but in the year 1720 Sarah Brice conveyed to him parts of tracts called "Tanyard" and "Quarter." The former lies on the Frederick Turnpike between Ellicott City and Catonsville. By a deed dated August 30th, 1735, Edmond Howard and Ruth his wife conveyed to Emmanuel Teale a part of "Tanyard" which is described as lying "next to the falls of Patapsco River, beginning at the middle branch of

the three branches between the dwelling plantation of Edward Teal deceased and that of William Hamilton." In Barrister Carroll's "Collection of Land Certificates Chiefly in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties," to which we have already alluded on several occasions, there is entered the description of a tract called "The Reserve," surveyed for Nathaniel Stinchcomb in 1704. This tract is there described as being situated "on Ragland," as the country on the east side of Patapsco Falls in the neighborhood of Ellicott City was then called, "beginning at three bounded white oaks in a valley in the line of the land called Stout near John Whipps Plantation," and runs to a hickory on a hill near Patapsco Falls. Mr. Carroll has added this note: "Stinchcomb mortgaged this to Brice which was redeemed by Edward Teal, who entailed it to his Daughter Ruth Teal for whose Husband Edmond Howard J. Gardiner run it." The land called "Stout" was almost certainly the site of Christopher Randall's plantation at the date of the foregoing petitions, as we shall shortly observe. John Whipps signed one of these petitions.

The question of Edward Teale's residence at this time is probably settled by information given in his will, which is dated May 5th, 1720. He leaves to his son Emmanuel Teale and to his daughter Ruth "The Tanyard" and "Addition" to be divided at the middle of three "branches" between his dwelling house and that of William Hamilton. He directs that his son Emmanuel Teale is to have that part on which the dwelling house stands and his daughter Ruth that part which was next to the Falls of Patapsco River. "The Tanyard" lies west of Catonsville on both sides of the Frederick Turnpike.

In the month of August, 1728, the Court appointed Henry Butler overseer of the roads "from Potapsco Ferry (now Ferry Bar—W. B. M.) to Jones Falls at Mary Hansons Mill, from the said Mill to Guinns Falls, from the same Mill to Guinns falls leading to the main falls above Christopher Randalls plantation"; and, at the same time, George Bailey was appointed overseer of the roads "from the main falls by Christopher Randalls to Guins falls where the road passes to the widow Hansons Mill, and from Bens Run by the plantation where Zebediah Baker now lives to the aforesaid place of Gwins falls." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber I. W. S. No. 6, 1728-1730, f. 26 et seq.)

Hanson's mill, as we have already shown, was situated on Jones Falls at Bath Street. The road between this mill and Christopher Randall's plantation must have crossed Gwinn's Falls either at the ford a short distance above Mount Clare Mill or at the second ford at Brunswick Street bridge. I am inclined to think that the road which ran from Ben's Run by Zebediah Baker's to the same ford of Gwinn's Falls as that where the road to Christopher Randall's crossed was the predecessor of the Old Frederick Road by Ellicotts Upper Mills.

By a deed dated November 5th, 1717, Anthony Bale conveyed to Christopher Randall three hundred and twenty-nine acres of a tract called "Stout" on Patapsco Falls adjoining the land of John Whipps. It seems to me almost certain that the plantation of Christopher Randall,

when we first find the record of it, apparently extended as far west as Patuxent River, and probably went to Potomac.⁵⁵

The old Windsor Mill Road existed before the founding of Baltimore, and its origin is obscure; but it is doubtful if it originally went as far as the Patapsco.⁵⁶

to which the above petitions have reference, was located on this tract; for Randall apparently owned no other lands on the Falls at that time. This land was conveyed by Roger Randall to William Williams in the year 1754. On April 24th, 1771, William Williams, "iron founder," conveyed a part of this tract to Joseph, Andrew, Nathaniel and John Ellicott of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, millwrights (the land had been resurveyed and called "Mount Gilboa"). The same day Emmanuel Teal conveyed to the Ellicott brothers another part of "Stout" called "Teale's Search." On these lands the Ellicott family founded Ellicott's Lower Mills, near the spot where Ellicott City now stands. (See Charles W. Evans's "Biographical Accounts of the Fox, Ellicott and Evans Families," published in 1882.)

The old road from Hanson's mill on Jones Falls to and across Patapsco Falls near the site of Ellicott City may be that which is shown on modern maps as the "Old Frederick Road," a road not to be confused with another Old Frederick Road which went to Ellicott's Upper Mills. The Frederick Turnpike was laid out in the year 1787, from Baltimore to Frederick by Ellicott's Lower Mills. (Laws of Maryland, 1787, Chapter XXIII.)

⁵⁵ We must not forget the "path that goes from Potomock to the Susquehannah Rivers" mentioned in the letter of Thomas Thurston to Clement Hill, April 12th, 1686. ("The Old Indian Road," Part I, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, June, 1920, p. 114.)

⁵⁶ As this road is older than the city through which it now runs, I venture to tell what I know of its history, although that history has apparently nothing in particular to do with the subject of this article.

The following notice appears in the proceedings of the Baltimore County Court for November, 1757:

"At a court held . . . the first Tuesday of November, 1757, the following petition was exhibited, vizt

"To the Worshipful Bench of Baltimore County Court sheweth, your petitioners has quietly possessed a road upwards of thirty years which is now fenced in and trees fallen across in such manner that we can't get a passage to Baltimore Town to Cart or role Tobacco nor no other necessary Business and this being a second time we have cleared a road and being stopped up each Time as aforementioned your petitioners humbly pray you will appoint an indifferent Person to make out a road and put it upon Record as all other main roads as appoint one of your Petitioners as Overseer to clear the said road."

This petition is signed by William Rogers, Mayberry Helms, Sr., Edward

It is hardly possible that any of these roads was the road to which Captain Oldton refers in his report, as leading from the Main Falls of Patapsco River to the settlements. We are in-

Pontany, John Wooden, John Wooden (one of these evidently John Wooden, Jr.), Solomon Wooden, Nathaniel Young, James Hood, Edward Lwes (Lewes?), Sr., William Meler (Miller), Edward Lwes, Jr., Hannah Wouenhens and Zac Mackubin.

The Court ordered Messrs. John Ridgely, Brian Philpott and John Ensor, Jr., to view and to lay out the said road, who returned their report the first Tuesday in March, 1757:

"Baltimore County: Pursuant to the above order of Court we the Subscribers have viewed and laid out a road for the within Petitioners the said road continue as the road now comes from a fording Place in Guinns Falls now called by the name of William Miller's Ford until it intersects the main road that leads to the Baltimore Iron Works a little above John Wooden senior's plantation, so with the said road as low as the upper end of John Wooden junior's lane, then as a road now comes through the widow Hutchins's plantation and Mayberry Helm's plantation, then as straight as it can be conveniently cut through Messrs. Alexander Lawson and William Lux's lands to the intersection of the main road that leads to Baltimore Town just above the upper end of Mr. Lux's plantation." (Balto. County Court Proceedings, "Sessions," 1757-1759, f. 21.)

The road thus described was undoubtedly that which is now called the Windsor Mill Road. The ford called William Miller's ford evidently owed its name to a certain William Miller, who, in the year 1763, conveyed to Edward Smith part of "Crowley's First Venture" on the west side of Gwinn's Falls, beginning at the mouth of Dead Run, and running up the Falls a considerable distance, as far, at least, as the place where the Windsor Mill Road now crosses. The main road which led to the Baltimore Iron Works was evidently the Garrison Road, and the "Iron Works" meant the forge on the east side of Gwinn's Falls below Wilkens Avenue. The present Windsor Mill Road follows the Garrison Road for about half a mile on that part of "Parish's Range" which George Ogg bought of Edward Parish in 1697, and which John Wilmot sold to John Wooden in 1738. In 1752 John Wooden deeded to his son John Wooden, Jr., the lower part of this tract, and the same year he gave to his son Solomon Wooden the upper part. He kept the middle part for himself. William Huchins or Houchins in 1757 owned part of "Parish's Range" immediately east of that which was then in possession of John Wooden, Jr. This he purchased in two parcels from John Wilmot in 1738. East of William Hutchins was a part of "Parish's Fear" which Mayberry Helm then owned in right of his wife Anna, a daughter of Edward Parish. Alexander Lawson then owned tracts called "Hap Hazard," "Happy Be Lucky" and "Daniel's Whimsey" which he purchased from the executors

clined to favor the theory that the Old Frederick Road, if any existing road, may be identical with the road of 1697, described by Captain Oldton.

The Old Frederick Road branches off from the present Frederick Turnpike east of Loudon Park Cemetery, and crosses Patapsco Falls several miles above Ellicott City, where Ellicott's Upper Mills, originally Hood's Mill, were situated. At this place there was formerly a ford which was known as Air's Ford or as Gardiner's Wading-place.⁵⁷ If we are correct in

of John Gardiner in 1741. Part of these lands lies between "Parish's Fear" and "Chatsworth." The latter tract in 1757 was in the possession of William Lux. A study of these facts should, I think, convince the reader that the road described in the above record was no other than the Windsor Mill Road. The old Windsor Mill on Gwinn's Falls, some distance above the mouth of Dead Run, is shown on a map entitled "Road From Baltimore to Patapsco Falls," Package Plats, No. 184.

⁵⁷In the year 1766 there was granted to James Hood, wheelwright, under a writ of *ad quod damnum*, a tract of twenty acres, lying on both sides of Patapsco Falls, "near a place or Ford called Air's Ford" (Chancery Proceedings, Liber D. D. No. 2, f. 5). The land thus condemned was made up of parts of several tracts, including "Hood's Haven," "Cockey's Regulation" and "Baker's Delight." Another reference to Air's Ford will be found in the *Maryland Gazette* for March 2nd, 1769, in an advertisement inserted by Valentine Brown, Jr. "Cockey's Regulation" was patented to Thomas Cockey January 30th, 1747, being a resurvey of an unpatented tract called "Long Discovery," which was laid out for Christopher Gardiner in the year 1719. In Barrister Charles Carroll's "Collection of Land Certificates Chiefly in Anne Arundel and Baltimore Counties" we find the following description of "Cockey's Regulation": "beginning at a bounded white oak and a bounded hickory by the falls side (i. e., Patapsco Falls) a little below Gardner's Wading place, the original beginning of Long Discovery." No mention is made of "Gardner's Wading Place" in the original certificate of "Cockey's Regulation." The original certificate of "Long Discovery" (Unpatented Certificates, Baltimore County, No. 913) is mutilated, and the part which described the beginning of the land is missing. It seems quite probable that the wading place was mentioned in the certificate of "Long Discovery." In the year 1774 Benjamin Hood, the heir of James Hood, conveyed to Joseph, Andrew, Nathaniel and John Ellicott, and to George Wall, Jr., "Hood's Haven," "Baker's Delight" and "Addition to Hood's Haven," and also "the remainder or residue for a term of eighty years for twenty acres condemned for a grist mill"; and in 1777 George Wall, Jr., conveyed to the Ellicott brothers his share of these lands. The mills known

our supposition that the road west from the Garrison went to the South Branch of Patapsco Falls, the identity of the Old Frederick Road and the road "to the Inhabitants," fourteen miles in length, seems the more probable. Unfortunately, however, no certain proof of the antiquity of the Old Frederick Road appears to be obtainable.⁵⁸

as Ellicott's Upper Mills were built on this property. In Charles W. Evan's "Biographical Accounts of the Fox, Ellicott and Evans Families," published in 1882, there is a wood-cut of Ellicott's Upper Mills, which, according to the author, dates from about 1781. This wood-cut shows the old ford which crossed Patapsco Falls below the mill-dam.

⁵⁶In the year 1774 the Maryland Assembly passed an act for the "improvement of the principal market roads" in Baltimore, Anne Arundel and Frederick Counties, and voted a loan to the inhabitants of the said counties "to be laid out" in opening, straightening, widening and repairing and putting in good order "certain roads in these counties, including "the road from Frederick Town leading over Rue's Ford on Monocacy and crossing Patuxent River at Green's Bridge to Annapolis; the road from Frederick Town leading over the said Ford on Monocacy, and crossing Patapsco at or near Hood's Mill to Baltimore Town." (Laws of Maryland, 1774, Chapter XXI.)

In the year 1792 the Maryland Assembly passed a law which was entitled:

"An act to establish the road from Baltimore-Town towards Fredericktown, by Ellicott's Upper Mills, as far as the Poplar Spring, as a public road." (Laws of Maryland, 1792, Chapter XXXV.)

This act recalls the fact that "sundry inhabitants of Baltimore, Anne Arundel and Frederick County . . . have set fourth that from time immemorial ther hath been a road leading from Baltimore Town to the town of Frederick by Dillon's Field, Ellicott's Upper Mills, Cumming's New Buildings, Fox's, the Red House, Cook's Tavern and the Poplar Spring and that it hath never been made into a public road."

As we have noted before, Ellicott's Upper Mills were erected on the site of an earlier mill which was built by James Hood in or about 1766, and, with the land belonging to it, was conveyed to the Ellicott brothers in 1774. It is hardly possible, however, that the above acts of the Maryland Assembly refer to the same road.

* * *

Before we conclude this article on the Baltimore County rangers, their roads, their principal fort and their several outposts, we venture to advance a theory with regard to the motive which led to the choice of the land at the head of Slaughterhouse

Run as the site of the Garrison. The reason why the Garrison was built at this place, and not somewhere else between the Susquehannah River and the Main Falls of the Patapsco, in all that wide range of what was then Baltimore County, has, so far as we are aware, never been explained; and it is likely that to the few who have given attention to the subject of the Garrison, its situation seemed so natural, so little peculiar, so much, as it were, where we might have expected to find it, as to necessitate no explanation.

However, we believe that a definite, even a cogent reason may have determined the selection of the site, and that this reason may be found in the theory that two important main Indian highways crossed one another at that point, or in its immediate neighborhood, paths over which Indian troops and bands, bound on hunting or war expeditions, had long been accustomed to travel. If this was indeed the case, the Garrison served another purpose than that of headquarters and fort for the Rangers. It served as a place for intercepting, observing and overaweing Indian wayfarers on their usual roads, and for impressing upon them the strength and warlike intentions of the English settlers. Looking back, as it is our privilege to do, over the subsequent history of the place, we realize that in but a comparatively few years after the Garrison was built this was beginning to be civilized, settled country; but we need not be reminded, that, at the time when the Garrison was erected, the country about and adjacent to it had an uninterrupted savage past extending back through all antiquity.

Those who have read this author's articles on "The Old Indian Road" may remember that we traced, by means of references found in records of the eighteenth century, a road called "The Old Indian Road" from a point somewhere south-west of Westminster down along the divide between Beaver Run and the North Branch of Patapsco Falls, and across the Falls at Lawndale, to the neighborhood of Woodensburg, where we lost certain trace of it. We also followed a road of the same name from a point a short distance west of the Garrison across the

head of the West Branch of Jones Falls to the Main Falls of Patapsco River at Woodstock, coinciding, between Scutt's Level Branch and the Falls, with the present Old Court Road.

It is a serious question in my mind whether these two sections of Indian road may safely be regarded as parts of one and the same Indian highway. That section, which is partly today represented by the Old Court Road, has the appearance of being part of a road which came from eastward of the Garrison. If we attempt to join on the map the known eastern limit of this section of road with the southern known end of that other section, the result will be a road which seems rather aimless, and is in sharp contrast to the appearance of the two sections by themselves, crosses Patapsco Falls and then, after bending around through the central part of Baltimore County, somewhat sharply returns to Patapsco Falls again.

