



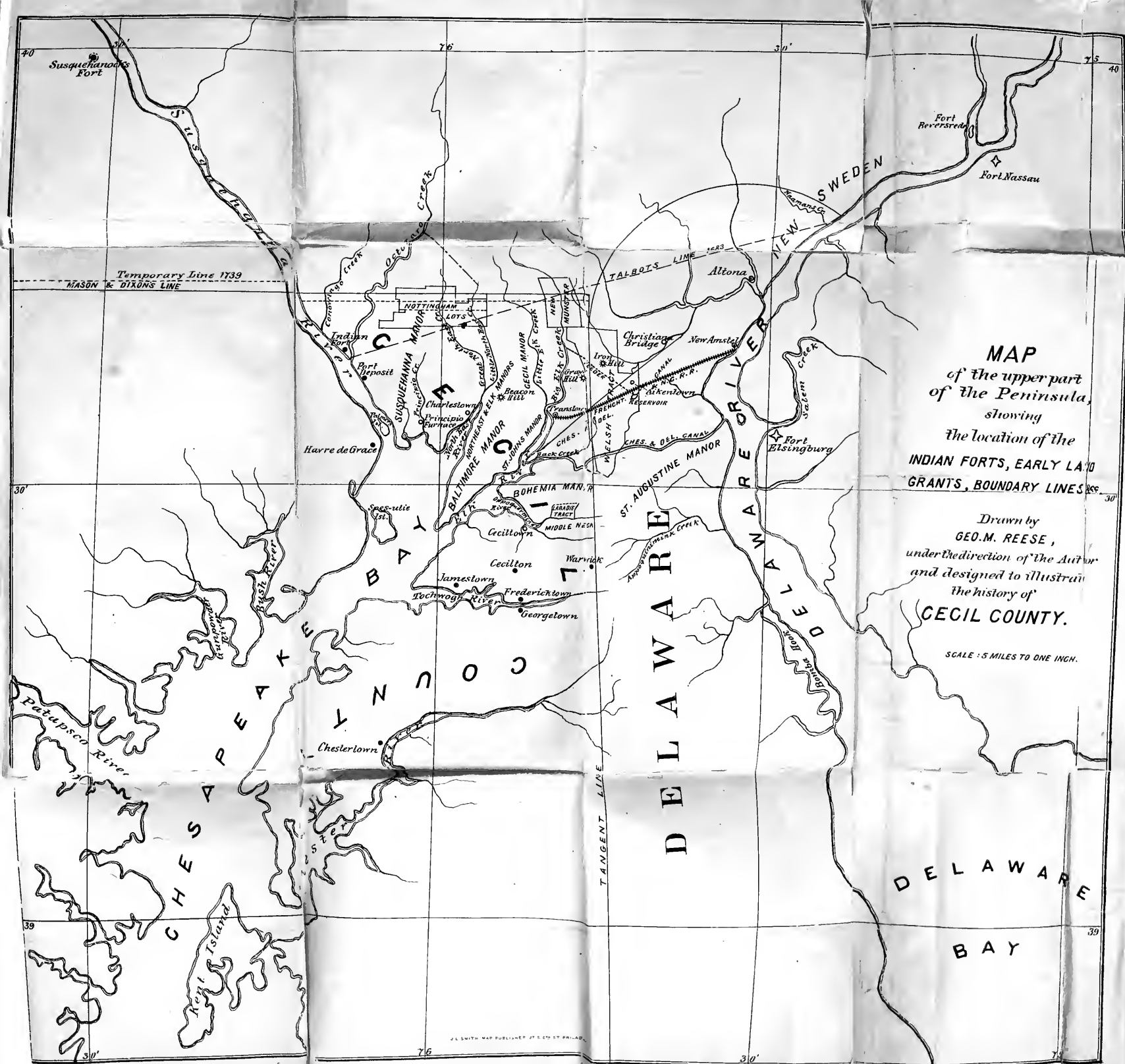
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MAP
of the upper part
of the Peninsula,
showing
the location of the
INDIAN FORTS, EARLY LAND
GRANTS, BOUNDARY LINES

Drawn by
GEO. M. REESE,
under the direction of the Author
and designed to illustrate
the history of
CECIL COUNTY.

SCALE: 5 MILES TO ONE INCH.

HISTORY
OF
CECIL COUNTY, MARYLAND,
AND THE
EARLY SETTLEMENTS AROUND THE HEAD OF
CHESAPEAKE BAY AND ON THE
DELAWARE RIVER,
WITH
SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE OLD FAMILIES
OF CECIL COUNTY.

BY GEORGE JOHNSTON.

ELKTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.
1881.

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PREFACE.

THE author has no apology to offer for writing this book, except this: that though certainly the second, and probably the first settlement made in the State of Maryland, more than two hundred and fifty years ago was within the limits of Cecil County, no other person has seen fit to write its history. For many years, indeed from the time the author was a school-boy, he has wished for information concerning the early history of this county; and being unable to find it elsewhere, sought for it among the early colonial records of Pennsylvania and New York which have been published, and among the dusty and dilapidated colonial records at Annapolis. After a careful examination of these, and the early land records of Cecil and Baltimore counties, and the records of the Orphans' and Commissioners' court of the former, he was fully convinced that sufficient material could be obtained from which to compile a history of the county. With this object in view the work was commenced. Subsequent investigation showed that the early history of the settlements along the west bank of the Delaware River was so closely blended with that of those around the head of Chesapeake Bay that it was impossible to separate them without destroying much of the interest of the narrative.

The author believing that others might wish to profit by his efforts to inform himself, and acting upon the suggestions of a few gentlemen whose judgment the public, did not know their names, would value as highly as the author does their disinterested friendship, concluded after much hesitation to embody the result of his labor in the work which is now offered to the public.

Of the manner in which the work has been done, the reader must judge for himself. The author is painfully conscious that it is far from being perfect. The loss of many of the early colonial and county records and the miserably dilapidated condition of many of those extant, have added greatly to the difficulty and labor of the work, and made it in some cases impossible to refer the reader to the sources from which important information has been obtained. Notwithstanding which, the author has quoted largely from the archives of the State and county as well as from the writings and correspondence of many persons mentioned in the work, believing it better to do this than to obtrude his own language and opinions upon his readers when it could be avoided. He has aimed to be impartial and truthful, and hopes if the following pages do not add much to the general stock of information they may be the means of preserving some portions of the history of the county, much of which has been irretrievably lost.

The author takes this opportunity to thank the members of the Elkton bar and officers of the courts of Cecil and New Castle counties, and the officers of the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, for the courtesy and kindness shown him while engaged in his arduous and protracted labor. He also desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the authors of the Historical Sketches of the Drawyers, White Clay Creek, Pencader, Head of Christiana, Rock, West Nottingham and Elkton Presbyterian churches, for valuable information derived from them; and the Right Reverend Bishop Lay, of the Diocese of Easton, for the use of Rev. Ethan Allen's Manuscript History of the parishes in this county; and to Rev. E. K. Miller, rector of North Elk Parish, and Rev. Charles P. [unclear] the author of an interesting and valuable series of [unclear] Bohemia Manor, recently published in the *Cecil* [unclear] whose efforts he is indebted for much useful info [unclear]

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ERRATA.

On page 13, seventh line from bottom, for *George* read *Cecil*. On page 142, eleventh line from top, for *May* read *Mary*. On page 243, fifth line from bottom, for 1659-60 read 1650-60. In foot note on page 344, for chapter XVIII read XXVIII.



CHAPTER I.

Captain John Smith, of Virginia, explores the navigable waters of Cecil County—Smith's account of the Susquehannock Indians—Other Indian tribes in the upper part of the Peninsula—Their weapons and culinary utensils.

THE first white man that visited Cecil County was the illustrious John Smith, of Virginia. In the summer of the year 1608 he fitted out an expedition at Jamestown, and proceeding to the head of Chesapeake Bay partially explored the Susquehanna, North East, Elk and Sassafras rivers. The Indian name of the Sassafras River was Toghwoh. Smith and his companions ascended it for some distance and were received by the native Indians with much kindness, he and his companions being the first white men they had ever seen. Smith says, in his account of the expedition, that the white people had much trouble to keep the natives from worshipping them as gods. Smith tried to ascend the Susquehanna River, but could get no further than two miles up on account of the rocks. He states that the Indians could ascend it in their canoes for the distance of about two days' journey. He gives a wonderful account of the size and prowess of the chief of the Susquehannas,* and says

* The name of this tribe, like that of the others, is spelled in different ways by the early historians and in the colonial records, in quoting from which the original has been followed.

that the "calves of his legs were three-quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man he ever saw. The Susquehannas met them with skins, bows, arrows, targets, beads, swords and tobacco pipes, for presents. They seemed like giants, and were the strangest people in all these countries, both in language and attire; their language well becomes their proportions, sounding from them as a voice in a vault." "Their attire is the skinnes of beares and wolves, some have cossacks made of beares heads and skinnes, that a man's head goes through the skinnes neck and the ears of the beare fastened to his shoulder, the nose and teetl hanging down his breast, another beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a pawe, the half sleeves coming to the elbows were the necks of beares, and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a wolf hanging in a chaine for a jewell, his tobacco pipe, three-quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deare, or some such device at the great end, sufficient to beat out one's braines, with bowes, arrows, and clubs, suitable to their greatness." Smith states that the Susquehannocks numbered about six hundred able men, and that they lived in palisaded towns in order to defend themselves against the Massawomekes, who were their mortal enemies, and lived on Bush River, which he named Willowbye's River. To the Susquehannock's River, Smith gave the name of Smith's Falls. The North East River he called Gunter's Harbor, and says that "the highest mountain we saw northward we called Peregrine's Mount." Mr. Bozman expresses the opinion in his History of Maryland that Peregrine's Mount and Gray's Hill, just east of Elkton, are identical. But a careful examination of the map accompanying Smith's history seems to indicate very conclusively that the mountain referred to by him as Peregrine's Mount is the highland just east of the town of North East, now called Beacon Hill.

Many persons have been disposed to doubt the account

which Smith gives of the size and prowess of the Susquehannocks, but recent discoveries made by the workmen while digging the foundations of the bridge of the Columbia and Port Deposit railroad across the Octoraro Creek of a number of human skeletons, which were evidently the remains of persons of extraordinary size, seem in some measure to confirm his account.

The Susquehannocks belonged to the Iroquois stock, as did the famous confederacy of the Five Nations, which at this time inhabited the country north of them and included the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagos, Cayugas and Senecas, which were afterwards joined by the Tuscaroras, after which the confederacy was called the "Six Nations." The Massawomekes, who seem to have been the only other tribe in Maryland that were capable of competing with the Susquehannocks, probably belonged to the same stock; while the Tockwoghs, who were of a more gentle disposition probably belonged to the Algonquin or Muscogee stock. The Minquas inhabited the banks of Christiana and Brandywine, and like many of the smaller tribes, of which there were twelve in the State of Delaware,* belonged to the *Leni Lenape*, which in our language means the original people. These tribes seem to have been the principal ones that inhabited the country within the original limits of Cecil County when Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay. Half a century later the colonial record: and correspondence between the Dutch settlers along the Delaware River and the authorities of Maryland contain many references to other tribes whose history is unknown, and whose location it is impossible to determine. The Passayontke Indians who are sometimes mentioned among other tribes that inhabited the shores of the Delaware River, there are many reasons to believe, lived near Passyunk Creek, which is in the southern part of the city of Philadelphia.

*Vincent's History of Delaware, page 66.

At the beginning of the last century the Chauhannauks lived on the banks of the Susquehanna about fifty miles above its mouth, and numbered about forty men. The Susquehannocks once had a fort at the mouth of the Octoraro Creek and are believed to have had at an early day a town near the mouth of the Cor estoga Creek, in Lancaster County. Smith, on his map of the bay, locates a fort of the Togh-woghs a few miles above the mouth of the Sassafra River. The Shawanese originally lived in the south, but being threatened with extermination by the surrounding tribes, left their original location, migrated northward, and appear to have been finally absorbed by the more powerful tribes near which they settled. Some of them stopped in Elk Neck, and for a long time after it was settled by the Europeans that part of it along the North East River was called "Shawnah." Many of the tribe that settled there are said to have been industrious basket-makers and successful fishermen. They had a village a short distance south of Arundel Creek, which was the name once applied to the run in the southern part of North East. There is a tradition of a battle having been fought between these Indians and another tribe, probably the Susquehannocks, a short distance from the site of their village. Some of them remained in this part of the county for many years after it was settled by the whites, as is shown by the fact that a few of them were baptized as members of the Episcopal church at North East. There is also reason to believe that at least one of them was employed by the Principio Iron Company; the name of *Indian James* being found upon the books of that company for the year 1726. There was also, as is shown by an old petition on record in the clerk's office at Elkton, an Indian village called Poppemetto, not far from the mouth of Rock Run and probably near the Indian Spring, which is not far from the site of the old chapel east of Port Deposit. But they were a wandering people and frequently migrated from one place to another, and their villages being composed of rude huts and their forts of poles or stockades set in the

ground, soon rotted away and left no trace of their existence. The Susquehannocks retained possession of the country between the North East and Susquehanna for many years after they had ceded the land west and south of those rivers to the English. They probably did this in order to enjoy the privilege of fishing in the head of the bay. That part of the county between the two last-named rivers is very rich in the remains of their weapons and utensils; many thousand of them having been found within the last few years. Their darts and spear-heads vary from less than an inch to five and six inches in length; some of them are made of flint, others of a finer stone resembling cornelian. They are found to some extent in all parts of the county, but are more plentiful along the branches of the Elk, North East, the Octoraro and its tributaries. In a few cases as many as a hundred of them have been found together, indicating that they had been buried in the ground and remained undisturbed perhaps for centuries. Occasionally flint implements have also been found of a few inches in length, and not unlike a rude knife-blade, which were probably lashed to a wooden handle and used for cutting. Many implements designed for grinding corn have been found along the head of the bay and in the Eighth District. These are made of a grayish stone which is somewhat harder than soapstone, but easily worked. Some of these implements are about four inches in diameter and in shape similar to an oblate spheroid; that is, a globe much flattened at the poles. Others are from ten to fifteen inches in length, cylindrical in form, and from an inch and a half to two inches in diameter in the middle, and tapering towards the ends. They are not unlike an ordinary rolling-pin, and were probably used for pestles to mash or grind corn. Many stone axes have also been found in the county. They are made of the same kind of materials as the pestles, and are generally about eight inches in length and not often more than three or three and a half inches in width on the edge, of an oval shape, and grooved near the other end so as to retain the handle, which

was split, and to which the axe was lashed with rawhide thongs or the sinews of animals which they used for that purpose. A few curiously-shaped implements or weapons, for it is hard to tell to which class they belonged, have been found in the northwestern part of the county. Some of them are made of a whitish stone that is not found in that part of the country. They were evidently intended to be used on a handle, for they are perforated in a very skillful manner with a round hole a half or three-quarters of an inch in diameter. They slightly resemble a double-bitted axe, which has led to the belief that they were used in battle. Though somewhat like the other stone axes, they were not designed for cutting, but were admirably adapted for breaking a man's skull. The Eighth District is particularly rich in the remains of their culinary utensils, which consisted of rude pans, cups and dishes, made of the soapstone which abounds in that part of the county. Some of these are well finished and nicely shaped and give evidence of much artistic skill, but many of them are unfinished and others have evidently been broken while in course of construction.

Not the least curious of their works are the sculptured rocks, which are to be found in the Susquehanna River a short distance above the mouth of the Conowingo. These rocks contain a large number of hieroglyphics and a few pictures of animals of the cat kind, the signification of which are known only to those who placed them there. Their manner of making darts or arrow heads has been a matter of much inquiry and curiosity. For this purpose they wrapped their left hand with buckskin and used a rib bone of some of the animals they killed, holding it between the thumb and fingers of the left hand—in which they also held the arrow head—and used it as a lever, applying the power to the other end with their right hand. This statement may be controverted; but such is the method now in use by the Indians on the Western plains who make arrow heads similar in shape to those found in this county from pieces of glass bottles.

CHAPTER II.

First English settlement on Watson's Island—Edward Palmer—Wm. Clayborne establishes a trading post on Watson's Island.

HISTORIANS are unanimously of the opinion that the first settlement of the English, within the present limits of Cecil County, was upon Palmer's Island (now called Watson's Island), near the mouth of the Susquehanna River, and just above the railroad bridge at that place. There certainly was a trading post on that island before the arrival of the Pilgrims of Maryland under Leonard Calvert, brother of the second Lord Baltimore, in 1634. To William Clayborne, who was a member of the Council of Virginia, and who there is reason to believe had established a trading post on Kent Island as early as 1627, is accorded the credit of establishing this trading post; but investigations recently made by Mr. Neil, and published in his book entitled "The Founders of Maryland," seem to indicate very clearly that there may have been a settlement or trading post on that island before Clayborne established himself upon Kent Island. Mr. Neil says, "the letters of John Pory, secretary of the Virginia Company, which are yet extant in London, and which are dated anterior to the time of Clayborne's settlement on Kent Island, inform the Company of a discovery made by him and others into the great Bay northward, where we left *settled very happily nearly a hundred Englishmen with hope of a good trade in furs.*"

The island was called Palmer's Island after Edward Palmer,* a nephew of the unfortunate Sir Thomas Overbury,

* When and by whom it was so named has not been ascertained. But it bore that name as early as 1652.

who was poisoned by the malicious arrangements of the wanton wife of the Earl of Somerset some time between the years 1612 and 1616. Palmer was a man of learning and culture, and contemplated the establishment of an academy in Virginia. One writer of the time in which he lived, says Mr. Neil, connects the purchase of the island with this enterprise, from which it may be inferred that he engaged in the fur trade, which was very lucrative at that time, with a view of getting the means to carry out his laudable enterprise. It is said to have failed on account of some of the agents he employed. When Palmer's Island was first taken possession of by Lord Baltimore's agents in 1637 four servants were found there, and some books as follows: a statute book, five or six little books and one great book. The finding of these books at a trading post away in the wilderness indicates that Palmer resided there at one time, for only a gentleman and scholar would have been likely to have had them.

The fact that Clayborne had a trading post on Palmer's Island is established upon a firmer basis. Clayborne was an ambitious man, and some time after the arrival of the Pilgrims in the *Ark* and *Dove*, who, soon after their arrival, took pains to dispossess him of Kent Island, presented a petition to the King of England, in which petition he refers to the fact that "he and his partners, while acting under a *commission* from under his Majesty's hand divers years past (which divers years Bozman believed were the years 1627, 28, and 29), discovered and planted the island of Kent in the Chesapeake, which island they bought of the kings of that country; that great hopes for trade of beavers and other commodities were likely to ensue by the petitioner's discoveries," etc. It is further stated in the petition that the petitioners "had discovered and settled a plantation and factory upon a small island in the mouth of a river, at the bottom of the said bay (at the head of the bay was what they meant), in the Susquehannocks' country, at the Indians' de-

sire, and purchased the same of them; by means whereof they were in great hopes to draw thither the trade of beavers and furs which the French then wholly enjoyed 'in the Grand Lake of Canada.' The petitioners then propose to pay to his Majesty the annual sum of £100, viz., £50 for the isle of Kent and £50 for the said plantation in the Susquehannocks' country; and they further pray to have there twelve leagues of land from the mouth of the said river on each side thereof down the said bay southerly to the seaward, and so to the head of the said river and to the Grand Lake of Canada."* From these facts it is plain that the settlement on Watson's Island was a place of importance before the arrival of Lord Baltimore and his colonists, and that it was made about twenty-five or thirty years after the bay was first explored by the adventurous Smith. It was no doubt the first settlement made within the present limits of Cecil County. Although Cecil County was not erected into a county till 1674, its history commences at the time of the establishment of the "Plantation" on Watson's Island by Clayborne, which is probably about two hundred and forty-four years ago. It is the intention of the writer to trace its history as well as the scanty data the ravages of time have left will afford him the means to do; to tell of the bold and daring men whose courage and enterprise led them to these shores, and whose industry and perseverance have made our county one of the foremost in the State; to recount as well as circumstances will permit their early struggles and the hardships they met with; to speak of their manners and customs, and note the changes that education and refinement from time to time wrought in them.

The configuration of the country at the time of the first settlement so far as the hills and streams are considered, was much the same as it is at present. But the primeval forests that then covered it have disappeared; and owing to

* Bozman's Hist. Md., Vol. II., p. 69.

this the surface of the country has changed very much—large swamps and morasses have dried up, and the channels of the streams have changed; indeed some of them have entirely disappeared. Deer, bear, wolves, opossums, hares, squirrels, wild turkeys, pheasants, wild pigeons, and many other kinds of animals abounded in the forests, and the creeks and rivers were well stocked with beavers, otters, muskrats, and all kinds of water fowl.

CHAPTER III.

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore—He is a member of the Virginia Company—Plants a colony in Newfoundland—Obtains a charter for a colony in Maryland—Is succeeded by his son Cecil, who obtains another charter—Extracts from the charter—The first colony under Leonard Calvert settles at St. Maries—War with the Susquehannocks—Treaty with them.

GEORGE CALVERT, the first Baron of Baltimore, was the founder of Maryland. He was a Catholic and distinguished for piety and learning, and filled many important offices under the government in the reign of James the First. Like many of the public men of that time, he saw the importance of the Western continent and the facilities it afforded for the acquisition of wealth. In 1609 he was a member of the Virginia Company of planters.* He afterwards became interested in Newfoundland, and planted a colony there in 1621. He subsequently obtained a patent from King James I. for a territory in that island which he called Avalon. His reason for calling his grant by that name, as given by Scharf in his History of Maryland, is as follows: "Tradition reports that Joseph of Arimathea, having come to Britain, received from King Arviragus twelve hydes of land at Avalon as a dwelling-place for himself and his companions, and here he preached the gospel for the first time to the Britons, and built an abbey, in which he was afterwards buried, and which long remained the most renowned and venerated monastic establishment in the island. As Avalon had been the starting point of Christianity for ancient Britain, in pious legend at all

* Scharf's Hist. Md., Vol. I., p. 31.

events, so Calvert hoped that his own settlement might be a similar starting point, from which the gospel should spread to the heathen of the Western World; and he spared neither labor nor expense in his efforts to carry out this noble and devout purpose."

The climate of Newfoundland was found to be entirely different from what might have been anticipated; and after spending some time and much money in the vain effort to sustain his colony by developing the resources of the country, he was forced to abandon the enterprise. He subsequently visited Virginia in search of some more desirable situation for his colony, and no doubt would have settled there; but upon being required to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance, he, as a conscientious Catholic, refused to do so, and had to look elsewhere for an eligible location for his colony. He therefore returned to England, and applied to his Majesty Charles the First for a grant of land lying to the southward of James River, in Virginia, between that river and the bounds of Carolana,* now called Carolina. A charter for a large territory south of the James River was actually made out and signed, in February, 1631. But some of the prominent men of Virginia, among whom was William Clayborne, before mentioned, who has very aptly been called the "evil genius of Maryland," were in England in the spring of that year, and so violently opposed the planting of the new colony within the limits of Virginia, that Calvert besought his Majesty to grant him, in lieu of the other, some part of the continent to the northward, which was accordingly done.

Lord Baltimore, it is said, drew up the charter of Maryland with his own hand, and left a blank in it for the name, which he designed should be *Crescentia*, or, the land of *Crescence*, but leaving it to his Majesty to insert. The King, before he signed the charter, asked his lordship what

* Scharf's Hist. Md., Vol. I., p. 50.

he should call it, who replied that he desired to have it called something in honor of his Majesty's name, but that he was deprived of that happiness, there being already a province in those parts called Carolina. "Let us, therefore," says the King, "give it a name in honor of the Queen; what think you of Mariana?" To this his lordship expressed his dissent, it being the name of a Jesuit who had written against monarchy. Whereupon the King proposed *Tera Mariæ*, in English, Maryland; which was mutually agreed upon and inserted in the charter. And thus the proposed colony, or rather the land it was expected to settle upon, was named in honor of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., King of France and Navarre, and sister of Louis XIII., usually called Queen Mary by writers of that day.