The theory that the Old Indian Road, along which the Court Road was originally laid out, was part of an extensive Indian highway which crossed old Baltimore County from east to west, or in that general direction, is not entirely in want of facts to support it. We know from the deposition of a certain Charles Hewitt, taken in the year 1697, that an Indian trail passed across the Forks of Gunpowder River a few miles above the head of tidewater, and that Indians were then using this road in going to or returning from "their hunting Quarters." The deponent declares that Indians have been lately passing his house dressed in war paint and fully armed "under pretence of going to Potomock to trade."⁵⁹ We know further that a ford on Deer Creek not far above Sandy Hook was formerly known as the Indian Ford, and that a tradition existed in that neighborhood of an Indian road which went to Patapsco River, if not farther.⁶⁰ These evidences appear to justify the supposition that the Old Indian Road between the Garrison and Woodstock was part of a long Indian highway which ran from some

⁵⁹ "The Old Indian Road," Part I, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, June, 1920, p. 115 et seq.

⁶⁰ "The Old Indian Road," Part I, p. 123-124.

ford on the lower Susquehanna River south-west across Harford County, crossed the Great Falls of Gunpowder River near the mouth of that stream, probably at the Long Calm, and then took a west course to the vicinity of the Garrison, destined to some unknown place on Potomac River. As we shall presently observe, this could not have been a Seneca trail. It was probably used by the Delawares. At what ford it crossed the Susquehanna, if, as seems not unlikely, it did cross that river, we cannot positively tell. The lowest ford on the Susquehanna appears to have been that which was known to the English as the Bald Friar.⁶¹ If this was indeed a Delaware road, an

⁶¹A tract of land called "Maiden's Mount" surveyed for Robert West June 10th, 1721, is thus described:

"Lying on the west side of Susquehanna River, beginning at four bounded Beeches in the Ford bottom of the said River near the mouth of a small branch."

This land lies on the west side of the Susquehanna River opposite to the place still known as the Bald Friar.

In a letter written in the year 1723 by Governor Charles Calvert to Governor Keith of Pennsylvania, Governor Calvert notified Governor Keith that he intended to take astronomical observations on the 11th of September of that year "upon the plantation of Robert West called Maiden's Mount in Baltimore County but commonly known by the name of Bald Fryar" (John Gibson's *History of York County*, p. 38, quoted from *Pennsylvania Archives*).

"Barnes's Delight," surveyed for Ford Barnes September 15th, 1725, lies on the west side of Susquehanna River, "beginning at a bounded white oak at the head of a branch descending into the Ford Bottom."

The "Ford Bottom" alluded to in the above certificates of survey was the river valley or "bottom" adjacent to the Bald Friar Ford. The name proves that the ford was known to the English as early as 1721.

A tract of land called "Paradise," which adjoins "Maiden's Mount" on the south and west, is thus described in a deed from John Hammond to Wm. Cannon dated March 9th, 1730: "Lying upon the Rock Runn (now Peddler Branch) near the lower Ford on the west side of Susquehanna River."

The Bald Friar Ford seems to have been the lowest ford on the Susquehanna River. The next above was probably at Peach Bottom.

In November, 1754, the Court appointed Skipwith Cole overseer of the roads "from the Rock Run to the ford and from the Rock Run to Zachariah Spencer's" (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber ———, 1733-1734, f. 354 et seq.). The Upper Rock Run or Peddler Branch was meant.

In November, 1756, the inhabitants on the north side of Deer Creek

explanation is found for the fact that the South Branch of Patapsco River was called the Delaware Falls.⁶²

The question of the Seneca Indian road this author has already discussed in "The Old Indian Road."⁶³ We know

presented to the Court the following petition: "that some time ago your Worships were petitioned by a number of the Inhabitants aforesaid that a road might be laid out from Col Rigbie's (Colonel Nathaniel Rigbie's, near Darlington—W. B. M.) late deceased to Susquehannah Ford commonly called the Bald Friar landing which petition the court was pleased to grant but nothing to any purpose done in clearing the same and at last was entirely neglected. That at present there seems to be a more urgent necessity for a road to the said landing than formerly numbers of people about Deer Creek and the Land of Nodd forest having frequent occasion to travel the same, there being now a Ferry kept at the opposite side of the said landing and a store there erected besides a very great conveniency of a market whereby your petitioners may have an opportunity of disposing of wheat and corne etc. to a good advantage without the fatigue of attending markets at a much greater distance as also it being the most near and convenient way for most of your petitioners who may have occasion to travel to Lancaster." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber B. B. No. C., 1756, November Court, 1756.) The petitioners added that they thought it would be more convenient to lay out the said road "from the Chappell adjoining John Dunn's land and so continuing until it enters near to the house of John West and so down to the river."

In the year 1757 the Court appointed John West overseer "of the road from the Chappell adjoining to John Dunn's land and so continuing until it enters near to the house of John West and so down to Susquehannah Forde called the Bald Fryers." (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, "Sessions," 1757-1759, f. 88); and in the year 1759 the Court appointed David Morgan overseer of the road "from the Bald Friers Ferry leading to the Chappell till it intersects the main road leading from Ashmore's Mill to Rock Run landing (the Lower Rock Run, where another ferry was kept—W. B. M.)" (same, f. 180).

The certificate of survey of an island called Indian Island (unpatented Certificate 240, Harford County) surveyed for John Kirk, 1820, mentions the "Bald Friar Ferry House."

It is said that Lafayette's army crossed the Susquehanna River at the Bald Friar Ford.

⁶²For the names "Delaware Falls," "Delaware Bottom" and "Delaware Hundred" see "The Old Indian Road," Part III, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, December, 1920, 351. A tract called "Delaware Bottom" was laid out on the South Branch of Patapsco in 1717. In 1678 the Delaware Indians laid claim to the lands in the then upper parts of Baltimore and Cecil Counties. (Md. Archives, Vol. XV, p. 175.)

⁶³"The Old Indian Road," Part I, p. 110 et seq.

that in the year 1680 the road which the Senecas followed in their excursions southward passed near the house of a certain Anthony Demondidier, a Frenchman, then a resident of Baltimore County; and that the only lands which Anthony Demondidier owned at this time were three tracts, "Rich Neck Level," "Cold Comfort" ⁶⁴ and "Roper's Range," which are situated on the south side of the Middle Branch of Patapsco River, the first two on the site of Westport, at the mouth of Gwinn's Falls, and the third not far distant, between Westport and the mouth of the Middle Branch. Concerning this Seneca road we also have valuable knowledge of a negative character. Colonel George Wells, who commanded the Baltimore County militia, was of the opinion that an attack made by Indians on the house of Thomas Richardson on Gunpowder River in the month of May, 1680, could not have been made by Senecas, because "the house lyes a greate way from their roade in a neck." This testimony of Colonel Wells' eliminates from our consideration the south eastern part of Old Baltimore County.

It is a well-known fact that the Susquehannough Indians, after being defeated by the Five Nations in 1673-4, took refuge in Maryland, and were allowed to settle at the Falls of Potomac River, where they built a fort. In the month of September, 1675, some outrages were committed by Indians in Maryland and Virginia, which were attributed to the Susquehannoughs. Maryland troops under Major Thomas Trueman thereupon marched to the Susquehannough fort, and a certain John Shankes, an interpreter, was dispatched to request the Susquehannoughs to send some of their "great men" out of the fort to confer with Major Trueman. Five men came out under promise of safety, and these were bound and afterwards put to

⁶⁴ "Cold Comfort" was conveyed by Thomas Taylor to Philip Smith in 1724, who conveyed it to Charles Carroll. (Prov. Court Proceedings, Liber P. L. No. 8, p. 232.) Dr. Carroll sold the land to Benjamin Tasker and others. "Rich Level" or "Rich Neck Level," which adjoins "Cold Comfort," was resurveyed for Dr. Carroll under the name of "The Level." The beginning of "The Level" is shown on Samuel Green's map of the Baltimore Iron Works Company's lands, 1811.

death. For this deed Major Trueman was tried, but was eventually acquitted.

On May 19th, 1676, John Shankes, the interpreter, who was summoned as a witness in the trial of Major Trueman, made a deposition before the Upper House, from which we quote the following: ⁶⁵

"This Depon^t saith that he wth the Mary Land forces being at the forte of the Susquehannoughs on the Sabboth day he was sent up to the forte to desire one of the greate men by name Harignera To Come and Speake with Major Trueman and the said Harignera being dead This Deponent desired Some other great men to come and Speake with the s^d Major Vpon which message of his there came out 3 or 4 of them, and this Depon^t was commanded by the Major to tell them of the great Injuries that had been done to the Country and th^t he came to know Who they were th^t had done them, and the great men Replied it was the Senecaes and this Depon^t Saith that there being p^rsent other Indians from other Townes the Major desired some to their Young men To assist as Pilates as well as the Neighbouring Indians had done to Joyne in the pursuite ag^t the Senecaes, And the Said Indians Replied th^t the Seneca's had been gone 4 days and th^t by th^t time they might be at the head of Patapscoe River to w^{ch} Major Trueman Returned that he had good horses and they were good foot men and migh soon overtake them and the Indians Replied they would, etc., etc."

In the year 1680, when an incursion of the Seneca Indians into Maryland was expected, a force of twelve men was ordered out "for the secureing of the ffrontire plantations of Patapscoe." ⁶⁶

In the year 1678 a conference was held at the Pascattaway fort in Zechia Swamp, Charles County, between Lord Baltimore and Thomas Notley, on the part of the Province of Maryland, and the "speaker" and "great men" of the Pascattaway Indians. A certain Indian, then a guest of the Pascattaways,

⁶⁵ Md. Archives, Vol. II, f. 481.

⁶⁶ Md. Archives, Vol. XV, p. 308.

who had been a prisoner of the Senecas, and had lately made his escape, on being asked "how many Daies Journey" it was from the four forts of the Seneca Indians to the Pascattaway fort, replied that he was "three Moones comeing from thence."⁶⁷

In May, 1781, Jacob Young, the Dutch interpreter, reported to the Council of Maryland that more than two hundred Seneca Indians were "now upon their voyage downe to the Pascattaway Indians" and that "they have to their guide the King of the Mattawomans, and intend by presents to endeavour to draw the Pascattoways with them, but if they cannot to destroy them where they light of them." Jacob Young declared that he had his information about the Senecas "from some Delaware Indians that spoke with them up Susquehannoh River," and that he considered the time opportune "to treat with those Northern Indians at the Pascattaway ffort in Zachiah Swamp," where they would shortly arrive.⁶⁸

As the Senecas were in need of a guide, we suspect that the road which they followed through Maryland was in reality an old Susquehannough trail.

After the defeat of the Susquehannoughs at their Potomac fort in the year 1675 by the Virginia and Maryland Militia, they returned to their old fort on Susquehanna River, which, in 1676, was described as "about sixty miles above Palmer's Island,"⁶⁹ that is, above the island now called Watson's Island, at the mouth of the Susquehanna. In the month of June, 1678, a rumor was circulated in Maryland, that the Senecas "by Instigation of the Remaineing p^t of the Susquesahannoughs now amongst them are designed to come downe and make warr upon the Pascattaway Indians toward the Latter End of this Summer, w^{ch} the s^d Pascattaway Indians doe verily beleive and suspect." The Council, at a meeting held June 13th, 1678, decided "that Jacob Young be Empowered to goe to the Old

⁶⁷ Md. Archives, Vol. XV, p. 240.

⁶⁸ Md. Archives, Vol. XV, p. 358.

⁶⁹ Md. Archives, XV, p. 122.

Susquehannoh ffort and to treat with the great men of the Sinnequos Nations touching the said Rumor." ⁷⁰

We now return to the subject of Anthony Demondidier's residence in 1680. The lands which Demondidier then owned lay in a sort of *cul de sac*. An Indian road which came down into Maryland from the North, and went southward to some place on the Potomac, would, if it crossed the Main Falls of Potapsco, have crossed that stream at some ford, and we know that the lowest fording-place on the river was somewhere near Relay or Avalon. If such a road had followed down the divide between Gwinn's Falls and Patapsco Falls, and had crossed at even the lowest ford, it would not conceivably have passed very near to the known site of Anthony Demondidier's lands. On the other hand, a road which ran to the eastward of Gwinn's Falls, until it reached one of the two lowest fords on that stream, and there forded and then struck across country to a ford on Patapsco Falls, would have passed within a mile and a quarter, or less, of these lands. It is quite probable that in the year 1680 there were no plantations on Gwinn's Falls higher up than that of Demondidier. We have elsewhere observed the fact that Richard Gwinn cleared a plantation on the tract called "New Towne," at the mouth of Gwinn's Run, where the second ford on Gwinn's Falls was situated; but Gwinn did not die before 1692, and this plantation may not have been made until a few years before his death.

Our theory with regard to the Seneca (or Susquehannough) road is that it was identical with the Old Indian Road which we traced from a point in the vicinity of Westminster, on Little Pipe Creek, across the North Branch of Patapsco Falls to the neighborhood of Woodensburg, and from there to the old western boundary of Back River Upper Hundred, probably in the neighborhood of the Dover Road. According to our theory, the road ran southward from the head of the Worthington Valley, past the site of the Garrison, to one of the two lowest fords on Gwinn's Falls, and we would even go so far as to identify it

⁷⁰ Md. Archives, XV, p. 175.

with the Old Garrison Road, the course of which, from the Garrison to the second ford of Gwinn's Falls, we have just been following.

The author has elsewhere shown how a road known as the Old Conestoga Road,⁷¹ which antedated the settlement of the country through which it ran, and has always been reputed to be of Indian origin, extended from Conejohola on the Susquehanna, in the neighborhood of the sites of the Susquehannough forts, to Opequon in Virginia, crossing on its way Great Pipe and Little Pipe Creeks, Monocacy and Potomac Rivers. The "Old Indian Road" was certainly a branch of this road or intersected it somewhere in the Pipe Creek watershed. This puts us in a position to suppose, with a fair degree of conviction, what was the probable route taken by the Susquehannoughs and the Senecas in making their inroads and war expeditons down into Maryland.

There exists some foundation for the belief that the Seneca road crossed the Patapsco not far below Ellicott City. We have

⁷¹"The Old Indian Road," Part III, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, December, 1920, 364 et seq. An early allusion to the Conestoga Road, which was not mentioned in this article on "The Old Indian Road," will be found in a letter of Dr. Charles Carroll to Isaac Webster of Bush River, a copy of which is preserved in an old Carroll letter-book. This letter is dated August 12th, 1731, and reads in part as follows: "I observe what you mention relating to the Welsh People expected into Pennsylvania. I have now ten thousand acres of Warrant located on the Creeks called Conawago Codorus and their Draughts on Susquehanna and I am informed that I can get very near that quantity of good land thereabouts.

"I believe that selling it to them at twenty or twenty five pounds p hund^d can't be thought too dear & two year for Payment at the later, & what time after it remains unpaid they to pay interest.

"Now for your encouragement I will allow you one-fifth Part of the neat proceeds on the said Land if you will make sale thereof & take the trouble yourself to survey and shew it to the People.

"As you are acquainted with the People up that way you may enquire the Quality of the land on the Drafts of the said Creeks & on the Road that leads from Conastoga to pipe Creek & where you are best advised I would execute the said warrants which are now in Phil Jones's hands. You may make it worth your while to act herein my own Business not admitting me to go that Distance at present or I would soon do it effectually."

lately shown that a road existed early in the eighteenth century between a ford in the neighborhood of that place and one of the lowest fords of Gwinn's Falls. A friend of the author's, the late Mr. Vachel Baseman Bennet, a native of the Fourth District of Baltimore County, had fairly clear traditions with regard to the Old Indian Road, one of which was that it went to the Potomac, near Washington, by way of Ellicott City.⁷² The late Mr. Edward Spencer has said that it went to the Potomac at Pascattaway. These traditions could hardly have referred to that Old Indian Road which crossed the Patapsco near Woodstock and is identical with the Old Court Road. Much more important is the testimony of Dr. Bennett Bernard Browne, who informs the author that a plat, now lost, of his father's place, "Chew's Vineyard," showed a road called "The Indian Road," which crossed Patapsco Falls at a ford known as Waterloo Ford, a mile below Ellicott City, followed up the valley of Little Bonny Branch, and from the head of the valley ran in a south-westerly direction towards Gambrill. Dr. Browne testifies that he has seen on his father's plat the words "The Indian Road" used to describe such a road. This road was, in all probability, the old Seneca or Susquehannough trail, which led off into Southern Maryland. The settled Indian population of Baltimore County in historic times was so small that there could hardly have existed any considerable number of Indian highways to puzzle and confuse the historian. Those which did exist, which had either been created after the founding of Maryland, under the influence of the new conditions which the coming of the English made, or had survived from a prehistoric past, must have come into the county from remote places and passed to destinations which were far away.