The charter of Maryland was different from any other granted for a similar purpose in this: that it was more liberal than they, as were also the laws made under it, and the policy pursued by the illustrious men who received it.

Before the charter had been finally adjusted and sealed, Lord Baltimore fell sick and died, in London, in the fifty-third year of his age. His eldest son, Cecil Calvert, succeeded his father, and inherited his titles as well as his fortune and spirit. Another charter, differing in no essential particular from the first one, was made out, published and confirmed, on June 20th, 1632, investing him with all the rights and privileges which his Majesty had intended to confer upon his father.

The preamble to the charter of Maryland, after reciting the fact that ^{George} ~~George~~ Calvert, "treading in the footsteps of his father, being animated with a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion, and also the territories of our Empire, hath humbly besought leave of us, that he may transport by his own industry and expense a numerous colony of the English nation, to a certain region, hereinafter described, *in a country hitherto uncultivated in the parts of*

America, and partly occupied by savages having no knowledge of the Divine Being, and that all that region, with some certain privileges and jurisdictions appertaining unto the whole-some government and state of his colony and region aforesaid, may by our Royal Highness be given, granted and confirmed unto him and his heirs." The language used in the sentence which we have italicised was most unfortunate, and was used many years afterwards with powerful effect in circumscribing the territory of Maryland. The metes and bounds of the province as set forth in the charter, were as follows: All that part of the Peninsula or Chersonese, lying in the parts of America between the ocean on the east and the bay of Chesapeake on the west; divided from the residue thereof by a right line drawn from the promontory or headland called Watkin's Point, situated upon the bay aforesaid, near the river Wigheo on the west, unto the main ocean on the east; and between that boundary on the south, unto that part of the bay of Delaware on the north, which lyeth under the fortieth degree of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New England is terminated; and all the tract of that land within the metes underwritten (that is to say), passing from the said bay, called Delaware Bay, in a right line by the degree aforesaid, unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the river Pattowmack, thence verging towards the south, unto the further bank of the said river, and following the same on the west and south, unto a certain place called *Cinquack*, situate near the mouth of the said river, where it disembogues into the aforesaid bay of Chesapeake, and thence by the shortest line unto the aforesaid promontory or place called Watkin's Point."

Cecil or Cæcilius Calvert, for he was baptized by the first name and confirmed by the second one, intrusted the command of the first expedition he sent to Maryland to his brothers Leonard and George, constituting the former lieutenant-governor or general. This expedition, which consisted of two vessels, the Ark and the Dove, and nearly two

hundred persons, reached Virginia safely, and after spending a short time there proceeded to the Chesapeake Bay, and ascending the Potomac River landed at Saint Maries, where the first town in the State was founded on the 27th of March, 1634. It is not within the scope of this work to give the history of that settlement *in extenso*; we shall therefore only refer briefly to such parts of it as are calculated to throw some light upon the history of this county.

The Pilgrims found the Indians (Yoacomacoes), from whom they purchased the site of their town, in great dread of the Susquehannocks, who were their mortal enemies and who never ceased to make war upon them and ravage their country. The Yoacomacoes for this reason received and treated the Pilgrims kindly at first, but in a short time began to show symptoms of hostility, being, as is alleged, instigated to do so by William Clayborne, who, as before stated, had possession of Kent Island and had established a trading post on Palmer's Island, at the mouth of the Susquehanna River. This hostile act on the part of Clayborne was the commencement of a protracted struggle between him and Lord Baltimore, which lasted till 1637, when his property was confiscated and he was attainted of high treason. A few years afterwards (in 1642) this man Clayborne and one Richard Ingle, who is called a pirate and rebel, and some others from Virginia and elsewhere, engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the authority of Lord Baltimore. They seized Kent Island and invaded the western shore and forced the lord proprietary to seek refuge in Virginia. The causes of this rebellion as well as its history, owing to the destruction of the records of the colony during that period, are very imperfectly understood; but there is no doubt that Clayborne took advantage of the political and religious trouble which then agitated the mother country to avenge himself upon Lord Baltimore for the loss of his possessions and prospective trade in the Chesapeake Bay. Owing to this rebellion and also to the hostile attitude of the natives which was

occasioned by it, the growth of the colony was slow. The Susquehannocks gave the colonists much trouble in the early days of the settlement at St. Maries, and in May, 1639, the Council resolved to invade their country, and to that end passed the following order, which shows the condition of society and the mode of warfare at that time: "Whereas, it is found necessary forthwith to make an expedition upon the Indians of the Eastern Shore upon the public charge of the province; it is to that end thought fit that a shallop be sent to Virginia for to provide twenty corslets (steel plates for the covering and protection of the chest), a barrel of powder, four roundlets of shot, a barrel of oat meal, three firkins of butter, and *four cases of hot waters*; and that five able persons be pressed to go with the said shallop and necessary provisions of victuals be made for them, and that a pinnace be pressed to go to Kent (Kent Island) sufficiently victualed and manned, and there provide four hogsheads of meal; and likewise that a pinnace be sent to the *Susquehannocks* sufficiently victualed and manned, and thirty or more good shott, with necessary officers, be pressed out of the province, and that each of the shott be allowed after the rate of 100 pounds of tobacco per month," etc., etc. The colonists appear to have spent the summer in making preparations for this warlike expedition against their foes, but their courage was not equal to the task of invading their country amid the storms and snows of the following winter, and the enterprise was abandoned. There appears to have been many hostile incursions of the Indians into the territory occupied by the early settlers about this time and many rumors of wars that no doubt kept them in a state of almost constant excitement and alarm.

Some of the writers of that period assert that the Swedes then settled on the Christiana, where Wilmington now stands, sold firearms to the Susquehannocks, and hired some of their soldiers to them to instruct them in the art of war as practiced by the Europeans; but the evidence of this

is not conclusive, and it is quite as likely, if the Indians had firearms at all, that they got them from the French in Canada, or the Dutch at Manhattan, or from some of the tribes of the Five Nations, who may have obtained them from the French or Dutch, with whom they traded.

But little else worthy of note occurred in connection with the Susquehannocks until 1652. In that year a treaty was made with them, which is the first of which any record has been preserved. This treaty was made "at the River of Severn," where Annapolis now stands. It may be found at length in the appendix to Bozman's History of Maryland, in which it is stated that a blank occurs in the first article. A critical examination of the old Council Book will convince any person familiar with the peculiar chirography of that time that there is no blank in it, and that the word which Mr. Bozman says in another place is illegible, is in reality the word trees. The first article of this treaty is as follows: "Articles of peace and friendship treated and agreed upon the fifth day of July, 1652, between the English nation, in the province of Maryland, on the one party, and the Indian nation of Susquesahanough on the other partie, as followeth: First, that the English nation shall have, hould and enjoy to them, their heires and assigns forever, all the land lying from Patuxent River unto Palmer's Island, on the westerne side of the baye of Chesepiake, and from Choptank River to the *northeast branch, which lyes to the northward of Elke River, on the easterne side* of the said baye, with all the islands, rivers, creeks, *trees*, fish, fowle, deer, Elke, and whatsoever else to the same belonging, excepting the Isl of Kent and Palmer's Islend, which belong to Captain Clayborne. But nevertheless it shall be lawful for the aforesaid English or Indians to build a house or forte for trade or any such like use or occasion at any tyme upon Palmer's Island." The treaty further stipulated for the return of fugitives escaping from either of the contracting parties, and provided that when the Indians desired to visit

the English they should come by water and not by land, and that not more than eight or ten of them at one time, and that each party, when visiting the other, should carry with them and exhibit the *token*, which they appear to have mutually exchanged with each other, so that they could be recognized and entertained. And, after pledging the contracting parties to a perpetual peace, *which was to endure forever to the end of the world, provided that if it should so happen that either party should grow weary of the peace, and desire to go to war, they should give twenty days' notice by sending in and delivering up this writing.* This treaty was signed by Richard Bennett, Edward Lloyd, Thomas Marsh, William Fuller and Leonard Strong, commissioners on the part of the English, and on the part of the Indians by "Sawahegeh, Auroghtaregh, Scarhuhadig, Ruthchogah and Nathheldianch, warr captaines and councillors of Susquesahanough, commissioners appointed and sent for the purpose by the nation and State of Susquesahanough;" and was witnessed by William Lawson and Jafer or Jasper Peter, the last individual signing it for the Swedes governor. Why it was that Jasper Peter witnessed this treaty on behalf of the Swedes governor, will forever remain a mystery. He most probably was an Indian trader from the Swedish settlement at Christina,* which will be referred to in the next chapter. It will be seen from the first article of this treaty that the Susquehannocks, in the interval since Captain Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay, had extended their territory on the western shore from the west bank of the Susquehanna to the Patuxent River, and on the eastern shore from the northeast to the Choptank River. The probability is that the tribes that Smith found south of the mouth of the Susquehanna and northeast were tributary to the Susquehannocks, and that the latter had long claimed the country and enjoyed the privilege of hunting and fishing along the

* Where Willmington now stands, afterwards called *Christiana*.

shores of the bay in the territory mentioned in the treaty. The great accumulations of oyster shells found near the mouth of Fairlee Creek, in Kent County, and at other places further down the bay, which are believed to have been placed there by migratory Indians, seems to favor this idea. The reader will notice that Kent and Palmer's islands are said to belong to Captain Clayborne. The facts are that at this time the government of Maryland was in the hands of his friends, and that he had re-entered and taken possession of them a short time before the treaty was made.*

* Hanson's Old Kent, page 7.

CHAPTER IV.

Early settlements on the Delaware—Henry Hudson—Captain Mey and others—Names of the Delaware—Fort Nassau—Swanendale—Peter Minuit plants a Swedish colony at Wilmington—Fort Cassimir—Peter Stuyvesant conquers the Swedes.

THE reader will bear in mind that it is not the purpose of this work to give a history of Cecil County solely; the history of the settlements immediately surrounding it, being so closely interwoven with its own, that its history would be incomplete without a glance at their origin and contemporaneous doings. Such idea is embodied in the title of this book; and inasmuch as Maryland, by the terms of its charter, extended to the Delaware Bay and river, and to the fortieth degree of north latitude, which is some distance above the mouth of the Schuylkill, it is highly important in order that the reader may properly understand the history of the early settlements in Cecil County and elsewhere near the head of the Chesapeake Bay, that he should be informed of the efforts that were made from time to time by other nations to plant colonies along the Delaware. From a period commencing with 1659, and continuing for at least half a century, the history of what transpired along the western shore of the Delaware bay and river as far north as Philadelphia, is so closely blended with that which transpired within the present limits of Cecil County that it is impossible to give an intelligible account of one, without having a correct knowledge of the other. During this period was laid the foundation of that intimacy between the people of the upper part of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the settlements along the Western Shore of the Delaware, the

effect of which may yet be seen, in the diversion of much of the trade that legitimately belongs to Baltimore City, to Philadelphia and Wilmington. For the reasons already mentioned, and from the fact that many of the early settlers of this county came here from the settlements on the Delaware, it will be necessary, from time to time, to refer to the colonies on that river, and trace their history, which will be done as briefly and succinctly as the importance of the subject will permit.

The Delaware River was discovered by Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, in 1609; but no steps were taken to effect a settlement along that river or bay until 1614. In that year the States-General of Holland, the government of which was deeply interested in maritime discoveries, passed an edict granting exclusive privileges to any persons who should make any important discoveries in the New World. Under this edict five vessels, fitted out by merchants of Amsterdam, sailed to the mouth of the Manhattan River, as the Hudson was then called. One of the vessels, the *Fortune*, commanded by Captain Cornelius Jacobson Mey, subsequently sailed south and entered the Delaware Bay. It is from him that the eastern cape of the Delaware Bay derives the name of Cape May.

One of these vessels was burned, and to supply its place a smaller one was built, in which, after the return of the others, Captain Hendrickson who was left in charge of the new vessel, proceeded to explore the Delaware Bay and river. He ascended the latter as far as the mouth of the Schuylkill, and is believed to have been the first white man that ever trod upon the soil of the State of Delaware. While here he purchased three native inhabitants from the Minquas, who held them in slavery, for whom he gave in exchange kettles, beads and merchandise.* This happened in

* Vincent's History of Delaware, Vol. I, page 103.

1616. The Delaware River has been known by many names. Vincent, in his history of the State, informs his readers that the Indians called it by no less than five. The Dutch called it Zuydt, or South River; by which name it is frequently mentioned in the early records of this county; they also called it Nassau River, and Prince Hendrick's or Charles River; the Swedes, New Swedeland stream; the English, Delaware, from Lord De-la war, the title of Sir Thomas West, who occupied a prominent position in the early history of Virginia.

The privileges of the first Company having expired, another one called the West India Company was chartered for the purpose of effecting settlements and trading with the natives along the shores of the South River. Under the auspices of this Company a settlement was made and a fort called Fort Nassau constructed, a short distance below Philadelphia on the other side of the river, near where the town of Gloucester, New Jersey, now stands. This was done in 1623. The history of this fort is shrouded in obscurity. Some of the early Swedish writers affirm that it was abandoned by the Dutch after they had conquered the Swedes, and was found in possession of the Indians in 1633. Other writers assert that the Dutch at New Amsterdam maintained a trading post there for many years, and till after the Swedes had established themselves on the other side of the Delaware River.

The next effort to effect a settlement on the Delaware was probably made in 1631, for the time is not very certain. This settlement, which the Dutch called Swanendale, was at Lewes, and was made by a company of Dutchmen who expected to realize much gain from catching whales in the Delaware Bay. The colony was brought over by David Peiterzen De Vries, a Hollander, who, after leaving it comfortably located under command of one Gillis Hossett, returned to his native country. The next year De Vries revisited Swanendale and found that some time during the

interval the whole colony had been massacred by the Indians. De Vries learned from the Indians that the colonists had erected a pillar on which they had fastened a piece of tin, upon which was traced the coat-of-arms of the united provinces. One of the chiefs wanted the tin to make into tobacco pipes and took it away, which gave offence to the officer in command, who complained to the Indians so bitterly that to appease his wrath they slew the offender. The Dutch regretted the death of the chief, and told the Indians they had done wrong to kill him. Subsequently, some of the friends of the murdered Indian resolved to avenge his death, and taking advantage of a favorable opportunity when all the Dutch, except a sick man, were at work in the field, attacked and slew them all.

The planting of this colony of unfortunate people at the mouth of the Delaware Bay, had a very important bearing upon the history of Maryland; and owing to the phraseology of the charter of that province had more to do with circumscribing the territory of the State of Maryland than all other circumstances combined.

To Peter Minuit belongs the credit of planting the next colony in the State of Delaware. He had been appointed Director-General of New Netherlands, which then included New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and part of Connecticut, in 1624, and had been recalled eight years afterwards, having quarreled with the company who had employed him. Probably with the view of avenging himself upon them, he offered his services to the crown of Sweden, with the intention of effecting a Swedish settlement on the South River, and offered to conduct the enterprise. His offer was accepted, and the expedition sailed from Sweden, as is supposed, in the fall of the year 1637. The expedition, it is supposed, consisted of about fifty persons, many of whom, it is said, were criminals.* Judging from their history as gleaned

* Vincent's History of Delaware, Vol. I., page 145.

from the correspondence between their governors and the authorities at New Amsterdam after the Dutch conquered them, morality and religion were at a low ebb among them, though they always seem to have made great pretensions to the latter. The expedition reached this country in April, 1638, and sailing up the Delaware Bay and river, entered the Minquas Creek, which they called the Christina, and landed at the foot of Sixth street, in what is now the city of Wilmington. They at once commenced the erection of a fort, which, in honor of their young queen, they named Fort Christina. A small town called Christinaham or Christina Harbor was also erected near the fort.

About this time (1638) the Dutch, who had established a trading post at New Amsterdam, which was on Manhattan Island, where New York now stands, in 1610, began to look more diligently to their interest on the Delaware,* and complained loudly to the government of Holland of the injury done to their trade by the Swedes on the Delaware. The history of the quarrels between the Dutch and Swedes, and their efforts to outdo each other and obtain control of the country along the Delaware during the next seventeen years, is too intricate to be given in this place. But it is important that the reader should be informed that during this time the Swedes had extended their possessions by purchase from the Indians from their first settlement on the Christiana up the Delaware to a point within what is now the city of Philadelphia. During this period they erected forts on Tinicum Island, where the Lazaretto is now located, and at the mouth of Salem Creek, in New Jersey, with the intention of commanding the navigation of the Delaware River and ultimately preventing the Dutch from visiting their fort at Gloucester. They also had established a trading post on an island in the Schuylkill River, and were so successful in their trade with the Indians on the

* Ferris's Original Settlements on the Delaware, page 52.

west bank of the Delaware as to excite the fears of the Dutch that they would ultimately supplant them and force them to abandon their trade altogether.

Peter Stuyvesant, a man of great energy and decision of character, was made Governor of New Amsterdam in 1647, and soon afterwards set about devising measures to regain some of the lost prestige of his countrymen on the Delaware. To this end he purchased from the Indians all the land between the Christiana and Bombay Hook, and erected a fort, called Fort Cassimir, on a point of land then called Sandhuken, now New Castle. This fort was erected in 1651. It was only about four miles from the Swedish fort at Christina. Shortly after it was finished an armed vessel arrived from Sweden and summoned the garrison to surrender. Being in no condition to stand a siege, they did so, and the Swedes took possession of the fort and garrisoned it. The capture of this fort no doubt added to the jealousy and rancor of the Dutch; but Stuyvesant bided his time, and having made ample preparation, sailed from New Amsterdam in August, 1655, in command of a squadron of seven armed ships, containing between six and seven hundred men, for the purpose of conquering the Swedes and taking possession of the country. Fort Cassimir, the name of which the Swedes had changed to Fort Trinity, capitulated without resistance. Rising, the Swedish governor, defended Fort Christina as well as he could, but was soon forced to surrender, and in a short time the whole of New Sweden, as the country on the west bank of the Delaware was then called, fell into the hands of the Dutch. By the terms of capitulation of Fort Christina, Rising, and all other Swedes who wished to do so, were allowed to return to Gottenberg, a port in the North Sea, in a ship to be furnished by the Dutch. They seem to have been afraid or ashamed to go back to Sweden. Those who chose to remain were tendered the oath of allegiance, which was taken by most of them.

After the conquest of New Sweden it was divided into

two colonies, one of which included Fort Christina and the land immediately around it, and extended from Christina River down to Bombay Hook. This was called "*The Colony of the Company.*" The other extended from the north boundary of the Company's colony up the Delaware to the extent of the settlement, and was called "*The Colony of the City.*" It belonged to the city of Amsterdam, and was governed by the burgomasters and council of that city, through Peter Stuyvesant and his council.

Before the erection of Fort Cassimir, in 1651, all business was transacted in the name of "The States-General and the West India Company," jointly. Now their concerns were divided. Lands lying within the territory of the city were conveyed in Amsterdam by the burgomasters and council. Deeds for those within the limits of the Company were executed by directors and commissaries.* Notwithstanding this diversity of interest, both colonies were under the jurisdiction of Stuyvesant, who appointed the governors and commissaries, and exercised a general surveillance over the affairs of each of them. New Amstel, now New Castle, which was founded about this time, was the residence of the governor of the colony belonging to the Company. Altona, now Wilmington, was the capital of the other colony. The Swedish families are stated by Ferris as numbering one hundred and thirty. Such, briefly stated, was the condition of affairs along the Delaware in 1659, when the authorities of Maryland took the first steps to dispossess the interlopers.

* Ferris's Hist. of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, page 106.

CHAPTER V.

First permanent settlement in the county—Other settlements—Spesutia Island—Trouble between the Dutch and English—Nathaniel Utie—He is sent to New Amstel—Augustine Hermen and Resolved Waldron visit Maryland—Their meeting with the Governor and Council—Account of the early life of Augustine Hermen—His Map of Maryland—Extracts from his will—He obtains a grant of Bohemia Manor and Middle Neck—Makes a treaty with the Indians at Spesutia Island—First reference to Cecil County—Thompstontown—Indian forts.

THE first permanent settlement in Cecil County, so far as the writer has been able to learn from laborious and patient investigation of everything calculated to throw any light on the subject, was made in 1658, upon the farm which for more than a century and a half has been in the possession of the Simeon family of this county. This farm may be found on the map of the county, and is located a short distance northwest of Carpenter's Point fishery, and not very far from the mouth of Principio Creek. It appears from papers in possession of Mr. George Simcoe, of Bay View, the present owner of the farm, that it was part of a tract of four hundred acres taken up and patented on the 20th July, 1658, by one William Carpenter, under the name of Anna Catharine Neck. It is described as butting on Bay Head Creek, now called Principio Creek. George Simcoe, who was a felt-maker from Prince George's County, purchased two hundred acres, part of the original tract, from Carpenter Litlington, in 1720, which is described as adjoining the land of Francis Clay, who, there is little doubt, sought to perpetuate his name by applying it to the historic tract of land called "Clay Fall," which included a large part if not all the land

in Carpenter's Point Neck. It is probable that other settlements were made about this time, along the Bay shore west of Principio Creek, and that a few straggling settlers from Kent Island had settled on the main land in the southwestern part of Kent County, which, as we shall see, was afterwards for a period of thirty-two years included in this county. There is also reason to believe that a few settlements had been made along the Sassafraz River near its mouth, but no record of any of them has come down to the present time. Judging from the fact that the Susquehannocks reserved the country between the North East and Susquehanna rivers, in the treaty of 1652, and there being no evidence that they ever ceded it to the English, it is reasonable to conclude that the first settlers at "Clay Fall" were Indian traders, located there for the purpose of trafficking with the Susquehannocks, who continued to frequent this part of the county for many years after this time.

Spesutia Island had been settled for some time before this, for there is evidence that the Dutch at Altona knew of it the next year and called it Bearson's Island.

Many of the Swedes and Finns—for many of the latter had settled along the Delaware—not liking the government of the Dutch, took refuge among the English settlements before named, and among them were six soldiers, who had deserted from the Dutch service. At a meeting of the Council of New Amstel, on June 20th, 1659, it was resolved to request the governor of Maryland to return these deserters. The Dutch did not know the governor's name, nor where he lived, but they were acquainted with Nathaniel Utie, who then resided upon Spesutia Island, and who no doubt was in the habit of visiting the Dutch settlements; and so they sent the letter to Utie, who agreed to forward it to the governor, though he informed those who delivered it to him that he had a commission in his house authorizing him to visit the Dutch, and had delayed starting upon his mission because Lord Baltimore had arrived and ordered a survey of the

country to be made, with a view of convincing the Dutch that they were located within his province. Utie told them if that was the case, that measures would be taken to reduce the Dutch and make them acknowledge the jurisdiction of Maryland, and that Lord Baltimore had no intention of abandoning any part of his territory. The assertion made by Utie that Lord Baltimore had arrived was not true, and he probably made it to intimidate those who composed the embassy.

Nathaniel Utie was one of the most prominent pioneers of civilization at the head of Chesapeake Bay. The time of his settlement upon Spesutia Island is unknown, but it was probably made soon after the treaty with the Susquehannocks, in 1652. The beautiful island opposite Turkey Point derives its name from him. The word means Utie's Hope. He probably came from Virginia, and was, no doubt, a relative of John Utie, whose name occupies a conspicuous position in the history of Virginia from 1623 till 1635. In the former year he and ten others addressed a letter to the king in reference to the affairs of that colony. He was at that time a member of the Council of Virginia. He afterwards got into political trouble and his property was confiscated.