⁷² Mr. Bennett's and Mr. Spencer's traditions are given in the author's articles on "The Old Indian Road."

THE LIFE OF THOMAS JOHNSON

EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE

PART EIGHTH

CHAPTER XIII

BRIGADIER-GENERAL OF THE MARYLAND MILITIA

On the 2nd of December, 1775, announcement was made on the floor of Congress³¹ that Delegate Johnson had left for home. The work of the "Secret Committee," headed by Benjamin Franklin, was in capable hands. Johnson knew this. And moreover he was anxious to attend the approaching session of the Provincial Convention. So, when the Convention opened at Annapolis on December 7, Mr. Johnson was in his seat.

Among the new tasks assigned to Johnson during December, 1775, were: (1) "to devise the best ways and means to promote the manufacture of salt-petre;" (2) "to draw the form of commissions for the officers of the militia of this province;" (3) "to consider and report the most effectual method of establishing a gun lock manufactory, and the expense thereof;" and (4) "to consider what alterations and amendments are necessary in the regulation of the militia of this province, and report their opinion thereon."

The advent of the year 1776 saw Maryland in the midst of preparations for war. On Saturday, January 6, the deputies, assembled in the city on the Severn, were ready to name the superior officers of the Maryland Militia. The following minute is included in the proceedings of that day:

"The convention elected by ballot the following persons field officers for the militia: Mr. Henry Hooper brigadier-general

³¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. III.

of the lower district on the eastern shore. Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine of the upper district. Mr. John Dent of the lower district on the western shore. Mr. Andrew Buchanan of the middle district. Mr. Thomas Johnson, jun., of the upper district.”³²

Thereupon it was resolved that the said brigadiers-general rank in the following manner: *first*, Brigadier-General Johnson; *second*, Brigadier-General Hooper; *third*, Brigadier-General Dent; *fourth*, Brigadier-General Chamberlaine; *fifth*, Brigadier-General Buchanan. A lawyer, without military experience, thus became the supreme commander of the Militia.

Johnson's acceptance of the commission of senior Brigadier-General did not, however, release him from his obligations as a member of the Convention. For example, on the following Tuesday, January 9th, when it was resolved “that a committee be appointed to prepare and report a scheme for the emission of bills of credit, to defray the expenses of defending this province,” General Johnson was elected by ballot to serve on the committee with James Tilghman, Hollyday, Rumsey and Hooe.

Nor was Gen. Johnson released from his duties as a member of the Continental Congress. For when the Convention, on January 12th, instructed the Maryland members of Congress to keep in mind the “avowed end and purpose for which these Colonies originally associated—the redress of American grievances and securing the rights of the Colonies,” Thomas Johnson, Jr., was specifically named, along with Tilghman, Goldsborough, Chase, Stone, Paca, Alexander and Rogers, as being bound by the instructions. Brigadier-General Johnson's position was a peculiar one. The same Convention that called him into the field to lead the Maryland Militia against the British requested him to strive for “reconciliation with the mother country upon terms that may ensure to these Colonies an equal and permanent freedom.”

³² *Proceedings of the Conventions, 1774-6, p. 78.*

Many *advanced* statesmen in other Colonies were amazed at the *backwardness* of the Maryland Convention. They could not understand why many of the leading Maryland patriots were opposed to American Independence. But the Convention explained its action in this way: "The experience which we and our ancestors have had of the mildness and equity of the English Constitution, under which we have grown up and enjoyed a state of felicity not exceeded by any people we know of, until the grounds of the present controversy were laid by the Ministry and Parliament of Great Britain, has most strongly endeared to us that form of government from whence these blessings have been derived. . . . To this Constitution we are attached, not merely by *habit* but by *principle*, being in our judgments persuaded it is of all known systems best calculated to secure the liberty of the subject and to guard against despotism on the one hand and licentiousness on the other."

The popularity of Governor Eden also had much to do with the tranquillity of the Maryland subjects. While Lord Dunmore was ravaging coastal towns and plantations of Virginia, young Sir Robert—diplomatic and affable under all circumstances—remained cordial to all the Maryland patriots and, in turn, received every mark of courtesy and respect from the people of the Province. Even as late as the middle of January, 1776, Governor Eden was being hospitably entertained at Stepney by Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, President of the Council of Safety. When the Governor heard that the Provincial Convention, notwithstanding the appeal to arms, still felt attached to the British Government and ardently hoped for reconciliation, he suggested to Mr. Jenifer the plan of inviting the most distinguished leaders of the Province to meet for a talk over their difficulties. In compliance with this suggestion, Jenifer wrote to Charles Carroll, barrister, on the 15th of January that Gov. Eden desired to confer with the members of the Council of Safety and several other of the "most distinguished members of the Whig party," who might be "willing to disperse the cloud that has almost overshadowed and is ready to

burst upon us." According to the accepted tradition, Carroll was requested by President Jenifer to invite the leading patriots to dine *with the Governor*; but Brigadier-General Johnson, when asked what he thought of the proposal, advised Mr. Carroll to invite such friends as he desired to his own home and then include the Governor as one of the guests. Carroll, so the story goes, accepted Johnson's suggestion as a lucky thought and began at once to prepare for the Executive, members of the Council of Safety and the other guests. Serving on the new Council—organized January 18, 1776, upon the adjournment of the Convention—in addition to President Jenifer and Carroll were James Tilghman, Benjamin Rumsey, Thomas Smyth, Thomas B. Hands and John Hall. Among others invited to Carroll's mansion were General Johnson, Chase, Stone, Matthew Tilghman and James Hollyday.

The dinner was set for January 19th. This was Friday; hence, as one writer suggests, Mr. Carroll, a Roman Catholic, was prohibited from offering any flesh meat to his guests on that day. No doubt, with this exception, all the delicacies of food and drink afforded at that time by the waters and fields of Maryland were found in abundance on the banquet table.

After the guests had been "helped around," Governor Eden opened the all-important subject of discussion.

"It is understood in England," said the Governor, "that the Continental Congress is about to form a Treaty of Alliance with France."

Johnson was the first to respond.

"Your Excellency," he said, "we will answer your question, if you will answer one for us."

Governor Eden assented.

"Well," said the new Brigadier-General, "we will candidly acknowledge that overtures have been made to France but, as yet, they have not been accepted. Now, Sir, we understand that your master, King George III, is planning to hire an army of Hessians to join the Royal forces."

The Governor admitted that he had heard the report.

Whereupon General Johnson declared: "*The first Hessian soldier who puts his foot on American soil will absolve me from all allegiance to Great Britain!*"

Among the authorities who accept the story of the dinner party as reliable is Scharf, who takes occasion to add that Mr. Chase, inspired by General Johnson's exclamation, declared outright that he was in favor of a Declaration of Independence. "Thus," says Mr. Scharf,³³ "we see that the resolution to become independent was expressed long before it was done in Congress."

It was doubtless in Barrister Carroll's home that Governor Eden indicated his desire to send friends in England copies of the resolutions of the Convention expressing "the mildness and equity of the English Constitution." The Governor promised to show the contents of his letters, if the Council of Safety would use its influence to secure for his message-bearer the necessary passports from Philadelphia to New York.

Governor Eden's request was granted. So he prepared letters to William Eden, Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Foxcroft, wherein he assured the British Ministry that the Resolutions of the Maryland Convention expressed the real sentiments of the people of his Province. "Far from desiring an Independence, the subjects in Maryland would," he said, "consider it a most happy event to be in precisely the same relation to the parent State as at the conclusion of the last war."

Under date of January 23, the Council of Safety requested the Maryland deputies in Congress to allow Gov. Eden's messages to go through.

"The Governor has taken this measure," the Council explained, "in consequence of a free conversation with Messrs. Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Stone and James Hollyday and ourselves on the subject. The step cannot be productive of an ill effect; it may be of the greatest service; it may possibly bring about some overture to a general reconciliation. He has promised you shall have the perusal of what

³³Scharf, *History of Maryland*, Vol. II, 218.

he has wrote, when you come to Maryland. We intimate this to you to prevent the letter being stopt on suspicion of its containing any information or intelligence unfriendly to America." ³⁴

In the meantime, however, the Maryland patriots rushed their preparations for war. The Council had already notified the deputies at Philadelphia that the Convention had resolved upon the fortification of the City of Annapolis and the Town of Baltimore and inquired whether they could borrow thirty or forty 18-pounders for that purpose.

Immediately after Mr. Carroll's dinner-party, Brigadier-General Johnson left Annapolis to assume his military duties in Western Maryland. He went to Frederick Town, where he gave instructions to George Stricker, Captain of Infantry; and on Monday sent the Council of Safety the following letter explaining the situation in the "Upper District:" ³⁵

[*Gen. Johnson to the Council of Safety*]

Fred. Town

Jan^y 22^d 1776.

Gen^t

Stricker has accepted his commission & has had and I expect will have good success in inlisting. He proposes to be very particular in the men he takes & much wishes his, the Light Infantry Company, to be armed with Rifles. Both Mr Price & he think Rifles for a company may be soon got. Considering the difficulty of speedily arming our troops I think with them it will be advisable to lodge a sum of money in the hands of some body here. No body will do more justice to the public than C. Beatty, to purchase up what Rifles can be got. My Brother this morning let Stricker have 100 of the 200 which he brought up for building the town Jail, to assist him in recruiting. Mr Ford will be a very proper hand to bring up what

³⁴ 11 *Maryland Archives*, 109.

³⁵ 11 *Maryland Archives*, 120.

money you may think proper to send Stricker. I imagine the 250£ he applies for is not too much as well as what you may think proper for Cap^t Barrett many of whose Company I expect will be very good Riflemen, if collected in his neighborhood from where I think they may be best spared. Major Price tells me a good many public arms, some of which have been repaired at the expence of those who have them, may be collected with industry. I should be glad you^d send up an order for the Committee to collect all they can and if you think as I do to allow the people the reasonable expence of necessary repairs where the musquets came to their hands out of order. I understand about 100 gunlocks fit for Rifles—and that would do well enough to put to repaired muskets—are to be had in town. I wish you^d send up about 60£ to purchase them. M^r Beatty my Brother or myself will do it if you please.

Price tells me he gained an acquaintance with one Royston at the Camp of the Artillery, who was a very clever young man & desires to come to the South and from Price's account of him he would be very serviceable in our second artillery Comp^y & he would be well satisfied with a first Lieutenancy. I wish if there's still room that he may be preferred to it, a trifling circumstance prevented his coming with Price and he even talked of following him. Maj^r Price writes to him that troops are raising in this province & that it is likely he will be employed which he says he dare say will bring him with a strong recommendation from Gen^l Gates to whom he is well known.

I am Gen^t y^r most ob^t

Th. Johnson Jun^r

Within 24 hours, General Johnson's letter was in the hands of the Council of Safety. His recommendations were promptly adopted. On Tuesday, January 23, the Council issued an order on the Treasurer of the Western Shore to deliver to Benjamin Ford 100 pounds currency, to be used in securing rifles for Captain Stricker's Company of Light Infantry, and 60 pounds currency for the purchase of gunlocks, to be

lodged at Frederick Town with General Johnson—or, in his absence, with Baker Johnson and Charles Beatty.

During the month of February, 1776, the senior brigadier-general remained in Frederick County directing military preparations. Life in the undeveloped, but potentially rich, regions of Western Maryland appealed to Johnson; and while he realized that as long as the war with Great Britain continued he would be required to spend most of his time at Annapolis and Philadelphia, he longed for the day when he could settle with his wife and children in the “back country.” His mother had died some years before, and his father, 74 years old on the 19th of February, was near his end. His brothers, Roger, Baker, and James, were permanently established in profitable business in Frederick County; and he believed that, after the war, opportunities in the law would be particularly bright in the fertile virgin country which was rapidly being developed.

These are perhaps the reasons why Thomas Johnson, Junior, *of the City of Annapolis*, signed himself, in a deed on February 18th, as Thomas Johnson, Junior, *now of Frederick County*.³⁶

Toward the close of February Delegate Alexander became worried over the absence of his colleagues in Congress. General Johnson and Mr. Stone were still in Maryland; Chase had been selected for the mission to Canada; Tilghman had not yet been heard from; Rogers had been granted a leave of absence; and Alexander, too, wanted to leave for home to attend to private affairs. But feeling that it was his duty to remain until some of his “brethren” arrived, Mr. Alexander wrote the Council of Safety to request Johnson and Stone to hurry on up to Philadelphia.

Gen. Johnson, as soon as he received this summons to civil duty, dropped his military work in the environs of Frederick Town; and early in March was hastening, with all possible speed, to the seat of the General Government. At the Head of Elk he stopped, to inform Lt.-Col. Henry Hollingsworth that the Council had ordered him a supply of guns, and to receive

³⁶ *Land Records of Frederick County*, Liber W, Folios 644, etc.

a supply of money raised by subscription in Cecil County for the purchase of powder. Off again he hurried toward Philadelphia.

Back in Congress after three months' absence, General Johnson was given a warm reception and was showered with congratulations upon his election as commander-in-chief of the Maryland Militia. Among the new duties assigned him in March and April, 1776, were: (1) "to take into consideration the state of the Colonies in the Southern Department;" (2) "to enquire and report the best ways and means of raising the necessary supplies to defray the expences of the war for the present year, over and above the emission of bills of credit;" (3) "to consider the propriety of a War Office;" (4) "to examine and ascertain the value of the several species of gold and silver coins, current in these Colonies, and the proportion they ought to bear to Spanish milled dollars;" and (5) "to take into consideration the state of the Eastern Department and report thereon." He was also asked to consider messages from General Washington, General Schuyler, the Maryland Council of Safety, and the Commissioners to Canada, together with a number of other communications.

Johnson cheerfully rendered these duties for the United Colonies. But the responsibilities that fell upon him as Brigadier-General now took a large part of his time and attention. Immediately upon his arrival in Philadelphia he searched high and low for powder; but he learned that not a single pound could be secured anywhere in the city. Only a few days later, however, there arrived a vessel laden with 2,000 pounds of powder, six tons of lead and various other supplies. It was about this time that Philadelphia received the news that a man-of-war had appeared in the Chesapeake. Johnson and Alexander lost no time in making application for a ton of powder. Their request was granted. The Virginia Delegation, apprehensive that the ship might cause great damage in the Bay, offered to Maryland an additional ton. Johnson and Alexander gladly accepted this load, too, and late Saturday

night (March 9, 1776) they sent off a dispatch advising the Maryland Council of the shipping of the two tons of powder.

One effort General Johnson and Mr. Alexander made at this session of Congress was to dispose of the Maryland ship, *Defence*. They went before the Marine Committee and urged the purchase of the vessel from Maryland. The offer of sale, however, did not appeal to the committee; and General Johnson felt it was advisable to let the matter rest until a later date. Writing to the Council on March 26th, Alexander and Johnson said by way of consolation: "T. J. confirms our Opinion that if any Depredations should take place after we had parted from the vessell it would be imputed to the sale of her."