Nathaniel Utie was appointed councilor, May 6th, 1658. The next day he was licensed to trade with the Indians in the province for beaver and other furs. He seems to have been a member of the last Assembly, and to have been made a councilor on account of "the great ability and affectionate service done in that Assembly by him." He was authorized in his license to arrest all persons trading in the upper part of the bay not having license. On the 12th of July following he was commissioned as captain of all the forces between the coves of Patuxent River and the Seven Mountains, and was to command as his own company all the forces from the head of Severn River on the north side thereof to the Seven Mountains. This is the only time the Seven Mountains are mentioned in the colonial records. It is impossible

to ascertain, with certainty, what highlands were thus dignified by the name of mountains; but the name was evidently applied to seven of the largest hills near the head of the bay, and there is little doubt that Bulls' Mountain and the other eminences in Elk Neck are the mountains referred to. In 1661 the council of the colony met at Spesutia; and Utie, who had been a member of a bogus Assembly that met at St. Clement Manor in 1659, in the time of Fendall's rebellion, and which had indulged in legislation hostile to the Lord Proprietary, petitioned the council "to add a further act of grace, that his former offences may not be prejudicial to him hereafter." It seems from this that he had already been pardoned, but the council very graciously granted his petition. He represented Baltimore County in the House of Burgesses in 1665; and the next year was one of a number of commissioners appointed to negotiate with the governors of Virginia and North Carolina in reference to the discontinuance of the planting of tobacco in those provinces and Maryland for one year, in order to enhance the price of that article. He owned a considerable quantity of land near the mouth of the Gunpowder and also owned land along the Sassafras River.

George Utie and Richard Wells were ordered to be summoned before the provincial court in 1661, "for not sending letters down to the Governor according to the acts of Assembly, and for contemptuously nailing up a letter of the sheriff directed to the governor." They probably lived on Spesutia Island, and the former was, no doubt, a relative of Nathaniel Utie. It seems from his treatment of the sheriff that he was as stubborn and courageous as Nathaniel. He represented Baltimore County in the House of Burgesses in 1661, and was also commissioned sheriff of Baltimore County in 1666.

This meagre sketch contains all the particulars of interest that we have been able to glean from the colonial records of this period of the Utie family.

The bold stand taken by Utie gave great alarm to the Dutch, and so many of the settlers in consequence removed to Maryland and Virginia that scarcely thirty families remained in New Amstel.

Governor Fendall on the receipt of the letter containing the extraordinary demand for the return of the deserters, being anxious to carry out Lord Baltimore's instructions, called a meeting of the council at Anne Arundel (now Annapolis), on the 3d of August, at which meeting it was "Ordered that Colonel Nathaniel Utie do make his repaire to the pretended Governor of the people seated in Delaware Bay, within his Lordship's Province, and that he do give them to understand that they are seated within this, his Lordship's Province, without notice given to his Lordship's Lieutenant *here*, and to require them to depart this Province." . . . "That in case he find opportunity, he insinuate unto the people there seated, that in case they make their application to his Lordship's government *here*, they shall find good conditions, according to the conditions of plantation granted to all comers into this province, which shall be made good unto them; and that they shall have protection in their lives, liberty and estates, which they shall bring with them." Whereupon a letter was sent from Governor Fendall to the Dutch on Delaware Bay, in which he acknowledges the receipt of the letter from the Dutch governor there, and recites the fact that the Dutch colony is located south of the fortieth degree of north latitude and within the limits of Lord Baltimore's grant, and requires him (the Dutchman) to depart "or to excuse him (Fendall) if he should use his utmost endeavor to reduce that part of his Lordship's Province unto its due obedience under him."

This letter was intrusted to Utie, who, accompanied by his brother, his cousin, a Major Jacob de Vrintz, and servant, and four fugitives, arrived at New Amstel on the 6th of September, 1659.

It seems that the fugitives went voluntarily, for three of

them were arrested by the authorities at New Amstel. The accounts of this visit which have come down to us, warrant the belief that Utie was a cunning and skillful diplomatist, and that he fully carried out the instructions which had been given to him by the council. His actions during the course of the negotiations with the Dutch are said to have been both boisterous and aggressive; so much so that Stuyvesant censured Governor Beekman and Alrichs for not arresting him. But his efforts to induce the Dutch to acknowledge the authority of Lord Baltimore were unsuccessful; and this attempt to extend the jurisdiction of the government of Maryland to the Delaware River, like many others that were subsequently made, proved to be a failure.

The Dutch were very badly frightened by Utie's behavior, and immediately sent messengers overland to Manhattan, to inform Stuyvesant of the demands he had made. Fearing that the messengers might meet with some disaster, the next day they dispatched a vessel for the same purpose. Governor Stuyvesant upon being informed of the condition of affairs on the Delaware, dispatched Augustine Hermen and Resolved (or Rosevelt) Waldron upon a mission to Maryland for the purpose of adjusting the difficulty. They came by the way of New Amstel and left there on the 13th of September, 1659. They kept a journal during their journey, in which they state that they were accompanied by some guides, mostly Indians, and convoyed by a few soldiers. They traveled by land, taking the first day a course west northwest from New Castle. They continued this course for four and a half Dutch miles (about thirteen and a quarter English miles), when they took a due west course, and after traveling three more Dutch miles, the Indians refusing to proceed any further, encamped for the night. On the first of October they continued their journey, going west by south, and then directly south. The country at first was hilly and then low. They soon arrived at a stream, which the Indians informed them flowed into the Bay of

Virginia—the Chesapeake Bay. They followed this stream until they found a boat hauled upon the shore and almost dried up. Dismissing four of their guides and retaining only a man named Sander Boyer and his Indian, they pushed off, but were soon obliged to land again, as the boat became full of water, whereupon they turned the boat upside down and caulked the seams with old linen. They thus made it a little tighter, but one was obliged to sit continually and bail out the water. Proceeding down this stream, they soon reached the *Elk* River. There must have been great changes in the branches of the Elk River since that time, for none of them are now navigable. The probability is that they reached the North East, which they mistook for the Elk. Here they made a fire and remained till evening, when they proceeded, but with great trouble, as the boat had neither rudder nor oars, but only paddles. Going down the bay they arrived at the Sassafras River, where they stopped at the plantation of a man named John Turner. Here they met a man named Abraham, who was a Finn, and had been a soldier at Fort Altona, and who had run away with a Dutch woman from the settlements on the Delaware and taken refuge in Maryland. They proceeded down the bay and soon reached Kent Island, where they were entertained by a Mr. Wicks for a short time, and soon afterwards had their first interview with the governor and council of Maryland at Patuxent. At this meeting Herman and Waldron presented the governor and council with a letter and their credentials from Governor Stuyvesant, in Dutch, and which were *Englished* by Mr. Simon Oversee, by order of the council. In this letter Stuyvesant speaks of being much astonished when he understood that Colonel Utie had served the notice upon the Dutch in Delaware, requiring them to vacate their settlement there, and argues the case at some length, and takes exception to the instrument, because it was not dated. He calls it “a seditious *cartebell*, in form of an instruction, without any time or place, or where or from

whom, or in whose name, order or authority it was written,²⁷ etc.; and concludes by stating that he sent his agents and ambassadors, Hermen and Waldron, to remonstrate against the proceedings of the governor and council of Maryland. The credentials of the ambassadors were of much greater length and contained a great deal more protestation and argument than the letter. The ambassadors also delivered a paper of considerable length, in which the arguments in favor of the claim of the Dutch on the Delaware are very succinctly set forth.

During the progress of their deliberations, which were protracted for several days, the Dutch ambassadors were shown a copy of Lord Baltimore's charter, whereupon they called the attention of the council to the fact that his lordship was invested with a country not before inhabited, only by a certain barbarous people called Indians. And inasmuch as the country on the Delaware River was settled before the patent was issued, his Royal Majesty's intention was not to invest him with title to the settlements on the Delaware. Upon the ground taken by these ambassadors at this early stage of the dispute between Lord Baltimore and the Dutch, his claims to all the land between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays and as far north as the fortieth degree of north latitude was ultimately defeated. The fact that Hermen and Waldron were the first to call attention to this matter proves them to have been persons of great ability, and shrewd and cunning diplomatists. Col. Nathaniel Utie, who was a member of the council at this time, appears to have shown a great deal of temper. He was probably somewhat vexed at the want of success that attended his efforts when at New Castle. This attempt to settle this difficulty, like the one that preceded it, proved to be a failure in its main object; but was productive of good in this particular, that it caused the English and their neighbors along the Delaware to become better acquainted. It was also the means of bringing Augustine Hermen to settle in this county.

After the negotiations were over, Waldron returned to New Amsterdam with an account of them, and Hermen went to Virginia, as he expresses it, "to inquire of the governor what is his opinion on the subject, to create a division between them both, and purge ourselves of the slander of stirring up the Indians to murder English at Accomac." It seems from this, that the Dutch had made themselves obnoxious to the Virginians as well as to the Marylanders; but as the two latter were upon the best of terms at this time, it may have been that the Virginians had espoused the cause of the Marylanders and slandered the Dutch, as Hermen asserts. It is probable that Hermen remained in Virginia for some months on business connected with the map which he afterwards made of that province and Maryland; for the authorities at New Amsterdam, on dispatching Captain Newton and Varlett to that colony "on a mission, in February, 1660, instructed them to inquire in Maryland if danger threatened the South River," and to avail themselves of the "aid and *tongue* of Augustine Hermen," at that time in Virginia.

The history of this distinguished man, and that of his numerous descendants, is so closely interwoven with that of Cecil County for a quarter of a century after this time that some account of his previous life will be interesting. He was a native of Prague, a city of Bohemia; but at what time he came to New Netherlands is not precisely known. He was in the employ of the West India Company, and was in company with Arent Corssen in 1633, at the time of the Dutch purchase from the Indians of the lands which included the site of Philadelphia, on the Schuylkill, near the mouth of which Fort Beversrede was subsequently erected. He probably returned to Holland and came back again to this country under different auspices than those of his first adventure here. In June, 1644, he was with Laurens Cornelisson, an agent of Peter Gabry & Sons, and Mr. Broadhead says he "came out under the patronage of the Chamber

of Enckhuysen as agent of the mercantile house of Gabry of Amsterdam." The same year he was established in trade of the general character common at the time, and afterwards made several voyages to Holland in the prosecution of his commercial enterprises. Some years later we find him interested in privateering, and one of the owners, in 1649, of the frigate *La Garce*, engaged in depredations on the Spanish commerce. He was unfortunate in his business enterprises, and in September, 1652, "a fugitive" from his creditors, his affairs in the hands of assignees, who were finally discharged as such March 18th, 1653. In May following he was granted "liberty and freedom" by the council, and excused for having broken the company's seal; "having settled with his creditors," the same month he was bearer of dispatches from Governor Stuyvesant to the New England authorities at Boston, respecting an alleged conspiracy of the Dutch and Indians against the English. In December, 1658, he obtained permission to make a voyage, doubtless for trade to the Dutch and French islands in the West Indies, and arrived at the Island of Curacao, April 18th, 1659. In his public positions he rendered useful and important service to the colony. He was one of the Board of Nine Men then organized, September 25th, 1647, and held the office in 1649 and 1650. One of the ambassadors to Rhode Island in April, 1652." *

Augustine Hermen married Jannetje (Jane) Varlett, a native of Utrecht, in New Amsterdam, December 10th, 1651. They were the parents of five children: Ephraim George, Casparus or Caspar, Anna Margareta, Judith and Francina, all of whom were baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church at New Amsterdam, of which their parents are believed to have been members. The map generally called Hermen's map of Maryland, in consideration of the making of which he obtained the grant of Bohemia Manor and Middle Neck,

* From *Ancient Families of New York*, by Edwin R. Purple, in the *N. Y. Gen. and Bio. Record*, April, 1878, page 54.

includes all of Delaware and considerable portions of the other States contiguous to Maryland. It was engraved and published by Faithorne, of London, in 1672, and contains a medallion portrait of Hermen, probably the only one extant. The map is very authentic, so far as it represents the western shore of the Chesapeake and the peninsula between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays. A tradition has long been current among the people of Bohemia Manor that upon a certain occasion after Hermen settled in Maryland he went back to New Amsterdam where, for some reason now unknown, he was arrested and confined by order of the authorities there. In order to escape he feigned insanity and requested to be allowed the company of his horse, a splendid gray charger. The favor was granted, and Hermen mounting the horse seized a favorable opportunity, and dashing through one of the windows of his prison, which were twenty feet from the ground, started for New Castle, which he reached in safety, though closely pursued by his enemies. His horse is said to have swam the Delaware River and carried his master safely across, and to have died from overexertion shortly after reaching the shore. There is probably some truth in this story, for Hermen had a painting commemorative of some adventure of that kind. Two copies of this painting are yet extant, one of which is in the possession of one of his descendants, a member of the Troth family, of Camden, New Jersey. He made a will which is dated November 8th, 1665, and though never proved, is recorded among the land records of Baltimore County, in Book I. S., number I. K. Among many other interesting things, it contains the following clause: "I do appoint my burial and sepulcher, if I die in this bay or in Delaware, to be in Bohemia Manor, in my garden by my wife Johanna Varlett's, and that a great sepulcher stone shall be erected upon our graves three feet above ground, like unto a table, with engraven letters that I am the first seater and beginner of Bohemia Manor, Anno Domini, 1660, and died," etc. This

will shows that he had at that time property in New York, which if his children left no heirs he directs shall be applied to the erection of a free school. He directs that his sons shall have at eighteen years of age, and his daughters at marriage, six milch cows, six breeding sows, and six breeding hens, with a male of each one of those species. His son Ephraim George and his friend John Browning, with whom he afterwards had a bitter quarrel, were to be executors of this will.

Augustine Hermen aforesaid seems to have become enamoured of the rich soil and genial climate of this latitude during his visit to Maryland and Virginia, in 1659. His mercantile speculations had not proved as profitable as he expected, and he resolved to leave the barren shores of Manhattan Island and take up his residence on the fertile plains of what was afterwards called Bohemia Manor. His motive was a laudable one, namely, to acquire a princely domain for himself and his children, and thereby to perpetuate his name. With these ends in view he proposed to Lord Baltimore to make the map before mentioned. This was a work of some magnitude, and cost him "no less than the value of about two hundred pounds sterling, beside his own labor." It also required much time, and was not finished until the expiration of some years after he had received his first patent, which was dated June 19th, 1662, which was the year after he moved his family from New Amsterdam to Bohemia Manor in Cecil County. This patent is a legal as well as a literary curiosity. After greeting all persons to whom it should come, in the name of the *Lord God Everlasting*, and referring to the "conditions of plantations," which were certain regulations in regard to the terms upon which titles to plantations could be acquired in the province, it "grants unto Augustine Hermen all that tract of land called Bohemia Manor, lying on the east side of Chesapeake Bay and on the west side of a river in the said bay, called Elk River, on the northernmost side of a creek in

the said river, called Hermen's Creek. Beginning at the easternmost bound tree of the land of Philip Calvert, Esq. (who had previously obtained the grant of a thousand acres at Town Point), and running south by east up the said creek of the length of two thousand perches to a marked oak, standing by a cove called Hermen's Cove, and from the said oak running northeast for the length of three hundred and twenty perches until it intersects a parallel line running west for the length of two thousand perches, to the said land of Philip Calvert, Esq. On the west with the said land, on the south with the said creek, on the east with the said line, on the north with the said parallel. Containing and now laid out for four thousand acres, more or less, together with all royalties or privileges thereunto belonging (royal mines excepted)." This manor of Bohemia was to be holden of "Cecilius, Lord Baron of Baltimore, and of his heirs, as of his manor of St. Maries, in free and common socage, by fealty only for all manner of service, yielding and paying therefor yearly unto us and our heirs, at our receipt at St. Maries, at the two most usual feasts in the year, viz., at the feast of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and at the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, by even and equal portions, the rent of four pounds sterling, in silver or gold, or the full value thereof, in such commodities as we or our heirs shall accept in discharge thereof." By patent bearing the same date, and for the same consideration mentioned in the other patent (the making of a map of the province), Hermen became the owner and proprietor of Little Bohemia, or Bohemia Middle Neck. The fact that Hermen obtained two patents for two distinct tracts of land, that were only separated from each other by a small stream of water, may seem strange and unusual at this day. People now would have made one patent include the whole tract; but the manners and customs of that day were quite different from those of the present. Hermen intended Bohemia Manor for an inheritance for his eldest son, and

in view of this fact there is nothing strange in not including Little Bohemia in the same patent.

It will be seen, from an inspection of the foregoing quotation from the patent for Bohemia Manor, that its boundaries differ very much from what they are at present.

The probability is that neither of the tracts were ever located according to the metes and bounds set forth in the original patents, for Hermen states in his journal that danger from Indians prevented an accurate inspection and survey of his lands, and that he made a treaty with the Indians at Spesutia Island and purchased this land from them. He states in his journal that "there was an imaginary survey recorded the 13th of September, 1659, for Philip Calvert, Esq., of a one thousand acres on the point between Elk River and Oppoquermine River (now Bohemia River), adherent or includent to Bohemia Manor, his Honor did let it fall to the said Augustine Hermen, who, having proposed to his Lordship in England the erecting of a town thereon, *his Lordship promised all reasonable privileges to him, the said Augustine Hermen, and first undertaking, willing to have the town called Ceciltown and the county Cecil County, sending (to that purpose) in a charter, as a foundation to all other townships in this province, remaining in the office under the great seal dated January 24th, 1661,*" which charter above referred to was issued more than a year before Hermen received the first patent for Bohemia Manor. This is the first reference to *Cecil County* in the early records of the province. It indicates that Hermen originated the name. Calvert's land, as the reader will perceive, was located at the junction of the Elk and Bohemia rivers; and though *Ceciltown* was not built upon it, it still bears the name of Town Point.

This year (1659) a tract of land, containing four hundred acres, was taken up and patented at Frenchtown, on the Elk River, under the name of Thompsontown. At this time there was a fort garrisoned by the English on Watson's Island, and probably one on Spesutia Island. A few years

after this there is reason to believe the English had a fort or block-house in Sassafras Neck, not very far in a south-westerly direction from the junction of the Great and Little Bohemia River. The Indians also had a fort on Iron Hill and one on the west bank of the Susquehanna River some miles north of the State line, and were in undisputed possession of all the country between the head of Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware River, except the places we have named and perhaps a few others along the Elk and North East rivers.

CHAPTER VI.

Council of Maryland meet at Spesutia Island—Examination of persons who had suffered from the depredations of Indians along the Delaware River—Interesting correspondence between the Governor of Maryland and Alexander D'Hinoyossa, Governor of New Amstel—The Council declare war against the Susquehannocks—Instructions to Captain Odber—Letter from D'Hinoyossa—Augustine Hermen tries to make peace between the Dutch and English—Council meets at Susquehanna Point and are shown the commission of Captain Neals recently arrived from England—Many of the Swedes from Delaware settle in Sassafras Neck.

ON account of the troubles with the Indians and Dutch, the council of Maryland frequently met at and near the head of the bay for the purpose of investigating the facts, making treaties with the Indians, etc. It met at Spesutia for the former purpose on the 13th of May, 1661, when it was ordered that all persons who have suffered any damage by the Indians, or have engaged with them in an hostile manner, be summoned to appear at that place on the 15th instant. This summons was directed to be sent from house to house as low as Patapsco River. Then follows the information of Peter Meyer touching the death of four Englishmen in their passage between Delaware Bay and the head of Chesapeake Bay by Indians, upon Wednesday, in Easter week last, to the effect that upon Friday, in Easter week, coming at the Sand Hook, there came unto him one Foppo Yanson (called by the Dutch Foppo Jansen Outhout) and told him that he feared some Englishmen were killed by the Indians, because seeking his horse in the woods he saw an Indian pass by with a gray hat with ribbons tied upon a pack at his back; that a while afterwards the said Foppo Yanson showed him

the Indian that had the hat at his back ; that by the assistance of Mr. William Hollingsworth, of New England, and some others, he did apprehend the said Indian with his companion, whom, upon demand of justice, the governor of the same place committed to prison ; whereupon the rest of the Indians in the town fled and left one pack behind them, in which pack he found an English red war coat, with a hole in the back, wet, and a canvas bag, all bloody, and an English pair of shoes ; that one of the prisoners was released, that he might go and fetch their king ; and that the next day the others were released, but upon what ground, he knows not. And the said Peter Meyer further informs the council, that, demanding of the said Indian how he came by that hat, he answered it was given him by another Indian, called Oconittka, who had killed an Englishman ; that he had desired the pack of goods in which the war coat and bloody bag were found to be arrested, which was accordingly done ; but that coming the next day to inquire for it, the man of the house where it was deposited answered that it was given to the Indian again, and that he was told by the Dutch that the Indians did threaten him as being an Englishman for to kill him. This man Peter Meyer had a quarrel about this time with Mr. Lears, a Finnish priest, who lived on the Delaware River not far from where Chester now stands. He had struck the reverend gentleman in the face and mutilated him in a shameful manner. For this offence the authorities at New Amstel had attempted to bring him to trial. It also appears that they had fined him for selling liquor to the Indians, and no doubt he was glad of the opportunity to vent his wrath upon them, by giving the foregoing information to the Marylanders.

Robert Gorsuch was then examined touching the engagement with the Indians at Gunpowder River. He stated that the Indians came to his house on the 11th of April, 1661, some dressed in blue and some in red match coats, who killed his wife and plundered his house, and about four or

five days after came to his house again and killed some five cows and a steer, and some hogs, as he supposeth.

John Taylor said that upon Easter eve, in the afternoon, there came two Indians to his house, but he not understanding their language, pointed at them to be gone; he not having heard before of a murder committed upon Robert Gorsuch's wife, and they accordingly departed. The next day these same Indians returned with seven more and one woman, who, coming near his landing, shot off a gun to give him notice, as he considered; whereupon he went to the landing to them, and they asked him for some tobacco, which he did give them, and upon sight of another canoe of Indians, bid them be gone; one of them understanding and speaking a little English, upon which they went away, and steered, as he thought, toward a plantation hard by, where two bachelors lived, named Edward Fouster and John Fouster; that John Fouster coming in a canoe toward the Indians, shot at said Indians and came immediately away to this informant's house; whereupon the said Indians shot three guns at the said Fouster, and immediately went and plundered his house, and came round about two weeks afterwards and plundered his tobacco house, where his goods then lay for want of room in his dwelling-house, to the value of one thousand pounds of tobacco; that upon notice given of this plunder, William Wigwell, John Fouster and Edward Swanson went forth after the said Indians, to know why they plundered the said tobacco house, and coming up to them in the woods, where they were sitting round a fire, they immediately surrounded the said English and discharged a volley of ten shots, killing the said John Fouster, and at a second volley wounded William Wigwell, notwithstanding which shot, they fought them three hours and made their retreat good, since which time the said Indians have killed eleven head of cattle and twenty head of hogs. Demanding of the Indians who they were, they answered they were all Susquehannaughs, as all Indians used to do that come to his house.

Thomas Overton and William Hallis saith that, about the 25th of April last, Thomas Sampson and Richard Hayes, seeing two canoes with nine Delaware Bay Indians coming down Bush River; watching their canoes, did discern that they steered toward their plantation, upon which the said Sampson and Richard Hayes came and brought these informants news of their coming; so upon that, they took to their boats and arms and met the Indians, and inquired of them whether they were Susquehannaughs, yea or no, and they answered no; and whilst that these informants were talking with one of the said companies in one of the canoes, the other canoe with Indians went ashore; and as soon as they were on the shore, one of the informant's dogs bit one of the said Indians, and upon that the Indian turned him about and shot the dog and killed it, and immediately another of the said Indians that was on the shore shot at these informants and their company, and the bullets came through the boat; then the said informants and their company shot at the Indians that were in the other canoe and killed five of them—that is all the Indians that were in that canoe; and further, these informants saith, that the Indians on the shore did kill one of their company, called John Spurne; and further knoweth not.