Each day brought news of distress in the South—and growing appeals for help. One of the causes for alarm in Maryland was the lack of money. Collectors were sent through the counties to collect gold and silver coin with the promise that Continental money would be given in exchange. The supply of provincial money was about exhausted. On March 17, the Council of Safety wrote the Maryland delegates that it was looking every day for the Continental money and for the plates and paper for the new emission. "Unless the plates and paper are furnished in a very short time," said the Council, "the Treasury will be exhausted and the credit of the Province must fail."

On March 26, Delegates Johnson and Alexander replied: "Mr. Rittenhouse has been pressed to get the plates done. He has been lately chosen into the Assembly, which has been sitting a good while past. He promises to let us have plates to begin, enough for one sheet, next week. The paper was to be finished about this time." On April 2, Johnson, Alexander, Paca and Stone assured the Council that their message-bearer would set out from Philadelphia within a few days with a supply of Continental money. "We hope," they said, "the plates and the paper may be sent off about the same time." Finally, on April 9, Johnson, Stone and Alexander explained that 51 reams of paper were on the way to Annapolis. "The plates,"

they wrote, "are not yet done. Mr. Rittenhouse now promises they shall be done by next Saturday and as the Assembly is adjourned we hope he will fulfill his promise. They shall be forwarded by the post or some safe hand as soon as done." ³⁷

This is but one instance of the myriad of harassing difficulties and delays encountered during the Revolutionary War by the members of the Continental Congress. They worked unremittingly, by day and by night, trying to locate muskets and powder, knapsacks and haversacks, linen and duck, oznabrigs and spatterdashes, leather breeches, hunting shirts, stockings and shoes. The day of resolutions and debate was past. The thirteen Colonies were now on a wild chase for arms and ammunition, for clothing and other supplies, as well as for money.

CHAPTER XIV

THE END OF THE PROPRIETARY

Shortly after his arrival in Virginia in the spring of 1776, General Charles Lee came into possession of a packet of papers from England, addressed to Governor Robert Eden of Maryland. The packet was taken from a messenger on his way from Dunmore's fleet to Annapolis. Included in the papers were: An offer of pardon to everyone who ceased resistance to the Crown; an appeal from Lord Dartmouth to give aid to the British; letters from Governor Eden's brother; and a communication from Sir George Germain, Lord Dartmouth's successor in the Colonial office. Lord Germain disclosed that a great armament of land and sea forces was preparing to proceed to the southward, in his Lordship's expression, "in order to attempt the restoration of legal government in that part of America." Governor Eden was urged to give "facility and assistance to its operations" by co-operating with Lord Dunmore.

General Lee sent copies of the intercepted letters to Samuel Purviance, chairman of Baltimore County Committee of Ob-

³⁷ 11 *Maryland Archives*, 290, 306, 319.

servation, together with a confidential message, pompously authorizing Mr. Purviance to seize Governor Eden *in the name of General Lee*.

Mr. Purviance sent copies of the letters to John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress, and attached an unsigned letter of his own, in which he severely condemned the Council of Safety and avowed that he would, on his own responsibility, send off an expedition to Annapolis to arrest Governor Eden. The anonymous letter was intended as a personal note for Mr. Hancock. Mr. Purviance's plans, however, did not materialize as he expected—as is shown by General Johnson in the following letter:³⁸

[*Gen. Johnson to the Council of Safety*]

Philadelphia

Gentlemen.

17 April 1776.

Yesterday morning just before the meeting of Congress, the letters from Balt. which occasioned the Resolution of yesterday came to the hands of the President. By the same express, and as I believe under the same cover came an Anonymous letter referring to a copy therein inclosed from Gen^l Lee to Mr Samuel Purviance. I saw and read the copy which was in Purviances hand writing. Lee strongly urged the immediate seizing and securing of the Gov^r. After the minutes of the preceeding day were read the President began reading the Anonymous letter, but he had not proceeded far before he came to a part desiring that it might not be made known to the Congress but, as I think, to such only as the President might think proper to trust with the contents, the President hesitated, for he had not before read the letter, and seemed desirous of running his Eye over it but on being desired to read out he did so, from the inclosure above mentioned as well as many expressions in the letter and Mr Purviances being the Heroe of the tale which was told in the first person, I had not the least

³⁸ 11 *Maryland Archives*, 347.

doubt but that Purviance was the Author and Mr Andrew Allen who saw the letter and is acquainted with Purviances hand writing says it was his.

The letter informs that the writer of it had impressed on Gen^l Lee, in his way to Virg^a an Idea that the Council of Safety was timorous and inactive and represents the Council of Safety and Convention too as being afraid to execute the Duties of their Stations, his own and the conduct of the Convention on an affair that you must remember he contrasts to the Disadvantage of the latter whose inaction he imputes to want of spirit. He speaks of the orders *he* gave Cap^t Nicholson on the late alarm and how the Council of Safety was alarmed and frightened at the spirit and boldness of them—represents himself as an object against whom the intentions of the Council of Safety are levelled and in proof recites a conversation with, or saying of, one of them to the effect that he was a warm man or a hot headed man whose power must be pulled down or he would throw things into Confusion. As I heard the letter read but once I cannot undertake to repeat expressions with exactness but I think I have preserved the sentiments and have not exaggerated in any thing and on the whole I esteem it a vile injurious calumny calculated like his conversation with Gen^l Lee to spread suspicion and distrust of the only executive in our province. If I am not mistaken the letter mentions further that some Gen^t were sent from Balt. or were by him proposed to be sent to Annapolis, who should engage the officer commanding the troops there to secrecy under Oath and their endeavour to get his assistance to execute what you are requested to do by the resolution, this I suppose may be easily traced.

As soon as the letter was read a motion was made to send the original or a copy of it to you which was warmly supported but it was put off till to day to make way for the Consideration of the subject of the Express and in the meantime all was ordered to be secret. Mess^{rs} Stone and Alexander who had been delayed in writing letters for the post, came into the Congress, in this

stage of the affair and are, as well as myself, privy to the after transactions:

I am Gen^t Your mo obed^t Servant,
Th. Johnson Jun^r

General Johnson renewed his fight in the House on the 17th to get possession of the anonymous letter from Maryland; but President Hancock stuck to the view that it was a private communication, and, after considerable debate, Johnson's motion was defeated.

Congress also passed a resolution requesting the Maryland Council of Safety to seize Governor Eden.

The following letter presents the arguments advanced *pro* and *con* on the floor of the Congress:³⁹

[*Gen. Johnson to the Council of Safety*]

Gent.

We moved yesterday in Congress, that the letter referred to by Mr Johnson, should be immediately transmitted to you that you might have an opportunity of vindicating your Honour against the malicious charges made by the writer, this produced a warm debate which lasted for several hours, we insisted (and were supported by several Gentlemen) that the letter containing the most severe reflections upon you as a publick Body ought not to be concealed; that it was absolutely necessary in the present state of our Affairs that the Dignity of the Executives of every province should be supported if properly conducted and if there rested a suspicion that any publick Body either from weakness or want of integrity omitted or refused to execute the Trust committed to them it ought to be made known to their constituents that the power might be placed in more safe Hands. That the exertions of the Letter Writer had already produced in part of the Council of Virginia distrust and suspicion of you: That we had the most convincing proofs upon all occasions of your integrity, Vigilance and Activity in

³⁹ 11 *Maryland Archives*, 351.

the common cause: And therefore esteemed it our duty to insist that justice might be done, to your injured characters.

It was argued against the motion that the letter was confidential, that it had raised no suspicions in the congress of your zeal or integrity, because they had reposed the highest confidence in you, immediately afterwards by the recommendation sent by the return of the express. And that the mischief which would be produced by communicating the letters would be greater than any benefit which could be expected from it. And that the President was not obliged to produce the letter for the Congress to take order thereon, Although it had been read in the House.

Upon the question whether the President should be requested to lay the letter before congress five colonies voted in the negative three in the affirmative and one divided. We conceived this treatment to you & our province to be cruel and ungenerous to the last degree, the obligation to secrecy expired yesterday and we immediately determined to give you such a state of this Transaction as our memories supply us with; and Mr Johnson committed to writing what passed on the first day.

We this morning waited on Mr Hancock to demand the letter, but he refused to see us, Thus the affair rests at present, & as we cannot delay communicating it to you longer, We have ordered an express immediately to set out for Annapolis and have not the least doubt but you will take the proper steps to vindicate your Honour against the foul Calumny of Mr Purviance who has dared to detract from your Patriotism & spirit. We are determined at all hazards to support you, and tho very sorry for the occasion hope you have complied with the recommendation of Congress, by securing Mr Eden and his papers. If he has conducted himself fairly an Examination will do him credit if otherwise we ought to know it and guard against his unfriendly endeavours. We shall write you by the Post and are Gen^t Y^r most ob^t Ser^{ts}

Phil^a

Thursday 18 April 1776.

Th. Johnson Jun^r

T. Stone,

R. Alexander.

President Hancock immediately sent off to Annapolis the resolutions requesting the seizure of Governor Eden. The Massachusetts statesman attached a personal letter, in which he said the Congress relied on the diligence and zeal of the Council of Safety for the execution of the resolutions.

But the members of the Council of Safety were not in a hurry to arrest Governor Eden. They placed more confidence in General Johnson's opinion than in the advice of John Hancock and the resolutions of the Continental Congress. "We have," the Council assured the Marylanders at Philadelphia, "all the advantages we could have had, if we had committed him (Governor Eden) to the public Goal, and we are persuaded many more. Nobody can believe that we are courting the Governor at present: 'tis the Peace and Happiness of the Province we wish to preserve, and we are persuaded that it will be best done by keeping up the ostensible Form of our Chartered Constitution." At the same time the Council thanked General Johnson and his colleagues for their efforts—unsuccessful though they were—in this connection. "We feel for you;" was the word from home. "The insult offered by Mr. Hancock in not admitting you to his presence must have been grating."

Replying to President Hancock, President Jenifer declared the members of the Council were quite aware of the facts in the case and had taken proper measures. On April 23, General Johnson informed Mr. Jenifer that the Maryland deputies approved the conduct of the Council of Safety and were determined to support it. "The letter to the President," wrote General Johnson, "gave high offence to some of the very hot gentlemen. No Resolution is yet formed on it, but probably will today."⁴⁰

It appears, however, that no further action was taken by Congress in this direction. Some of Governor Eden's correspondence was printed in the Philadelphia newspapers, causing

⁴⁰ 11 *Maryland Archives*, 372.

considerable public resentment against the titular Maryland Executive; but General Johnson and his associates, knowing the kind of man Sir Robert Eden was, discredited the charges which the intercepted letters from England seemed to impute.

Brig.-Gen. Johnson was imbued, as he had been during the debate over Governor Dunmore, with the thought that the Government of Great Britain was fundamentally beneficent; that the Colonies should ever hold in mind the prospect of reconciliation with the Crown; but that he would be ready for war, if war was inevitable. Back in October, 1775, when the *forward* delegates advocated the resolution requesting Virginia to seize Lord Dunmore, Johnson cried on the floor of Congress: "I see less and less prospect of a reconciliation every day; but I would not render it impossible!" And still he clung to this idea. Nor was he alone in this view. As long as the commander-in-chief of Maryland's militia held to this opinion, the other deputies from Maryland—with the exception of Chase—stood steadfast by his side. For example, as late as April 24, 1776, Delegate Stone, writing to President Jenifer, assured the folks at home that he hoped for reconciliation with the Crown. His views coincided with those of General Johnson. "I wish," said Stone, "to conduct affairs so that a just and honorable reconciliation should take place, or that we should be pretty unanimous in a resolution to fight it out for Independence. The proper way to effect this is not to move too quick. But then we must take care to do everything which is necessary for our security and defence, not suffer ourselves to be lulled or wheedled by any deceptions, declarations or givings out. You know my hearty wishes for peace upon terms of security and justice to America. But war, anything is preferable to a surrender of our rights." The Marylanders were patriotic, but they were also conservative.

The Maryland Convention was scheduled to meet again in May, and Brig.-Gen. Johnson was now preparing once more to depart from Philadelphia before adjournment of Congress. On the 25th of April, a message, signed by Johnson, Tilghman and

Stone, was dispatched to the Council of Safety, asking for the attendance of Mr. Rogers, in order that, so the letter said, "as many of us as might be should be at the Convention." They added: "We don't think the Province ought to be left unrepresented here."

In the meantime, Mr. Purviance had been haled before the Council of Safety. He acknowledged, on being examined, that the anonymous letter criticizing the Maryland authorities contained some of his sentiments but he swore he could not remember writing it. "He prevaricated most abominably," thought the Council, which gave him a reprimand and placed him under bond to appear before the Provincial Convention.

The Convention, assembling at Annapolis May 8, 1776, received the formal complaint against Purviance and decided to form a special committee to examine the documents relating to the controversy and to report back to the Convention concerning the charges. Brigadier-General Thomas Johnson, Jr., deputy from Anne Arundel County, was one of three members elected by ballot on this committee. His associates were Robert Goldsborough of Dorchester County and James Hollyday of Queen Anne's.

At the end of ten days, the committee reported that Purviance's conduct had been reprehensible but recommended his discharge after a severe reprimand. In accordance with these recommendations, the Convention on the 22nd of May resolved: "Justice would well warrant a more exemplary punishment to be inflicted on the said Samuel Purviance for his said misdoings; but that in consideration of his active zeal in the common cause, and in expectation that he will hereafter conduct himself with more respect to the public bodies necessarily entrusted with power mediately or immediately by the people of this province, and will be more attentive to propriety, this Convention hath resolved, that the said Samuel Purviance for his said conduct be censured and reprimanded, and that Mr. President do from the chair censure and reprimand him accordingly, and that he be thereupon discharged." Thereupon Mr. Purviance

was brought in before the bar of the House and was given a public reprimand by the President of the Convention.

Meanwhile Governor Eden had sworn upon his honor that he had never tried to enflame the British Ministry, but that he had always spoken of the members of the American Congress as acting within the line of moderation. On May 24, 1776, the Convention resolved that, although Eden's correspondence did not appear to have been carried on with hostile intent toward the Colonies, "it be signified to the Governor that the public quiet and safety, in the judgment of this Convention, require that he leave this province and that he is at full liberty to depart peaceably with his effects." When it is remembered that the Continental Congress more than a month before had directed the Council of Safety to seize Sir Robert Eden, the resolution of the Maryland Convention *offering the Governor permission* to leave the Province was a remarkable tribute to Eden's popularity. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 36 to 19. The Anne Arundel deputies, Johnson, Paca and Carroll, barrister, voted for its passage.

At the same session, Johnson, James Hollyday, William Paca and George Plater were elected by ballot a committee to wait on the Governor and deliver to him a copy of the resolutions together with an address of sympathy and esteem.

On Saturday, May 25, 1776, Gen. Johnson and Messrs. Hollyday and Paca were elected by ballot to prepare passports for the deposed Governor; and, in addition, were authorized to draft a communication on the subject to the Virginia Committee of Safety. When the authorities in the Old Dominion received word that the Governor of Maryland had been allowed to escape, contrary to the order of the Continental Congress, they were astounded. They felt that the intercepted letters from England, which found their way to Philadelphia, made Governor Eden *participis criminis* with Lord Dunmore; and they sent to Annapolis a remonstrance which expressed their indignation and disgust.

Sir Robert Eden's courtesy and hospitality, his charms of

culture and refinement, had long ago won the affections of the people of his Province. Until an opportunity came when he could depart on one of Lord Dunmore's vessels, he was allowed to remain unmolested on parole. He was accompanied to the British frigate with every mark of respect by the most distinguished patriots of Maryland. Fate had decreed separation of Colonies from Crown. And when Robert Eden went on board the *Fowey* he was destined never again to see the soil of the Province, over which he had ruled to the general satisfaction of the people. The last vestiges of the Proprietary had disappeared.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES FROM THE EARLY RECORDS OF MARYLAND

The following notes are from the set of "Inventory and Account" books in the Land Office at Annapolis and date from 1674. They will serve for the most part to assist in tracing that elusive personality, the Maryland widow, although other matters are occasionally noted. As to Commissioned officers; the notes are merely to show that they held commissions at the dates given but are not intended as giving the date on which they received commissions.