At this meeting a letter was read to the council from William Hollingsworth, directed to his most respected friend Col. Nathaniel Utie, from the Sand Point, in Delaware Bay, written some time in April, 1661, about the murder of four men who left the Sand Hook on the seventeenth of April, and whose names he did not know, but who were murdered by the Indians while on their way from Sand Hook (New Castle) to the head of the bay, and whose bodies, he had been informed by the Indians, lay at a place called Saquosehum. Twenty Indians had come to Sand Hook, and he had caused two of them to be arrested and placed in the guard-house, but afterwards sent one of them to inform their sachem. Both Dutch and Indians, he writes,

are much displeased at the arrest of the Indians. He therefore asks the advice of Utie, and prays that some person may be sent to inquire further into the matter. In a post-script he adds that the Indians threatened to kill some Englishmen, then at the Sand Hook, when they started home to their families in Maryland. Philip Calvert thereupon, on the fifteenth of May, 1661, addressed a letter to Alexander D'Hinoyossa, then Governor of New Amstel, as follows:

"I understand from Mr. Hollingsworth of the murder of four men belonging to this province by the hands of some Indians, your neighbors; and further, upon his accusation, you had committed them to guard. I send this express to you, to be informed of the true state of the matter. It is not our custom to put up (with) the injuries of Indians, nor to bury the blood of Christians in forgetfulness and oblivion; therefore I request you to deliver me the Indian prisoners, that I may deal with them according to our justice in like cases. I am now at Spesutia, and there shall remain till I have provided for the safety of the people and the honor of our nation, and shall expect an answer from you to such.

"Your servant,

"PHIL. CALVERT."

To which D'Hinoyossa replied as follows:

"RIGHT HONORABLE YOURS,

15th May, Old Styleward,

the 26th of New Style.

"Out of which we have seen that, upon the advice of Mr. Hollingsworth, you are come to the islands of Nathaniel Utie for to examine the lamentable murder done by the Sanhican Indians unto four Englishmen. (It is thus): For as much as hath appeared to us that how have been four persons, out of the province of Maryland, which, after two days' stay, departed from hence to their plantation, as they said, and by the way are met by the said Indians, by whom they are murdered. And on Marettico, on the Iron Hill, met them two Indians coming from the Minquas country; to one of them they did give a hat, and nothing else; to the other they gave nothing. The same two Indians came to the town, imagining nothing; but the mur-

derers, which killed the man, did very secretly and speedily pass this place up to the river; two or three inhabitants of New Amstel did, in the meanwhile, lay hold of these Indians, and I caused them to be brought to the fort; but after many examinations, found them not guilty, but that it was done by another nation; therefore we have released them, because the innocent cannot suffer for the guilty; otherwise it would be a case grounded of no reason, besides there is some time past between, and would have occasioned between us and the Indians a difference which might damage us with them to an open war, whereby the culture of the country and the advancement of the colony would be much hindered, in which, apparently, your Honor would take no comfort nor content with the two Indians, which have not been actually in the fort; and therefore let your Honor be assured that the releasing of the two Indians hath not been done out of any ill intent, nor to the prejudice of so good Christians, our neighbors, in favor of the heathens, which have committed from time to time divers murders and robberies upon our nation, also wishing that we could lay hold of this good opportunity in revenging ourselves upon the murderers also. To conclude, your Honor may be confident that the shedding of Christian blood is most detestable unto us, assuring yourself that we shall contribute in all things to the preservation of friendship with neighbors of our belief, for as much as might be done without prejudice to our own nation. So I commit your Honor to God's keeping, who will give his blessing to your government, so just.

“Your serviceable friend,

“Praise God in all things, 1661,

“ALEXANDER D'HINOYOSSA.”

What the old Hollander meant by “Marettico on the Iron Hill” has not been ascertained. It was probably an Indian name applied to some part of the country between Iron Hill and Grey's Hill, now called Red Hill. The reader will observe that, like some of his countrymen of the present time, D'Hinoyossa had a rather limited command of the English language.

Following this, on the same page, is to be seen the following letter, which was evidently presented to the Council at this meeting at Spesutia, and which speaks for itself:

“ MR. WRIGHT:

“ Be pleased to do so much as to let me know how it is with you at the west for trade. The Indians threaten to kill me, and that is the reason I cannot come. I must march in my house with seven or eight guns loaden, and I have no comfort from the inhabitants here, Indians and Dutch both saying that I am an Englishman. I wish I could have time to speak half an hour with you. Mr. Hollingsworth is very sorry he hears no answer of his letter. Give everybody notice, and look to yourself night and day. The Indians are very strong and not far from you. I would have written more, but I dare not dare. Warn James at Turkey Point to remove.

“ Your loving servant,

“ GARRATT RUTTEN.

“ May 15th, 1661.”

Then follows the commission of Captain John Odber, authorizing him to take command of fifty soldiers and to march with them to the Susquehannaugh's fort. This fort was probably just above the junction of the Octoraro Creek and Susquehanna River. There is no doubt whatever about the Susquehannaugh's having a fort at that place, because John Hans Stillman testified that he had seen it there. Stillman was an Indian trader, and at one time had a trading post at the junction of the Big and Little Elk Creek. He also had a trading post at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, and was well acquainted with the Indians. His evidence, taken many years afterwards, when he was a very old man, may be seen in Penn's Breviate, which was submitted to the English Court of Chancery when Penn and Baltimore were quarreling about their boundary lines.

Vincent, in his History of Delaware, says this fort was upon Iron Hill; but had he consulted the colonial records of Maryland he would probably have formed a different opinion. It was the Minquas who lived along the Christiana which flows at the base of Iron Hill, that had the fort on it. There is no evidence now extant tending to prove that the Susquehannocks ever exercised control over that part of the country.

The instructions to Captain Odber are : “ Imprimis : You are to choose some fit place either within or without the fort, which you are to fortify for your own security, and to demand the assistance of the Susquehannaughs to fetch timber and other necessaries for the fortification, according to articles now concluded between us ; and further, to cause some spurs or flankers to be laid out for the defence of the Indian fort, whom you are, upon all occasions, to assist against the assaults of their enemies.

“ Second : Upon your arrival at the fort, immediately press them to appoint some one or more of their great men, to whom you shall make your applications on all occasions—that is, either of demanding assistance to help fortify, or of provisions, or upon any orders received from us.

“ Third : Procure that certain persons be appointed, who are to be messengers between you and us, according to articles, and be sure advise us of every accident of importance that shall befall you or the Susquehannaughs, and of the proceedings of our affairs.

“ Fourth : You are carefully to inform yourself of the progress of the war between them and the Cinaqoi Indians, and if you find them, start in it, to press them discreetly to a vigorous prosecution of it.

“ Fifth : You are carefully to avoid all quarrels with the Indians ; and therefore, permit not the soldiers (to) sit drinking or gaming with them, but keep them to exact military discipline, and, to avoid idleness, often exercise them.

“ Sixth : Make diligent inquiry touching the murderers of the woman in Patapsco River, and of John Norden and his companions on their way from Delaware Bay, &c.; and if you find they have any of the said murderers in the fort, see them shot to death, or send them down to us to be proceeded against according to our laws.

“ Seventh : Lastly, you are to have a very wary eye upon all Dutch that come to the fort, observing their actions and treaties with the Indians, but show not any animosity against

them; if you find any close contrivances to our prejudice, give us speedy notice, and oppose, with discretion, any open actions that may tend to our loss."

The council met at Spesutia again on May 21st, 1661. (Present as before). Then was presented this letter:

" NEW AMSTEL,
28th of May, 1661.
Stilo Novo.

"RIGHT HONORABLE:

"My last, the six and twentieth of May, was in haste, because the Indians would not stay by the same. I did assure your Honor of the upright affection which we have for the keeping of a good neighborhood. I have by this occasion, Abraham Van Naas* going that way by instruction, ordered and authorized for to declare by word of mouth, that license to depart to the two Indians that were apprehended was not in favor of the barbarous heathens, nor to the prejudice of good neighbors, they having not been accessory to the murder; wherefore, I would not keep them, such proceedings not being agreeable with our nation's customs, being a case that will bring us into great danger of a war and a quarrel with the Indians; it being now 16 days past before we had any intelligence from the province of Maryland, in that behalf; we therefore, do assure your Honor that we will be, upon all occasions, willing. We hope that, in time to come, there will be a good traffic between us, though this present difference betwixt you and the Indians of this river are something disfavorable to it. Yet we hope that the Almighty God will show an expedient way that these differences might be composed, for wars are prejudicial to commerce and uncertain how they might fall out, nor what time they may take, that the whole nation for five or six evil doers should suffer, is a thing to be lamented, yet needful that the murderers should be punished for an example. I have, in general, understood from the Indians that they (trade) with the English upon very advantageous

* Abraham Van Naas was secretary and notary public at New Amstel. D'Hinoyossa afterwards quarreled with him because he would not praise him when writing the minutes of the council.

conditions (and desire) with the English (to) make peace, that such faults be no more committed. In case I can serve your Honor in the business, I shall be willingly inclined to it; and, so wishing your Honor a happy government and a good end of these troubles, shall rest,

“ Your Honor’s affectionate friend and servant,

“ ALEXANDER D’HINOYOSSA.”

D’Hinoyossa was induced to write this letter of explanation and apology by information received from Augustine Hermen, who, as stated in a previous chapter, that year settled upon Bohemia Manor, and seems to have acted as a peace-maker between the old Hollander and Philip Calvert, the Governor of Maryland. Hermen wrote to D’Hinoyossa that the English foster the opinion that the inhabitants of New Amstel and the Hoernkill secretly instigate their savage neighbors along the Delaware to commit murders and robberies upon the Marylanders. The instructions given to Captain Odber prove that in this, as in most other things, Hermen was right. After which was called in Abraham Van Naas, in the said letter mentioned, who, being desired to declare what he had in commission to say from the governor, Alexander D’Hinoyossa, declares that they had done their endeavors to detain the Indian murderers; but could not, for want of power to defend themselves, any longer keep them; that in revenge of what they had done the Indians had burned them a mill, which they were forced to pass by for the present till they should be better able to avenge themselves of the injury; that the governor of the Sand Hook did send for the king of those Indians that had committed the aforesaid murder, and demanded of them the reason why they did it. Answer was made that it was done by a company of vagabond rangers that delighted in mischief, and run from nation to nation, whom, if they could catch, they would deliver them up to justice; but, that since they had done it, they were fled.

The council met at Susquehanna Point (which was no

doubt the point just below Perryville), on July 1st, 1661. There is reason to believe that the governor and secretary came to Susquehanna Point to meet Captain James Neals, who came there from England *via* New Amstel, where he probably landed shortly before. Captain Neals brought a letter from Lord Baltimore, which was read at this meeting of the council. This letter was dated at London, December 14th, 1660.

At this time the New Englanders claimed all the Atlantic coast from New England to Virginia; and many years before had actually effected a settlement on the Delaware near the mouth of the Schuylkill, but from which they had been ousted by the Dutch. Captain Neals, who had been in Holland the year before as agent for Lord Baltimore, had been instructed "to inquire of the West India Company if they admitted his (Baltimore's) right on the Delaware; if not, to protest against them, and to demand the surrender of the lands on the Delaware Bay." Neals had an interview with the representatives of the West India Company, who asserted their right by possession under the grant of the States-General, for many years, without disturbance from Lord Baltimore or any other person. They resolved to remain in possession and defend their rights, and if Lord Baltimore persevered and resorted to violent measures, to use all the means God and nature had given to protect the inhabitants. Lord Baltimore, however, took care to obtain from the king soon after a confirmation of his patent.* Lord Baltimore, in speaking of Captain Neals, uses the following language:

"I hope when he comes you and he and my other friends will think upon some speedy and effectual way for reducing the Dutch in Delaware Bay. The New England men will be assisting in it, and Secretary Ludwell, of Virginia, assured me before he went from here that the Virginians will be so, too. But it were well to be done with all celerity

* Scharf's Hist. of Md., Vol. I., page 251.

convenient, because, perhaps, the New England men, falling upon them at Manhattans, may take it into their head to fall upon them at Delaware, too, and by that means pretend some title to the place," etc.

Whereupon the council took a view of his Honor's commission to Captain James Neals, which was granted for the levying of men to make war upon "certain enemies, pirates and robbers that had usurped a part of Delaware Bay lying within the fortieth degree of northerly latitude."

This commission was quite lengthy, and authorized the captain to make war upon the Dutch in Delaware Bay and everywhere else that he could find them, and to capture and destroy them both upon the land and on the sea, and not only them, but their aiders and abettors; in which work all his lordship's officers, both civil and military, were to assist. They were to drive them from the bay and capture their ships and vessels, and after bringing the vessels and cargoes to the province of Maryland, and having them appraised, were, upon payment of one-twelfth of the appraised value to his agents, to be allowed to retain them.