JANE BALDWIN COTTON.

1674	<i>Libers</i>	<i>Page</i>
Boyd, Anne, was widow of John Neale, A. A. Co:	I	145
Brown, John, A. A. Co., whose first wife was daughter of Robert Clarkson.	I	166
Bloomfield, John, married widow of Dr. Luke Barbier.	I	192
Blunt, Anne, widow of Richard Blunt of Kent Co., married ——— Nash.	II	113

1674	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Barnes, Grace & Elizabeth, gr-daughters of Walter Waterlin.	I	134
Barbier, Dr. Luke, whose widow married John Bloomfield.	I	192
Burgess, Anne, widow of William Burgess, St. M's. Co., married ——— Fisher.	III	124
Brasseur, Martha, sister and extr of Benj. Brasseur of Calvert Co., married Henry Kent, Jr.	III	163
Clarke, John, whose wife was widow of John Elly, Calvert Co.	I	195
Clagett, Mary, Calvert Co., was widow of Richard Hooper.	I	80
Chadbourne, William, married widow of Richard Foxon, Baltimore Co.	I	147
Clarkson, Robert, A. A. Co., whose daughter was first wife of John Brown.	I	166
Dorrington, Dorothy, widow of Henry Robinson, married ——— Dorrington.	I	83
Davis, Eliza: widow of William Durand, married ——— Davis.	I	86
Farmer, Michael. Mary, widow of Michael Farmer, Calvert Co., married ——— Lile.	I	135
Michael, Mary and Elizabeth Farmer, children of above.	I	135
Foxon, Richard, his widow married William Chadbourne.	I	147
Godscrosse, Alice, widow of James, married Goulson.	I	136
Goulson, Alice, widow of James Godscrosse.	I	136
Godscrosse, James, John, Charles and Sarah, children of James and Alice.	I	136
Hooper, Richard, Calvert Co., whose widow married ——— Clagett.	I	80
Lile, Mary, Calvert Co., widow of Michael Farmer.	I	135
Neale, Samuel, St. M. Co., died intestate. Daughters Rebecca and Margaret (Neale).	I	153

1674	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Neale, Anne, widow of John Neale, married ——— Boyd.	I	145
Nash, Anne, widow of Richard Blunt, Kent Co.	II	113
Reade, Joane, widow of Capt. George Reade of Resurrection Manor, Calvert, married ——— Tyler.	I	54
Robinson, Dorothy, widow of Henry Robinson, Cal- vert Co., married ——— Dorrington.	I	83
Ryder, Jane, was widow of Thomas Wright.	I	125
Russell, Sara, widow of Richard Russell, St. M. Co., married ——— Vaughan.	I	145
Tyler, Joane, widow of Capt. George Reade, mar- ried ——— Tyler.	I	54
Vaughn, Sara, was widow of Richard Russell, St. M. Co.	I	145
Wright, Jane, widow of Thomas Wright, married ——— Ryder.	I	125
Walterlin, Walter, grandfather of Elizabeth and Grace Barnes.	I	134
Wheeler, Samuel, who married Elizabeth Cooke, Kent Co.	I	179
1675	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Doxey, Thomas, who married widow of Robert Hooper, St. M. Co.	I	335
Davis, Mary, widow of John Davis, late of St. M. Co., married Morgan Jones.	II	175-6
Elly, John, whose widow married John Clarke.	I	195
Felton, John, whose widow married John Phillips.	I	238
Garrett, James, married Johanna Peake, daughter of George and Mary Peake, Baltimore Co.	I	410
Grose, Roger, widow, Anne, married John Welsh, A. A. Co. This shows acct. of John Grose.	I	539
Grosse, Roger, of A. A. Co. In the division of es- tate following are mentioned: John, eldest son; Elizabeth, Roger, William and Fran- ces.	V	143 to 146

1675	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Hooper, Thomas, whose widow married Thomas Doxey	I	335
Hamond, Elinor, was widow of Abraham Newman.	IV	590
Hood, Robert, married widow of Dr. John Rye.	IV	506 & 609
Jones, Elizabeth, wife of Richard Jones, was widow of Richard Steevens of Talbot Co.	I	461
Jones, Mary, widow of John Davis, late of St. M. Co., married Morgan Jones.	II	175-6
Newman, Elinor, widow of Abraham Newman, married ——— Hamond.	IV	590
Phillips, John, whose wife was widow of John Felton, Dorchester.	I	238
Peake, Johanna, daughter of George and Mary Peake, Baltimore Co., married James Garrett.	I	410
Robinson, William, Baltimore Co., whose widow married Edward Swanson.	I	474
Swanson, Edward, married widow of William Robinson, Baltimore Co.	I	474
Steevens, Elizabeth, widow of Richard Steevens, Talbot Co., married Richard Jones.	I	461
Shaw, Sarah, widow of John Shaw A. A. Co., married ——— Francis.	II	171
White, Susanna, widow of James White, married ——— Waters.	I	353
Waters, Susanna, widow of James White.	I	353
Welsh, Anne, wife of John Welsh, was widow of Roger Grose, A. A. Co.	I	539

1676	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Francis, Sarah, late Sarah Shaw, widow of John Shaw, A. A. Co.	II	171
Fisher, Anne, widow of William Burgess, St. M. Co.	III	125
Harrington, Grace, daughter-in-law Richard Blunt, Kent Co.	II	114

1676	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Morgan, Alice, widow of Jarvis Morgan, married ——— Roper.	II	347
Roper, Alice, widow of Jarvis Morgan.	II	347
Skinner, Anne, widow of James Trueman, Calvert Co.	III	116
Trueman, Thomas, brother of James and overseer of estate of Martha, Mary and Elizabeth, daughters of said James of Calvert Co.	III	117
Trueman, Anne, widow of James Trueman, Cal- vert Co., married —— Skinner.	III	116
1677	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Addison, Rebecca, widow of Thomas Dent, married John Addison Extx Thomas Dent, St. M. Co.	IV	74, 400, 401
Archer, Humphrey, Talbot Co.; his account shows two daughters, under age, Margaret and Ma- bell, among the legatees. No other children named.	IV	279
Allen, Jasper, Mary, his widow, married Robert Taylor.	IV	476
Brinson, John, widow of, married Christopher Spry	IV	5
Beckwith, George, two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret, under age.	IV	175
Brooke, Rebecca, sister of Edward Isaack.	IV	238
Bread, Jane, relict and extr of Dr. Thomas Mat- thews, Charles Co.	IV	379
Buckall, Mary, widow of Edward Wheelock.	IV	387
Bishop, Sarah, wife of Benoni Bishop, widow of Benj. Hancock.	IV	452
Brooke, John, widow Rebecca Brooke, Calvert Co.	IV	468
Baill, John, his widow, Rebecca, married —— Davis.	IV	537
Bigger, Anne, widow of John Bigger, Calvert Co., married James Rumsey.	IV	569, 575

1677	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Benjar, Katharine, was widow of John Chadwell, Baltimore Co.	IV	632
Beck, Richard, admr. and brother of Lewis Beck, Charles Co.	IV	246
Cooke, Elizabeth, Kent Co., married Samuel Wheel- er.	IV	143
Conory, Edward, his widow, Mary, married —— Heyley.	IV	522
Cole, Anne, widow of Robert Cole, was widow of John Medley, St. M. Co.	IV	624
Chadwell, Katharine, widow of John Chadwell, married —— Benjar, Baltimore Co.	IV	632
Davis, Elizabeth, step-daughter of Morgan Jones, married Owen Guyther.	IV	245
Dandy, Robert, Doctor of Physick belonging to ship "Ann and Elizabeth."	IV	424
Davis, Rebecca, widow of John Baill, married ——— Davis.	IV	537
Denton, James, Baltimore Co., married widow of Thomas O'Daniel, same county.	V	25, 27
Edwards, Hannah, widow of John Pot, married ——— Edwards.	IV	83
Edwards, Ann, widow of Daniel Murphy.	IV	206
Evinges, Sarah, widow of Guy White, married ——— Evinges.	IV	237
Edloe, Jeane, daughter of Joseph Edloe, Calvert Co.	IV	422
Francis, Sarah, widow of John Shaw, A. A. Co., married Thomas Francis.	IV	137
Forrest, Patrick, Elizabeth Forrest, admx.; Henry and Elizabeth Phipps extrs. of Patrick For- rest.	IV	413
Fisher, Robert, Calvert Co., brother of Henry.	IV	469
Fisher, Katharine, daughter of Robert, Calvert Co.	IV	471
Guinne, Susanna, widow of William Neale, A. A. Co.	IV	567

1677	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Hunt, Susanna, widow of William Hunt.		
Hance, John, of the Clifts, Calvert Co., married Sarah Waring, widow of Sampson Waring.	IV	230
Harris, Jackline, widow of James Moore, Calvert Co.	IV	450
Hancock, Sarah, widow of Benj. Hancock, now wife of Benoni Bishop.	IV	452
Hinson, John, proved an acct.	IV	468
Hood, Robert, married widow of Dr. John Rye, Cecil Co.	IV	506, 609
Harrington, Mary, widow of James Stockley, Calvert Co., married Charles Harrington, Calvert Co.	IV	510, 511
Heyley, Mary, widow of Edward Conory, married Heyley.	IV	522
Isaack, Edward, brother of Mrs. Rebecca Brooke, Calvert Co.	IV	238
Johnson, Peter, dead. Statement on acct. of Thomas Carleton, Cecil Co.	IV	395
Jolly, Edward, his widow married John Steevens, St. M. Co.	IV	402
Johnson, Peter, his widow, Sarah, married Robert Morris.	IV	613
Kleene, Susanna, married Hunt, she was widow of William Hunt.	III	97
Kent, Henry, Jr., his wife, Martha was sister and extrx. of Benj. Brasseur, Calvert Co.	III	168
Kaine, William, son of William. "In case he ever appears in the Province."	IV	422
Middlefield, Martha, widow of Thomas Middlefield, Cecil Co., married Nicholas Shaw.	IV	374
Matthews, Jane, widow and extrx. of Dr. Thomas Matthews, Charles Co., married _____ Bread.	IV	379
Moy, Elizabeth, widow of Richard.	IV	401

1677	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Mackye, Elizabeth, widow of John Mackye, married ——— Spracklin.	IV	425
Moore, Jackline, widow of James Moore, Calvert Co., married ——— Harris.	IV	450
Morris, Sarah, widow of Peter Johnson, married Robt. Morris.	IV	618
Medley, John, his widow, Ann, married Robt. Cole, St. M. Co.	IV	624
Neale, Jonathan, son and heir of William Neale, of A. A. Co.	IV	569
Neale, Susannah, widow of William Neale, married ——— Guinne.	IV	567
Owen, Jane, wife of Richard Owen, widow of John Raven, Dorchester Co.	IV	355-6
Pot, Hannah, widow of John Pot, married ——— Edwards.	IV	83
Pearce, Thomas, Lydia, relict and admrx. of Thomas Pearce, St. M. Co., married Gilbert Turberville.	IV	398-579
Phipps, Henry and Elizabeth, exs. of Patrick Forrest.	IV	413
Reevelly, Mary, widow of William Hampstead.	IV	143
Raven, John, Dorchester Co. His widow married Richard Owen.	IV	355, 356
Rignall, John. Not in the province as per statement of Thos. Carleton of Cecil Co.	IV	393
Rye, Dr. John, his widow married Robert Hood.	IV	506, 609
Rumsey, Ann, widow of John Bigger, Calvert Co.	IV 570; V	350
Spry, Christopher, married widow of Thomas Brinson.	IV	5
Shaw, Sarah, widow of John Shaw, married Thomas Francis.	IV	137
Shaw, Martha, wife of Nicholas Shaw, widow and extrx. of Thomas Middlefield, Cecil Co.	IV	372
Spencer, Walter, son of Walter.	IV	475

1677	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Spracklin, Elizabeth, widow of John Mackeye.	IV	425
Spry, Johanna, her daughter, Mary, married Dr. Stanesby of Baltimore Co.	IV	463
Stanesby, Dr. John and Mary (Spry) his wife.	IV	563
Taylor, John, of Baltimore Co. Account shows there were three children—Arthur, who was ex., and James and Elizabeth, who were under age.	IV	336
Turberville, Lydia, wife of Gilbert Turberville, extrx. and relict of Thomas Pearce, St. M. Co.	IV	398, 579
Taylor, Mary, widow of Jasper Allen.	IV	475
Waring, Sarah, widow of Sampson Waring, married John Hance of the Clifts, Calvert Co. Account rendered by above Sarah shows herself and their son, Bazill, as the only heirs.	IV	230, 234
White, Guy, widow married ———— Evinges.	IV	237
Wells, Rob't and George, brothers.	IV	353
Wheelock, Edward, Mary, his widow, married ———— Buckall.	IV	387
Wootten, Simon and Susanna, his wife, widow of Rich Wodsworth.	IV	481
Wodsworth, Rich; his widow, Susanna, married Simon Wooten.	IV	482
Whetstone, Mary, alias Niome, widow of Stephen Whetstone.	IV	609
1678	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Anderson, John, Calvert Co., whose widow, Mary, married Francis Spencer, same county.	V	273
Blanford, Tabitha, wife of Thomas Blanford, Calvert Co., was widow of William Mills.	V	146, 150
Beckwith, Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Skinner, Dorchester Co., married ———— Beckwith, Dorchester Co.	V	150

1678	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Best, Edward, his widow, Anne, married John Gibbs, Cecil Co.	V	301
Clarke, Neale; his widow, Rachael, married John Stinson.	V	58
Credwell, George, Charles Co.; his widow, Mary, married William Warde.	V	323
Cooke, Katharine, widow of Dr. Robert Winsmore, married ———— Cooke.	V	151
Foukes, Richard, admr. was Mary Warde, of Charles Co.	VI	615
Frankam, Henry, his widow Annah married Edward Maddock.	V	287
Goldsmith, Johannah, widow of Capt. Samuel Goldsmith. George Wells was her son.	V	11
Goldsmith, Mary, niece of Capt. Samuel Goldsmith and daughter of George Goldsmith.	V	180
Gibbs, John, married Anne, widow of Edward Best, Cecil Co.	V	301
Horsley, Joseph, Calvert Co., whose widow Rozamond married Richard Ladd, Calvert Co.	V	71
Hawkins, Ralph and William, appear together as apprs.	V	260
Howes, Thomas, his widow, Philis, married Gustavus White.	V	404
Ladd, Richard, Calvert Co., married Rozamond, widow of Joseph Horsley, Calvert Co.	V	71
Mills, Tabitha, widow of William Mills, married Thomas Blanford.	V	146, 150
Maddock, Annah, widow of Henry Frankham, married Edward Maddock.	V	287
Pope, John, son of Francis.	V	299
Pott, Hannah, widow of John Pott, married ———— Edwards.	V	367
Stinson, Rachel, widow of Neale Clarke, married John Stinson.	V	58, 61

1678	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Shaw, Nicholas, Cecil Co., brother of William Shaw, late of Talbot Co. Joyce Shaw was widow of William Shaw.	V	62
Skinner, Thomas, Dorchester Co.; his widow, Elizabeth, married ————— Beckwith, Dorchester Co.	V	150
Spencer, Mary, widow of John Anderson, Calvert Co., married Francis Spencer, Calvert Co.	V	273
Stafford, Mary, widow of Thomas Todd, A. A. Co., married William Stafford, same Co.	V	363
Shaw, John, whose widow, Sarah, married Thomas Francis.	V	379
Stagg, Margaret, widow of John Gittings; two sons-in law, John and Philip Gittings.	VI	5, 7
Mary, her daughter.	VI	7
Todd, Sarah, widow of Thomas Todd, A. A. Co., married William Stafford, same county.	V	363
Wells, George, son of Johanna Goldsmith, widow of Capt. Samuel Goldsmith.	V	11
Winsmore, Katharine, widow of Dr. Robert Winsmore, married ————— Cooke.	V	151
Warde, Mary, wife of William Warde and widow of George Credwell, Charles Co.	V	323, 325
White, Philis, wife of Gustavus White and widow of Thomas Homes.	V	404
1679	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Ambrose, Richard, his widow, Margaret Worrell, made admtrx.	VI	564, 566
Andrews, Christopher, Kent Co., married widow of William Standley.	VI	617
Beckwith, George, Calvert Co., account mentions Charles, son and heir, and his unmarried sisters to be Barbara and Margaret, and further shows one sister married to Elias Nut-halls.	VI	58

1679	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Thomas Banks, admtr.	VI	56
Boring, John, married widow _____ of Roger Sidwell, Baltimore Co.	VI	423
Blackiston, Ebenezer, Cecil Co., married widow _____ and admtr. of William Pike, A. Co.	VI	474
Brooke, Baker, in inventory, his coasting-coat, several suits of clothing, his sword and belt, 1000 lbs. tobacco, also some articles in "His Studys"	VI	481
Blangey, Lewis, Mary his wife was widow and admtr. of Disborough Bennet, late of Kent Co.	VI	621
Bennet, Disborough; Mary, his widow and admtr., married Lewis Blangey.	VI	621
Comagys, Cornelius, Mary, his wife, was widow and admtr. of James Kenneday of Kent Co.	VI	458
Copidge, Edward, admtrs. were William Rawles and Elizabeth, his wife.	VI	641
Dunn, Robert, whose widow married Anthony Workman.	VI	213
Deane, Sarah, wife of William Deane and widow of Thomas Warrin, Kent Co. (Sarah Deane, age 21.)	VI	434 433
Elliott, Henry, married Jane, widow of John Halfehead.	VI	224
Ellis, Peter, Elizabeth, his wife, widow and admtr. of William Palmer, Baltimore Co.	VI	462
Gittings, Margaret, widow of John Gittings, Calvert Co., married _____ Stagg.	VI	5
Griffith, Elizabeth, wife of Henry Griffith, widow of Francis Tassell.	VI	394
Gibson, Hannah, extr. of John White, Kent Co.	VI	605
Gott, Henry, late of Kent Co., admrs. Thomas and Elizabeth Parker.	VI	606

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Groome, William, of Patuxent, Calvert Co., married Sybille, widow of Henry Jowles.	VI	683
Halfehead, Jane, widow of John Halfhead, married Henry Elliott.	VI	222
Hammond, Mary, widow of Thomas Roper, A. A. Co., married ——— Hammond.	VI	418
Hawkins, William, Anne, his wife, admrtx. of estate of Stephen White, A. A. Co.	VI	441
Howes, Thomas, widow and admrtx. Phillis White, married Gustavus White.	VI	510
Jowles, Henry, married Sybille, widow of William Groome of Patuxent, Calvert Co.	VI	683
Kenneday, James, Kent Co., whose widow and admrtx. Mary, married Cornelius Comagys.	VI	458
Lowder, Edward, whose widow Anne married ——— James, Kent Co.	VI	611
Larkins, John, of the Ridge, in A. A. Co.	VI	611
Newton, Sarah, extrx. of Samuel Pritchett.	VI	544
Palmer, William, widow, Elizabeth, admrtx. of estate, married Peter Ellis, Baltimore Co.	VI	462
Pike, William, married ———, widow and admrtx of Ebenezer Blackiston of Cecil Co.	VI	474
Pritchett, Samuel; Sarah Newton, admtrx.	VI	544
Parker, Thomas, Mary his wife, widow and admtrx of Henry Gott, late of Kent Co.	VI	606
Roper, Mary, widow of Thomas Roper, A. A. Co., married ——— Hammond.	VI	418
Rawles, William and Elizabeth, his wife, admtrs. of Edward Copidge.	VI	641
Sidwell, Roger, Baltimore Co., whose widow married John Boring.	VI	423
Standley, William, whose widow married Christopher Andrews of Kent Co.	VI	617
Tassell, Francis, whose widow Elizabeth married Henry Griffith. Account shows one child not named.	VI	656, 394

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Williams, David and Jane, his wife, Somerset Co., "late murdered by the Indians."		
Workman, Joane, widow of Robert Dunn, married Anthony Workman.	VI	210
Warrin, Thomas, Kent Co.; his widow, Sarah, married William Deane.	VI	433
White, Gustavus; Phillis, his wife, widow and admtrx of Thomas Howes.	VI	510
Worrall, Margaret, widow and admtrx of Richard Ambrose.	VI	564
White, John, Kent. Co., Hannah Gibson extrx.	VI	605
Warde, Mary, admtrx. of Richard Foukes, Charles Co.	VI	615
1680	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Page</i>
Bengar, Katharine, wife of Robert Bengar and widow and extrx. of John Shadwell, Balti- more Co.	VIIA	9
Brown, Peregrin, mention of his name in acct.	VIIA	113
Besson, Hester, widow of Thomas Besson, married Thomas Sutton.	VIIA	126
Beetenson, Edmund; Lydia, his wife, widow of Thomas Watkins, A. A. Co.	VIIA	172
Bayley, John, Magdalen, his wife, admtrx. of James Pean, late of Britton's Bay.	VIIA	215
Brown, Katharine, extrx. of Arthur Wright, Kent Co.	VIIA	269
Clements, Mary, wife of John Clements (Mary Derumple).	VIIA	3
Christeson, Wenlock, Talbot Co., account shows wid- ow Elizabeth and daughter Elizabeth as per will mentions "children" also.	VIIA	108, 109
Cole, William, Margaret, his wife, extrx. and widow of Michael Rochford.	VIIA	144, 147
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Clipsham, Thomas, wife, Susannah, widow of John Cage, Charles Co.	VIIA	151
Cage, John, his widow married Thomas Clipsham.	VIIA	151
Collett, John, his widow, Elizabeth, married ————— Hazlewood, Baltimore Co.	VIIA	361
Derumple, Mary, married John Clements.	VIIA	3
Dines, Thomas, Charles Co.; widow Mary, mar- ried ————— Roberson.	VIIA	305
Evans, John, Calvert Co., married Sarah, widow of Guy White, same county.	VIIA	177
Gough, Hester (Larkin), widow and admstrx. of William Gough, Calvert Co., married Nich- olas Nicholson.	VIIA	118
Garrettson, Semelia, Baltimore Co., widow and admtrx. of Ruthen Garrettson, married ————— Yeo, Baltimore Co.	VIIA	283
Griffin, Lewis, Sarah, his widow, married Timothy Macknemara.	VIIA	377
Hacket, Theophilus, Alice, his wife, was widow of Edward Skidmore.	VIIA	139
Hinson, Anne, widow and extrx. of Thomas Hin- son, married Robert Smith.	VIIA	329
Hazlewood, Elizabeth, Baltimore Co., widow of John Collett, married ————— Hazlewood.	VIIA	361
Harwood, Capt., account of John Taylor, Baltimore Co.	VIIA	376
Lewis, Dr. Henry and Henry Lewis the younger mentioned as legatees in the will of John Ricks.	VIIA	370
Mcgregory, Hugh, in Bohemia River, appraiser of estate of Daniel Boulton.	VIIA	268
Mosse, Richard, the following appears in his ac- count: "By this dec'd legacy to his chil- dren to James Orrouch, his wearing clothes and one sett silver buttons. To daughter,		

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Elizabeth, her legacy 1 feather bed and 1 silver whissle."	VIIA	37
Mason, Miles, Dorchester Co., Anne, relict and admtrx., married Peter Stoakes.	VIIA	182
Macknemara, Timothy, and Sarah, his wife, widow of Lewis Griffin.	VIIA	377
Nicholson, Nicholas, Hester (Larkin) his wife, admtrx. of William Gough of Calvert Co.	VII	118
Orruck, James, Mary, his wife, widow of John Ricks, A. A. Co.	VIIA	368
Parker, William, whose widow married Nicholas Painter. In inventory William Parker of the Clifts, are the following items: "one old carte saddle and one coller for a Phill Horse" first mention of a cart in the inventories.	VII	132
Pean, James, and Magdalen, his widow and admtrx., married John Bayley.	VIIA	215
In this account appears "To Robert Ridgely, clerk of the lower house of the assembly for fees for naturalizacon the dec'd wife and daughter."	VIIA	217
Rochford, Michael, his widow and extrx, Margaret, married William Cole.	VIIA	144
Rowlandts, Robert, Charles Co., Margery, his widow, married Humphrey Warren.	VIIA	166
Roberson, Mary, relict of Thomas Dines, of Charles Co.	VIIA	305
Ricks, John, A. A. Co., Mary, his widow, married James Orruck.	VIIA	368
Shadwell, John, Baltimore Co.; his widow and extrx., Katharine, married Robert Bengar.	VIIA	9
Sinclair, Joseph, age about forty years, by deposition Cecil Co.	VIIA	56
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Sutton, Hester, widow of Thomas Besson, married Thomas Sutton.	VIIA	126
Skidmore, Edward, his widow, Alice, married Theopilus Hacket, A. A. Co.	VIIA	139
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Wilson, William, whose widow, Anne, married Bry- an Crowley, of Calvert Co.	VIIA	148
Warren, Humphrey, Margery, his wife, was widow of Robert Rowlandts, Charles Co.	VIIA	166
Watkins, Thomas, A. A. Co.; widow, Lydia, mar- ried Edmund Beetenson.	VIIA	172
White, Guy, Calvert Co.; his widow, Sarah, mar- ried John Evans, Calvert Co.	VIIA	177
Wright, Arthur, Kent Co., extrx. Katharine Brown.	VIIA	269
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Ayres, John; Anne, his wife, widow and admtrx. of Thomas Earle, Talbot Co.	VIIB	27
Bird, John, A. A. Co.; Elizabeth, his wife, was wid- ow of Dr. Henry Lewis.	VIIB	8
Benson, John, his widow, Elizabeth, married Rich- ard Harrison.	VIIB	43
Barden, Charles, Elizabeth, his widow and admrtx., married James Cassey.	VIIB	166
Cooke, Edward, Katharine, his wife, widow and admtrx. of Robert Winsmore, Dorchester Co.	VIIB	47
Cassey, James, his wife, Elizabeth, widow and admtrx. of Charles Barden.	VIIB	166
Davis, Abigale, Dorchester Co., admrtx. of Arthur Wright, Dorchester Co.	VIIB	153

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Dunn, John, appraiser of estate of Humphrey Davis, Talbot Co.	VIIB	173
Earle, Thomas, Anne, his widow and admtrx., married John Ayres.	VIIB	27
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Hubbard, John, Margaret, his wife, widow and admtrx. of John Leekins of Baltimore Co.	VIIB	157
Hollis, William, Baltimore Co.; his widow and admtrx. was Elizabeth Russell.	VIIB	168
Leekins, John, of Baltimore Co.; his widow and admtrx., Margaret, married John Hubbard, same county.	VIIB	157
Meridale, Thomas, tobacco due him from the estate of George Symonds, A. A. Co., for a year's schooling of his son and for writing his will, 725 lbs.	VIIB	210
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Bagby, Ursula, widow of Amos Bagby, Calvert Co., who married William House, Jr.	VIIC	309
Canon, Thomas, married Henrietta, widow of Ed- ward Swanson.	VIIC	184
His widow, Henrietta, afterwards married ——— Reeves.	VIIC	191
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Croshaw, Elizabeth, wife of William(?) Croshaw and widow of Thomas Russell.	VIIC	330
Constable, Henry, whose wife, Katharine, of A. A. Co., was widow of James Rigby.	VIIC	335
Edwards, Richard, whose wife, Hannah, was widow of John Pott, Calvert Co.	VIIC	87
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Grover, John, Calvert Co., married Katherine, widow and admtrx. of John Wynnall, Cal- vert Co.	VIIC	227
Harris, Elizabeth, widow of Samuel Harris, St. M. Co.	VIIC	130
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Harrison, Sarah, in whose acct. it is mentioned that Mary Broadnox formerly gave certain cattle to Andrew Towlson, eldest son of Sarah Har- rison.	VIIC	168
Hopkins, Philip, Talbot Co., married Anne, widow of Nehemia Coventon.	VIIC	262
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Maddock, Anne, widow of Henry Francum, married Edward Maddock, Charles Co.	VIIC	95
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Maddock, Edward, Charles Co., whose widow, Margery, was the widow of Matthew Stone, Charles Co.	VIIC	250
Manning, Joseph, his widow, Mary, afterward married John Blackfan.	VIIC	253
Martindale, Ruth, was widow of Thomas Vaughn, St. M. Co.	VIIC	328
Pott, John, Calvert Co.; his widow, Hannah, married Richard Edwards, Calvert Co.	VIIC	87
Reeves, Henrietta, widow of Edward Swanson, married Thomas Canon, and afterwards ——— Reeves.		
Russell, Thomas, his widow, Elizabeth, married Wm.(?) Croshaw.	VIIC	330
Rigby, James; his widow, Katharine, A. A. Co., married Henry Constable.	VIIC	335
Swanson, Edward, his widow, Henrietta, married Thomas Canon and afterwards ——— Reeves.	VIIC	184
Stone, Matthew, his widow, Margery, married Edward Maddock, Charles Co.	VIIC	250
Sudler, Joseph, married Cecily, widow and extrx. of Thomas Bright, Kent Co.	VIIC	309
Toulson, Andrew, son of Sarah Harrison.	VIIC	182
Vaughn, Thomas, St. M. Co.; widow, Ruth, married ——— Martindale.	VIIC	328

CATONSVILLE BIOGRAPHIES

GEORGE C. KEIDEL, PH. D.

1. RICHARD CATON OF CATONSVILLE *

Family History

The Caton family seems to have been of Norman origin, and the name occurs frequently in the annals of English history; but the genealogists have not yet succeeded in discovering all of the connecting links between the subject of this sketch and the earliest known member of the family in England. Suffice it here to record the following disconnected items: ¹

Walter de Caton, Knight, 1193, was present with the King's Army at York;

John de Caton is on record for the year 1297:

Thomas de Caton in 1311 held the manors of Caton and Littledale;

John de Caton in 1352 was rector of Gawsorth, and died in 1391:

John de Caton in 1386 gave the manor of Cockerham to the Abbey of Leicester;

Robert de Caton in 1402 was the priest chancellor of the Bishop of Winchester;

John Caton in 1448 was a citizen of London;

John Caton mentioned in 1497 has descendants now living at Prittlewell, Essex, and Flookborough, Lancaster;

John Caton in 1511 was priest vicar of Heine;

Thomas Caton in 1522 was buried at St. John Zachary, London.

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¹ Extracts from a family pedigree "compiled by Wm. Woodville Sheldermine, 1917, from authentic documents and family papers," original manuscript belonging to Mrs. J. J. Jackson, Baltimore, Md.

The earliest known ancestor of the subject of our sketch was William Caton, who was born at Heysham, a small place near Caton, Lancashire, England, in 1684. William Caton's second wife was Isabel Chaffers, to whom he was married in 1724. Their son Joseph Caton was born in 1731, and in 1735 the father died and was buried at his birthplace. At one time this Joseph Caton was the captain of an Indiaman, and when on shore resided in Liverpool.

Some record of this Joseph Caton has been preserved in a partial copy of his last will and testament lately in the possession of Mrs. John Joseph Jackson, a distant relative residing in Baltimore, Maryland. This will was made and published by him on the 26th of February, 1796, and in it he enumerates five children and two grandchildren to whom he bequeaths his property.

Richard Caton, the subject of our sketch, appears to have been the oldest of the children, and his father refers to the fact that when he had left home he had given him the sum of five hundred pounds. In a codicil to this will made March 26, 1803, occur the following words:

"Now I do hereby revoke and make void such bequest as to the share of my said son R. C. only and do hereby order, will, and direct that the share of my said son R. C., of and in the residue and remainder of my said real and personal estate, or the money arising therefrom, together with the interest and proceeds that shall grow due thereon, and which I hereby direct shall accumulate until the same shall become payable, shall be equally divided between and amongst all and every the lawful child and children of my said son R. C. living at the time of his decease, or born in due time afterwards to be equally divided among them."

The original of this will is no doubt on file at Liverpool, England.

Of Joseph Caton, the father of Richard, we know further that he married a girl of sixteen, and had a family of eight children, his oldest son being born on the fifteenth of April,

1763. The best known modern representative of the family in England is Dr. Richard Caton, who was recently Lord Mayor of Liverpool and who is a scholar and writer of some note.²

Courtship and Marriage

Soon after reaching the future metropolis of Maryland and the South (in a manner and at a date not recorded) the young English merchant seems to have fallen in love with the sixteen-year old Polly Carroll, eldest surviving daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then and afterwards a power in Maryland political life. The young lady's real name was of course Mary, so named no doubt after her mother Mary Darnall; and we find that Richard Caton was not without a rival, as we distinctly learn from a letter written by the Signer to his cousin Daniel Carroll of Duddington, later so well known in connection with the early history of the City of Washington. For it would seem that the latter had been a suitor for the hand of his fair relative, and this would have been a match which her father evidently would have preferred to the one she had set her heart on.

Scarcely had the gay and charming Polly Carroll reached early womanhood when her father became aware that she had given her affections to a handsome young Englishman, who had recently arrived in America and who could not at that date (probably early in the year 1787) boast of a sufficient fortune to recommend him to a wealthy father as a suitable husband for the beautiful girl who had become attached to him. For Polly Carroll, although at that time little more than a child, was already recognized as the reigning belle of the society in which she moved. Her portrait painted by Robert H. Pine and still preserved by her descendants, even yet testifies eloquently to her fascination as a young girl. The position occupied by her father, apart from his daughter's personal attrac-

² Compare the chapter entitled "A Favorite of Destiny" in A. M. W. Stirling's *A Painter of Dreams, and Other Biographical Studies*, London, 1916.

tions, would alone have assured her of a large amount of public attention. Hence it is small wonder that the Senator harbored some more ambitious matrimonial project for the daughter of whom he was so justly proud, and it may easily be imagined how keenly disappointed he must have been to learn of his daughter's attachment for a penniless though handsome adventurer.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, therefore, used every parental persuasion to check the young girl's resolution; but finding his own arguments unavailing, he at length appealed to his friend Thomas Cockey Deye to bring fresh influence to bear upon so awkward a predicament. The story runs that Mr. Deye, then occupying high political rank at Annapolis, having in turn exhausted his powers of eloquence returned to Charles Carroll of Carrollton to report the complete failure of his mission. Thereupon the Senator determined to try one last experiment: "Go," he said, "and ask her if her lover gets into jail who will get him out?" Mr. Deye, being thus armed, returned to the charge; but on hearing his question the beautiful girl, with her face rendered yet more lovely by the enthusiasm which inspired it, raised her tiny hands heavenwards, and exclaimed dramatically: "These hands shall take him out." The solution might not be convincing, but the devotion which prompted it conquered the father's heart. Persuaded that his daughter's happiness was at stake, he withdrew his opposition to her engagement and on March 13, 1787, he penned to Daniel Carroll of Duddington a letter which was little calculated to be welcome to the recipient.³ The letter begins thus:

"Dear Cousin: I am favored with your letter of the 20th of September. As the intelligence I am going to give you may make some alterations in your plans, although disagreeable, I must impart it to you. My daughter, I am sorry to inform you, is much attached to and has engaged herself to, a young

³ The original letter has been preserved among the family papers of Mrs. Wm. C. Pennington, Baltimore, Md.

English gentleman of the name of Caton. I do sincerely wish that she had placed her affections elsewhere, but I do not think I am at liberty to control her choice when fixed on a person of unexceptionable character. My assent to this union is obtained on two conditions, that the young gentleman shall extricate himself from some debts which he has contracted and shall get into a business sufficient to maintain himself and a family. These conditions he has promised to comply with, and, when performed, there will be no other impediment in the way of his marriage. Time will wear away the impression which an early attachment has made on your heart, and I hope you will find, in the course of a year or two, some agreeable, virtuous, and sweet tempered young lady, whose reciprocal affection, tenderness and goodness of disposition, will make you happy and forget the loss of my daughter. Miss Darnall and Molly desire their kind compliments to you."

No account is given of the effect produced upon the luckless suitor by this fateful letter; but the intelligence it conveyed was soon confirmed, as before the year was out Richard Caton and Polly Carroll had been married. Perhaps a further attempt on the part of the father to soothe the feelings of the rejected suitor may be seen in the following sentence found in a letter from Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Daniel Carroll of Duddington, Esq., London, dated at Annapolis on the 28th of May, 1787; ⁴ namely that:

"Miss Darnall and my daughter join me in sincere wishes for your health and happiness."

But scant note of the wedding itself has come down to us, but it would appear that from this time forward the fortunes of Richard Caton were largely blended with those of the Carroll family of Maryland, and his later history forms but a part of the famous whole.

⁴The original letter has been preserved among the family papers of Mrs. Wm. C. Pennington, Baltimore, Md.

Business Career

Of Richard Caton's independent business career in Baltimore prior to his notorious failure we have left to us only slight indications. As early as Oct. 29, 1784, we find him advertising wine for sale in a Baltimore newspaper, and a few days later on Nov. 5, 1784, a cargo of merchandize from Liverpool is likewise advertised by "Richard Caton, and Co. at their store, Gay-street, adjoining the Hon. John Smith, Esq." Later on we find him taking an interest in real estate, as well as in a variety of other enterprises.

The following notes concerning attempted real estate transactions in connection with a famous plantation lying to the northwest of Baltimore and about two miles north of the present village of Catonsville may be of interest here. There was at this time another well-known gentleman named Daniel Carroll (not the suitor previously mentioned), who owned a large place called Mount Dillon. This place was offered for sale by Richard Caton in an advertisement dated August 1, 1794,⁵ and it is again mentioned in a French advertisement appearing in a Baltimore newspaper on September 12, 1795.⁶ Here it is stated that a place offered for sale is seven miles from Baltimore and opposite Mr. Carroll's on "la grande route de Frederick-Town." From this it would appear that Richard Caton had been unsuccessful in his attempt to find a customer for Mount Dillon; and indeed we find Daniel Carroll himself still advertising his place for sale on May 5, 1796.⁷

As early as the year 1790 we find Richard Caton entering an association for the manufacture of cotton, and this enterprise eventually developed into the well known cotton duck mills at Woodberry.

⁵ *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, August 1, 1794, p. 4, col. 2.

⁶ *The Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette*, September 12, 1795, p. 4, col. 4.

⁷ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, May 5, 1796.

In this same year 1790 we catch glimpses of Richard Caton's farming operations in the following paragraphs of a letter written by Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his daughter Mrs. Caton:⁸

Senate, 14 April, 1790.

Dear Molly:—

I hope you are at the Manor with your little one and Mr. Caton, and Mrs. Rankin, and that you find the country as agreeable as Annapolis . . . Mr. O'Neal tells me that the recent frost has much injured the fruit, peaches and pears. Let me know whether all the pears and peaches are destroyed; the apples, he says, Harry informed him were not injured. I hope soon to have a letter from you and Mr. Caton and to hear that all things on the Manor and at his farm (Catonsville) going well. Give my compliments to Mrs. Rankin. How does she like Doughoregan? Kiss your dear little girls for me, and remember me affectionately to Mr. Caton. God bless my dear child, I am your affectionate father,

Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

In the year 1795 Bishop John Carroll (1735-1815) was the leader in a movement to found the Library Association of Baltimore, and Richard Caton was one of those associated with him from the beginning. The collections of this company were many years later merged into those of the Maryland Historical Society.⁹

At one time Richard Caton also took considerable interest

⁸ The original letter has been preserved among the family papers of Mr. Charles Carroll MacTavish, and it has been published in a book entitled: "*Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and of His Father, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan*, compiled and edited with a memoir by Thos. Meagher Field, New York, 1902. See pp. 160-162.

⁹ See [Daniel Brent], *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, edited by John Carroll Brent, Baltimore, 1843; John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, New York, 1888.

in geological matters; but his scientific ardor eventually led him to financial disaster, as will be seen presently.

Bankruptcy

Richard Caton's short though checkered business career on his own account came to a sudden end somewhere about the year 1800. His geological studies had led him on a few years before to a venture in the coal mine business at Cape Sable; but this proved disastrous and he failed for the sum of forty thousand dollars. At that time this was a very large debt for a business man with a large family to have hanging over his head, and though he lived for about forty-five years longer he never succeeded in paying it off, and thus died still a bankrupt.

Richard Caton's bankruptcy seems to have had various consequences in subsequent years, some of which may be enumerated as follows:

1. It was no doubt at this time that Charles Carroll of Carrollton began the payment of a regular allowance to his daughter Mrs. Caton, reference to which is expressly made in the statement of her son-in-law, John McTavish, which was drawn up in the year 1824 in connection with a discussion of the family allowances made by the Signer up to that time.

2. In order to prevent his creditors laying hands on Richard Caton's prospective inheritance from his father, the latter made a final codicil to his will in the year 1803 bequeathing his eldest son's share to the latter's children.

3. His father-in-law also, probably in order to keep the bankrupt out of the debtor's jail, from this time on made an annual payment of three thousand dollars to his son-in-law's creditors, which payment was continued by Mrs. Caton after her father's death and led to unpleasant complications with the other heirs.

4. Perhaps it was owing finally to the same bankruptcy that Richard Caton spent the last forty years of his life it would seem, as the agent for the Carroll family in their real estate

transactions. He it was who in opposition to the ideas of his brother-in-law, General Robert Goodloe Harper, laid out the villages of Catonsville and Carrollton, the latter in the year 1810.

Carroll Will Case

One of the most famous will cases in the annals of Baltimore was that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. While there were many persons involved in this contest, the chief character appears to have been his son-in-law Richard Caton. Mr. Carroll, then the wealthiest man in America, had followed the general policy of keeping his affairs in his own control, dealing largely in real estate in all its many phases; but as the years passed and he became less and less able to attend to business matters, he appointed his son-in-law Richard Caton his agent and gradually turned over to him the management of his estate to a greater and ever greater degree. From time to time, Mr. Carroll allotted sums of money to his children and their families, gradually increasing the amount as the years passed, but never making any real division of his estate among them. Finally in his old age he had the celebrated Maryland jurist, later Chief Justice of the United States, Roger Brooke Taney draw up his will. Some years later Mr. Carroll, foreseeing dissensions among his heirs and at the instigation no doubt of Mr. Richard Caton, had a codicil to his will drawn up by Mr. John H. B. Latrobe in which he threatened to disinherit any of his heirs who would dispute the provisions of his will after his death.¹⁰ This incident caused much ill-feeling in one way and another, and shortly after Mr. Carroll's death in November, 1832, Mr. Richard Caton published a pamphlet giving an account of his stewardship in his own defense. The main point at issue was the fact that after Mr. Carroll's death it was discovered that the Caton branch of the family had been bequeathed by far the

¹⁰ John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe & His Times, 1803 to 1891*. Baltimore, Maryland, The Norman Remington Co., 1917. See p. 291.

most important part of the estate, and this caused jealousy and ill-feeling on the part of the other heirs. After much discussion, assisted by various lawyers, an agreement was finally reached and thereafter the controversy quieted down.

It may be of interest here to quote Mr. Caton's own statement of his case as given in two documents which have been preserved:

The Maryland Historical Society owns a copy of the rare pamphlet referred to above, whose lengthy title is as follows:

A Brief Statement of Facts in the management of the late Mr. Carroll of Carrollton's Moneyed Estate, by Richard Caton, his agent, and of the circumstances arising out of it, in relation to the distribution among the three branches of the family.

The opening paragraph reads as follows:

"As much observation has arisen on the subject of Mr. Carroll's Will, and the disposition of his property during his life time, to the three branches of his family, in the discussion of which I am a prominent object; I feel it necessary to produce facts, in relation to my stewardship:—and I have a confidence that every honest and unprejudiced mind, will give me credit for having in a great measure created Mr. Carroll's moneyed estate, and for the integrity and liberality with which I have acted to the Harper and Carroll Branches of the family, often at the expense of my own."

The other document referred to is an autograph letter of Richard Caton's now in the Library of Congress which reads as follows:¹¹

Baltimore, Feb. 28th, '33.

Dr. Sr.—

I thank you for your kind letter, addressed to me, but in fact the Subject matter, intended for Mrs. McTavish.

¹¹ This letter is pasted in a large scrap-book, which was purchased by the Library of Congress in 1903 from a Washington art dealer named Fisher. The letter is torn and has been patched in several places. [*Vidimus*, G. C. K., June 11, 1919.]

I can only say on our part, that I have, and each member of my family has, a strong desire to put an end to a calamitous and costly legal contention. If a legal issue be actually the object sought for, by the adverse party, and truth be the object desired, let us have a trial on the Caveat of Mrs. Carroll or any other person before the Orphan's Court, and send the record to the Court of Appeals, where a final adjudication can be had, and the law be made known. This will at least put a stop to expenditure, that must have finally, a termination in the Court of Appeals, and there only; whatever intermediate points the question may pass thro'. As to a reference, I fear there is no chance, without surrendering the Will, which will never be consented to. I made proposals for a reference some five weeks since a common friend of the family communicated verbally the modus operandi, of the project, and he and one of the counsel approved of it; but Mr. Carroll rejected it.

I will show you a "pro forma" of the Project;—you will see, that the objects of justice and equity are by it, attainable, by a very simple procedure. The subject will be further proceeded on, by and by—the Parties know we are ready to close the contest by arrangement,—or a judicial decision, in the shortest way. If by your kind counsels, these ends can be promoted (and either of them will be met by us) we shall indeed feel much obliged.

I am very truly with Respect,

D. Sr. yrs.,

RD. CATON.

John Weems, Esqre.,
Ellicotts Mills P. O.,
Be. Co.

Death and Obituaries

The glorious social life of the Catons became a tradition in the annals of Baltimore; but this could not last forever. And so we find that having reached a ripe old age Richard Caton on May 19, 1845, passed to his eternal rest. It has unfortu-

nately not been possible for the writer to discover where he was buried, but it may be worth while to quote some of the obituaries published in the Baltimore newspapers.

The *Baltimore American* published the following brief notice:¹²

“One of our oldest citizens, Richard Caton, Esq., departed this life yesterday morning after a very brief illness, in the eighty-third year of his age. Mr. Caton was the son-in-law of the late Charles Carroll of Carrollton.”

The *American Republican and Baltimore Daily Clipper* under the head of City Intelligence gave a fuller account in the following words:¹³

“*Death of an old and esteemed citizen.* We regret to record the death of Richard Caton, esq., who departed this life yesterday morning after a short illness, in the 83d year of his age. Mr. C. was a native of Lancashire, England, and has been a resident of Baltimore for the last 62 years. He married the eldest daughter of the late Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and is the father of the Marchioness of Wellesley. Mr. C. has long had the management of large landed estates; possessed a highly enterprising spirit, and was distinguished as an accomplished gentleman of the old school.”

Among the papers of the late John H. B. Latrobe there was found a printed invitation to attend the funeral of Mr. Richard Caton, which was directed to him and which gave the place of burial.¹⁴

Among the biographical clippings collected by the late Dr. Toner and now preserved in the Library of Congress are to be found four short obituaries of Richard Caton, but there is no indication of the sources from which they were obtained.

¹² This notice was kindly communicated to the writer by Mr. Wm. C. Lane, the Librarian of Harvard College Library, under date of April 5, 1919.

¹³ Vol. xii, No. 120 (Tuesday Morning, May 20, 1845), p. 2, col. 3. [From a copy in the Library of Congress.]

¹⁴ Statement made in a letter written by John E. Semmes, Mar. 14, 1919.

Richard Caton died intestate and Josias Pennington was appointed his administrator. The latter rendered his first account on November 15, 1849, and his second and last account on July 6, 1853. According to these administrator's accounts, which are recorded in the Baltimore Court-House, it appears that he was attended in his last illness by Drs. Charles S. Davis and N. R. Smith, and that the balance of his estate after the payment of all debts and expenses was paid over to George Neilson, Administrator of James Neilson, on account of a judgment obtained against deceased in his life time.

It would appear that this was the final adjustment of the bankruptcy case which had been hanging over Richard Caton's head for nearly half a century.

Personal Characteristics

It is a tradition that Richard Caton was of an appearance almost as prepossessing as that of his bride, the beautiful Polly Carroll. Tall, dignified and exceptionally handsome, he was striking both in manner and in person. Although he could not boast a princely descent, yet his family, as we have already seen, was both old and honorable. In spite of all this, however, he was for long viewed by the older families of Baltimore with considerable jealousy, and was even looked upon by them as being a foreign adventurer.

There can be no doubt that his unusual good fortune was well calculated to excite the enmity of the social circle in which he moved. A man of real ability and of great fascination, albeit rather arrogant in manner, Richard Caton with presumably little of this world's goods to substantiate his claims had at one stroke secured a wife both beautiful and wealthy, and had allied himself with one of the foremost families in the land of his adoption.

Small wonder then that those who envied him in secret were ready to question in public his claim to success and to dwell with scarcely veiled ill-nature on his demerits. It must be admitted evidently that one of his failings must have served

his enemies well. It has already been seen that at the time of his engagement to Polly Carroll he had contracted debts which his prospective father-in-law was very anxious to see settled. It will be noted likewise that, whether owing to rash speculation or to an inherent tendency to extravagance, Richard Caton throughout his life showed the same propensity for involving himself in pecuniary straits, an unfortunate propensity inherited by many of his descendants. To a man of the cautious temperament of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who seems to have loved money for money's sake, this failing in his daughter's husband was a constant source of anxiety and annoyance. It is evident, however, that Richard Caton was in spite of all this a man of undoubted culture and scholarly taste.

As showing some of his peculiarities the following amusing anecdote concerning himself and his daughter Louisa has been handed down to us. Richard Caton, it appears, had on three occasions and for a considerable length of time accepted the hospitality of the Shelmerdines of Manchester, a family into which his sister Mary Caton had married. But when one of the Shelmerdines in 1830 proposed visiting Richard Caton in America, the latter replied only too curtly: "Although my house has twenty-eight rooms, it is full from top to bottom." When later, however, Richard Caton himself proposed visiting his daughter at Hornby Castle, he to his extreme surprise experienced the same treatment. "You will have to get a bed at the inn," wrote Louisa in answer to his proposal, "for although my house is large—it is full!" "Louisa always was a proud and saucy puss!" commented Richard Caton, half in amusement, half in anger.¹⁵

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. 1787, Nov. 24. Marriage license issued Nov. 24, 1787, recorded at the State House, Annapolis, Md. [Seen by Wm. E. Olivet.]
2. 1787, Nov. 30. *The Maryland Journal, and Baltimore Advertiser* Baltimore, Md., Vol. xiv, No. 96 (Nov. 30, 1787), p. 2, col. 1:

¹⁵ See A. M. W. Stirling, *Op. cit.*, pp. 206, 208, 209, 247, 248.

- Marriage announcement of Mr. Richard Caton and Miss Polly Carroll. Original copies in Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and in Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. [*Vidimus*, G. C. K., May 29, 1919, and Oct. 8, 1920.]
3. 1826, Sept. 12. Letter from Charles Carroll of Carrollton dated at Browns Tavern, Sept. 12th, 1826, to Richard Caton, Esq., Baltimore. Original manuscript in Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Carroll MSS., No. 5. [*Vidimus*, G. C. K., May 26, 1919.]
 4. 1829, Jan. 10. Letter from Richard Caton to John White, dated Balt., Saturday, 10 Jany. [1829 probably]. Original letter in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Carroll MSS., Ac. 422. [*Vidimus*, G. C. K., May 28, 1919.]
 5. 1830, May 26. Letter from Richard Caton to Roger Brooke Taney (with 2 enclosures). Original manuscript in Maryland Historical Society, Carroll Papers, No. 714.
 6. 1845. *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1846*. Boston: Published by James Munroe & Co., 1845. See p. 322: (1845) May 19.
 7. 1845, May 20. *The Sun* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. xvii, No. 3 (May 20, 1845), p. 2, col. 4; Death notice.
 8. 1874. J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, pp. 209, 241, 260, 277, 392, 448, 514.
 9. 1877. Esmeralda Boyle, *Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders*. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Company, 174 W. Baltimore Street, 1877. See pp. 94-95.
 10. 1881. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*. Philadelphia, 1881. See p. 821, col. 1, note 1, and p. 825, col. 2.

THE CALVERT FAMILY

JOHN BAILEY CALVERT NICKLIN

PART III

THE "MT. AIRY" LINE

24. BENEDICT (SWINGATE, otherwise) CALVERT⁸ (Charles,⁷ Benedict Leonard,⁶ Charles,⁵ Cecil,⁴ George,³ Leonard,² John¹), was born (about 1724) several years before his father's marriage to Mary Jannsen. Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore, acknowledged the paternity of this natural

son and was very devoted to him. (Perhaps he realized, in some indefinable manner, that through him alone his line was to be perpetuated?). But he never revealed the secret of his mother's identity. (It is said that his mother was one of the daughters of King George II., and that therefore he did not dare divulge the secret or keep the boy in England.) However this may be, Benedict was sent to Maryland (in charge of Captain Vernon), where he was under the care of Dr. George Stewart of Annapolis. (Under date of August 31, 1728, Charles Lowe, cousin of the Calverts, wrote to Benedict Leonard Calvert, Jr., mentioning that this Charles, Lord Baltimore, had gone on a Scandinavian trip, having made a will before sailing in which he left 2000 pounds "to a Naturall Son by the name of Benedict Swingate." See this *Magazine* Volume III, page 323.). In 1744 Benedict Swingate or Calvert was appointed Collector of Customs at Patuxent and the next year he became a member of the Council. He made his home at "Mt. Airy" in Prince George's County, and there he died Jan. 9, 1788. He m., April 21, 1748, Elizabeth Calvert (q. v.), dau. of the Hon. Charles Calvert (Governor of Maryland 1720-7) and Rebecca Gerrard, his wife.

ISSUE:

- i. Rebecca, b. Dec. 25, 1749; d. i.
- ii. Eleanor, b. 1754; d. Sept. 28, 1811; m. (1) Feb. 3, 1774, Colonel John Parke Custis (1753-1781) (a son of Martha Washington by her first husband, Daniel Parke Custis); m. (2) 1783, Dr. David Stewart.

Issue, by 1st m.:

1. Elizabeth Parke Custis, b. Aug. 21, 1776; d. Jan. 1, 1832; m. March 20, 1796, Thomas Law, nephew of Lord Ellenborough and son of the Bishop of Carlisle.
2. Martha Parke Custis, b. Dec. 31, 1777; d. July 13, 1854; m. Jan. 6, 1795, Thomas Peter.
3. Eleanor Parke Custis, b. March 21, 1779; d. July 15, 1852; m., at "Mt. Vernon," Feb. 22, 1799, in the presence of George and Martha Washington and on the former's last birthday, Lawrence Lewis, nephew of General George Washington.

4. George Washington Parke Custis, b. April 20, 1781; d. Oct. 10, 1857; he built the beautiful mansion, "Arlington," on the Potomac River near Washington City; he m., 1805, Mary Lee Fitzhugh, dau. of Colonel William and Anne (Randolph) Fitzhugh of "Ravensworth."

Issue:

1. Mary Anne Randolph Custis, b. at "Arlington" Oct. 1, 1808; d. at Lexington, Va., Nov. 5, 1873; m. at "Arlington," June 30, 1831, Lieutenant Robert Edward Lee, U. S. A. (afterwards General, C. S. A.).
- iii. Charles, b. Oct. 3, 1756; d. u. 1777.
- iv. Elizabeth, m. June 15, 1780, Dr. Charles Stewart (1750-1822).
- v. Edward Henry, b. Nov. 7, 1766; d. July 12, 1846; m. March 1, 1796, Elizabeth Biscoe (1780-1857); a quo Miss Helen Chapman Calvert of Alexandria, Va.
25. vi. GEORGE, b. Feb. 2, 1768; of whom later.
- vii. Philip, d. y.
- viii. Leonard, d. y.
- ix. Cecilius, d. y.
- x. John, d. after 1788.
- xi. William, d. after 1788.
- xii. Ariana, d. after 1788.
- xiii. Robert, d. y.

} Living at the date of their
father's death (1788).

25. GEORGE CALVERT⁹ (Benedict,⁸ Charles,⁷ Benedict Leonard,⁶ Charles,⁵ Cecil,⁴ George,³ Leonard,² John¹), b. at "Mt. Airy" Feb. 2, 1768; d. at "Riverdale" Jan. 28, 1838; m. June 11, 1799, Rosalie Eugenia Stier (1778-1821), dau. of Henri Joseph Stier, of Antwerp, and Maria Louise Peeters, his wife.

ISSUE:

- i. Caroline Maria, b. July 15, 1800; d. Nov. 25, 1842; m. June 19, 1823, Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia.
- ii. George Henry, b. Jan. 2, 1803; d. s. p., May 24, 1889; he was a distinguished author; m. May 8, 1829, Elizabeth Stewart (1802-1897), dau. of James and Rebecca (Sprigg) Stewart.
- iii. Marie Louise, b. 1804; d. 1809.
- iv. Rosalie Eugenia, b. Oct. 19, 1806; d. May 6, 1845; m. Nov. 11, 1830, Charles Henry Carter (1802-1892) (grand-

son of "Light Horse Harry" Lee and nephew of General Robert Edward Lee, C. S. A.), a quo Mildred (Carter), Viscountess Acheson, of London.

26. v. CHARLES BENEDICT, b. Aug. 23, 1808; of whom later.
 vi. Henry Joseph Albert, b. 1811; d. 1820.
 vii. Marie Louise, b. 1812; d. 1813.
 viii. Julia, b. Jan. 31, 1814; d. June 8, 1888; m. May 7, 1833, Dr. Richard Henry Stuart.
 ix. Amelia Isabella, b. 1817; d. 1820.

26. CHARLES BENEDICT CALVERT¹⁰ (George,⁹ Benedict,⁸ Charles,⁷ Benedict Leonard,⁶ Charles,⁵ Cecil,⁴ George,³ Leonard,² John¹), b. at "Riverdale," Prince George's Co., Md., Aug. 23, 1808; d. there May 12, 1864; m. June 6, 1839, Charlotte Augusta Norris (d. Dec. 7, 1876), dau. of William and Sarah (Martin) Norris.

ISSUE:

- i. Ella, b. March 20, 1840; d. Feb. 17, 1902; m. Sept. 3, 1861, Duncan G. Campbell.
 ii. George Henry, b. Nov. 29, 1841; m. Dec. 26, 1872, Frances Seybolt.
 27. iii. CHARLES BALTIMORE, b. Feb. 5, 1843; of whom later.
 iv. William Norris, b. Oct. 12, 1845; d. Sept. 7, 1889; m. March 12, 1888, Laura Hunt.

Issue:

1. Rosalie Eugenia, m. Dr. W. W. Holland of Baltimore.
 v. Eugenia Stier, b. Dec. 19, 1846; d. u. Nov. 30, 1894.
 vi. Jules van Havre, b. Oct. 30, 1848; d. Aug. 4, 1849.

27. CHARLES BALTIMORE CALVERT¹¹ (Charles Benedict,¹⁰ George,⁹ Benedict,⁸ Charles,⁷ Benedict Leonard,⁶ Charles,⁵ Cecil,⁴ George,³ Leonard,² John¹), b. at "Riverdale," Feb. 5, 1843; d. Aug. 31, 1906; member of the Maryland Legislature 1864-66-67; Trustee of the State Agricultural College, from which he graduated in 1863 with the degree of A. B.; m. June 14, 1866, Eleanor Mackubin, dau. of Dr. Richard Creagh and Hester Ann (Worthington) Mackubin of "Strawberry Hill," Anne Arundel County, Md.

ISSUE:

- i. Eleanor Gibson, m. June 8, 1892, W. Gibson Cary of Baltimore.

- ii. Hester Virginia, m. Dr. Henry Walter Lilly of North Carolina.
- iii. Charlotte Augusta, m. Thomas Henry Spence.
- iv. Charles Benedict, b. Nov. 8, 1871; d. July 2, 1872.
- v. Richard Creagh Mackubin, b. Dec. 31, 1872; m. Zoe Ammen Davis.
- vi. George Henry, b. Oct. 2, 1874; m. Cornelia Russell Knight.
- vii. Rosalie Eugenia Stier.
- viii. Elizabeth Stewart, m. June 5, 1906, William Douglas Nelson Thomas.
- ix. Charles Baltimore, b. Oct. 9, 1878.

THE "MYSTERIOUS LINE"

28. As much uncertainty surrounds the paternity of this Charles Calvert as does the maternity of his son-in-law, Benedict Swingate or Calvert of "Mt. Airy." The claim that he was a son of Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, is unsupported entirely save by the bare assertion that he was "uncle of Lord Baltimore" (i. e., Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore). (There is not a little reason to believe that he was identical with the Captain Charles Calvert Lazenby of His Majesty's Footguards in 1718.) He came to Maryland and was appointed Governor in 1720. In 1722 Mrs. Margaret Lazenby died in Anne Arundel County; she was called "aunt to our present Governor," who was this Charles Calvert. Of course, there is nothing to indicate why Captain Lazenby should have been permitted to assume the name of Calvert unless he were of Calvert blood. (Perhaps he was a natural son of Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, by a Miss Lazenby?). In the will of the Hon. Benedict Leonard Calvert, Jr. (1700-1732), son and namesake of the fourth Lord Baltimore, mention is made of his "God-daughter, Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Calvert, Commissary-General," but no mention is made of any relationship, which certainly would have been made if her father were his uncle, it seems! On the other hand, there is a possibility that Governor Charles Calvert might have been a posthumous son of the Hon. Philip Calvert (1626-1682) (q. v.) and his second wife, Jane Sewall,

step-daughter of Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore. But again we are lacking in evidence to support this theory. As a final effort to place him correctly, it is somewhat reasonable to think that he may have been a son of George Calvert, Esq. (b. 1669) (q. v.), himself a son of the Hon. William Calvert and Elizabeth Stone, his wife. This Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland from 1720 to 1727, is said to have been born in 1691. The student of Calvert history must decide for himself where to place him in the genealogy. So Governor Charles Calvert still remains one of the unsolved mysteries among the Calvert lineage. He was succeeded (1727) in the governorship by the Hon. Benedict Leonard Calvert, Jr. (1700-1732) (q. v.) and he then became a member of the Council and so remained until his death six years later. He m. Nov. 21, 1722, Rebecca Gerrard (d. 1735), dau. of John and Elizabeth Gerrard of Prince George's County, Md.

ISSUE:

- i. Charles, b. Nov. 2, 1723; d. Jan. 15, 1724.
 - ii. Anne, b. 1726; living 1734; untraced. (She evidently died young.)
 - iii. Elizabeth, b. Feb. 24, 1730; d. July 7, 1798; m. April 21, 1748, Benedict Swingate, or Calvert (q. v.) of "Mt. Airy." (See this *Magazine*, Volume I, page 290.)
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