The council took the commission and the whole subject into consideration, and came to the conclusion that inasmuch as it was uncertain whether the town of New Amstel was within the fortieth degree of north latitude, they had better wait until that was ascertained, inasmuch as his lordship had not authorized a war with any but such as had usurped some part of the province. They thought it was not likely that the Virginians and New Englanders would take part in the war, because "the Dutch trade was the darling of the people of Virginia, as well as of this province," and indeed all other plantations of the English; and this province alone not being able to bear the charge of the war that will thence ensue with the West India Company in Holland, upon any attempt upon that place, which, not only from their protestation, lately made at Amsterdam, but also by late letters from Holland, appears to be resolved

upon by them in case any force shall be used by us against the said colony of New Amstel. They therefore resolved that all attempts be foreborne against the said town of New Amstel until such time as letters from his lordship may again be had in answer to what hath been written to his lordship concerning this affair, and that observation may be taken at the head of the bay of Chesapeake, thereby to find certainly whether the said town of New Amstel do lie within the fortieth degree of northerly latitude or not; and further, that trial be made whether assistance from Virginia and New England may be had for the reducing and maintenance of that place against the Dutch.

This year the Dutch authorities on the Delaware attempted to force the Swedish part of the population, who seem to have incurred their displeasure by their sociability with the English settlers at the head of Chesapeake Bay, to take up their residence above the mouth of the Schuylkill. This many of them refused to do; and probably also being afraid of a war between England and Holland, Peter Meyer, Oloff Stille, and fifteen others, applied for and had patents of naturalization issued to them. Many of them settled in Sassafraz Neck. The Dutch governor (D'Hinoyossa) and Hermen were now on the best of terms, and the former was accused by his contemporaries of selling the public stores to the latter, and appropriating the money he received for them to his own use. The colonial records for this period show that the Indians of this county and the Dutch settlers were sources of much annoyance to the authorities of Maryland. Nobody had been punished for the murder of the four Englishmen upon Iron Hill; and, as we have seen, a war with the Dutch was imminent.

CHAPTER VII.

Treaty with the Passagonke Indians at Appoquinimink—Copy of the treaty—Scarcity of corn—Captain Odber gets into trouble—A cowardly soldier—Trouble with the Senecas—Treaty with the Delaware Bay Indians—Capture of a Seneca Indian—Letter from the justices of Baltimore County respecting the captive—Francis Wright and Jacob Clawson—Torture of an Indian prisoner—War with the Senecas—Another treaty with the Susquehannocks—The Senecas attack the Susquehannock's fort at Turkey Hill, Lancaster County, and are repulsed—End of the Susquehannocks.

PROBABLY with a view of securing the co-operation of the Indians in case of a war with the Dutch, Governor Calvert, accompanied by his secretary (Henry Coursey) and John Bateman, one of the councilors, had a meeting with the Passagonke Indians, who, at that time, lived on the Delaware River above Chester, probably where Philadelphia now stands. This meeting took place at Appoquinimi (which is now called Appoquinimink), on Thursday, the 19th of September, 1661. The minutes in the council book for that year, in reference to what was done at that meeting, are so much more interesting than any abridgment of them that it has been deemed best to insert them here.

“Then came Pinna, king of Piethanomieta, in Delaware Bay, showing that, whereas there had been divers men slain by the English belonging to the Passagonke Indians, now under his command, and among them his own brother, in revenge of which divers English had been slain by those Indians; yet that he did believe all those outrages were committed by the English without orders from the governor and council; that those revenges were taken by his Indians without his or any of his great men's knowledge; therefore (he) did desire that all might be forgotten, and that from

henceforward his Indians might live in peace with the English.

“To which the governor answered that he did desire peace, so he did desire justice also, and provided that they would deliver up those Indians that killed John Norden and Stephen Hart, with his companions, to be proceeded against, according to our justice, he would come to articles of peace with him.

“Whereunto the said Pinna answered that the English had begun the war and first killed one of his men as he was peaceably coming by their plantation, and overset their canoes, out of which they lost three guns; afterwards pursued them into the woods and there shot at them; that his Indians fled, having lost one man and their goods. In their way home they met the said Norden and Hart and companions, and, contrary to the advice of an old man of the company that stood weeping by and persuading them to speak with the great men of the English first, did kill the said Norden and Hart and companions, saying that the English would have war; but since that time the English had set upon two canoes of Indians and killed five of them, and amongst them his own brother, all which, notwithstanding, he was willing and desirous to make a peace between us and his Indians, forgetting the blood of his own brother.

“Then did the governor demand satisfaction for the cattle and hogs of John Taylor. To which he answered that they were not killed by his Indians, for they immediately fled, but by Minquas and Sinigos (Senecas).

“Whereupon was taken into consideration the information of John Taylor, Thomas Overton and others, taken at Spesutia the 13th of May last, and considering the relation of Pinna in the main to agree with the said information, and the governor and council calling to mind that the said John Taylor, since information in writing taken, had often

said that John Foster,* who shot at the Indian (as per information), affirmed that he had killed him, resolved to come to articles with the said Pinna upon this consideration, that the English had begun the war by the said John Foster killing the said Indian upon Easter days. And for as much as it is certain that the said Indians, whom Foster shot at, immediately fled after they killed Foster in the woods, and upon the 17th day of April, met Norden and Hart near the Iron Hill, and there murdered them, and that the Minqua or Sinigo Indians were about that time doing mischief and killing cattle about Patapsco River and those quarters, as appears by the information of Robert Gorsuch, taken the 13th of May aforesaid, resolved that all further demand of satisfaction for these cattle be waived, and that sufficient provision in the articles be made for the security of our stock of cattle and hogs for the future, and that the treaty be immediately begun, lest General Stuyvesant at the Mannhattans make an advantage of those Indians against us, it being doubted whether there be a war between Holland and England or not."

The treaty was headed in the council book, from which it was copied as follows:

"Articles of peace and amity concluded between the Hon. Philip Calvert, Esq., Governor, Henry Coursey, secretary, and John Bateman, councilor, on behalf of the Lord Proprietary of this province of Maryland, and Pinna, king of Picthanomicta, on the behalf of the Passagonke Indians on the other part (viz.): •

"Imprimis: That there shall be a perpetual peace betwixt the people of Maryland and the Passagonke Indians.

"Second: It is agreed between the above said parties that, in case any Englishman for the future shall happen to find any Passagonke Indian killing either cattle or hogs, then it shall be lawful for the English to kill the said Indian.

* Called John Fouster in the preceding chapter.

“Third: It is agreed betwixt the above said parties that, in case any Indian or Indians shall happen to kill any Englishmen (which God forbid), then the said Indian, with all that company of Indians with him which consented to the said murder, shall be delivered to the English, there to be proceeded against, according to the laws of this province.

“Fourth: It is further agreed betwixt the above said parties that, in case any Englishman shall happen to run amongst the Passagonke Indians, the said Indians bring them to Peter Meyers; and then for every Englishman that they shall deliver, they shall receive one match coat.

“The mark (M) of Pinna.”

The above said articles were signed interchangeably by the governor and council and the Indian commissioners, and delivered this 19th of September, in thirtieth year of his Lordship's dominion over this province of Maryland, 1661.

The Dutch account of this treaty is to the effect that only one Indian chief “from the east end of the river” appeared, and that the English offered to deliver annually two or three thousand hogsheads of tobacco to them at Appoquimini or at the head of Bohemia.

Corn was very scarce in 1661, and it is worthy of remark that William Hollingsworth, who helped arrest the Indians in New Castle, who had murdered the Englishmen on Iron Hill, though licensed by the council of Maryland to trade with the Indians, was prohibited from exporting any corn he might obtain from them. The petition of one Hannah Lee, *widdy*, states that she had been granted the privilege of keeping ordinary at St. Mary's during the session of the General Assembly, but had no corn to maintain her said promise, and craves to be allowed to trade with the Indians. She was licensed to trade with the Indians for corn only. The next meeting of the council was held at St. Mary's on the 12th of October, 1661. At this meeting the case of Captain John Odber was taken into consideration, and he was

required to give an account of his expedition to the Susquehannaugh's fort. The council asked him why he came down without orders from the governor. To which he replied that the Susquehannaugh's came to him and told him that they could not compel their men to furnish the soldiers with provisions according to treaty stipulations, and had advised him to transport his troops and ammunition down by water. This seems to be what he meant to say; but the scribe who made the record used such obscure language, that it is by no means certain what the captain did say, and there is reason to think that the Indians offered to assist him in transporting his men and arms to the settlements some distance down the bay. There is reason to think that the captain may have been troubled with cowardice or conscientious scruples, and that he purposely mystified his narrative to conceal his cowardice. His story was by no means satisfactory to the council, and they required him to give a written account of the expedition, at a meeting of the council, on the 27th of the ensuing November, at which time Jacob Clawson, Francis Stockett and Samuel Palmer, who lived at the head of the bay, were to be summoned to give information. John Everitt was also before the council at this meeting to answer for his contempt in running from his colors. He pleaded that he could not bear arms against the Indians for conscience' sake. He was committed to custody till the meeting in November, at which time he was to be tried by a court-martial. Captain John Collier, who had impressed Everitt, was summoned to testify in the case. Captain Odber probably made good his escape from the colony before the meeting in November, for when he was called at that meeting he appeared not. This is the last time his name appears in the record. After the case of Odber was disposed of at the November meeting, that of Everitt was taken up, and it was ordered that he be tried "at the next provincial court for running from his colors, and, in the interim, be committed

into the sheriff's hands, and that the sheriff impanel a jury against that time, and in the meantime the said Everitt was to be kept in chains and *bake his own bread.*" The records of the provincial court are not extant, consequently the result of the trial is unknown.

The records of the province for the year 1662 show that the Indians still continued to be troublesome. But notwithstanding this the Marylanders seem to have turned their attention to the development of the resources of the colony. This year the council passed a law for the encouragement of tanners of leather, in which the exportation of hides was prohibited under severe penalties. The Marylanders and Susquehannaugh were at peace with each other at this time, but the former were at war with the Senecas, who now began to make raids upon the few scattered settlements of the English along the western tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay. In the spring of this year they penetrated as far south as the head of South River in Anne Arundle County, which appears to have alarmed the council very much, for they ordered all the powder and shot in the colony to be seized for the use of the country, and that scouts be sent to the heads of all the rivers and the head of the bay, with orders to arrest or kill all Indians found there. The governor of New Amstel was informed of what had been done, and was requested to inform the Passagonke and Delaware Bay Indians, with the former of which tribes the reader will recollect the Marylanders had made a treaty of friendship the year before. The troubles with the Senecas continued to grow worse and worse, and on July 4th, 1663, the council were informed by letters from the inhabitants of Baltimore County, at the head of the bay, that the Indians had recently murdered two of the inhabitants at the head of the bay, and one other in Patapsco River, with two youths also, which the Indians had either carried away or killed.

In the August following, the council met at Goldsmith's

Hall, which is believed to have been on Bush River, and gave instructions to Samuel Goldsmith to notify the Susquehannaughs to come down and treat with the commissioners of Baltimore County. It is evident from the instructions given to Goldsmith, that the council had framed the articles of the proposed treaty and had authorized the commissioners to have the treaty executed and signed by the Indians. At this time the Susquehannaughs, though until recently upon peaceable terms with the English, seem to have been intimidated by the Senecas; and, from what follows, it seems that no treaty was made at this time with them. But in August, 1663, Governor Charles Calvert, attended by three of his councilors, made a treaty with three kings of the Delaware Bay Indians at New Amstel. The Indian kings were represented by their ambassadors—Monickle, Chehooek and Tichecoon. The treaty was very similar to that made with the Passagonke Indians at Appoquinimi (now Appoquinimink) two years before, except that the Indians agreed, when they had occasion to visit any Englishman's house, that they would lay down their arms and cause some white thing to be held out before they approached the said house. It was also stipulated that the Indians would inviolably observe these same articles toward the Dutch in Delaware Bay; from which it is plain that the English no longer regarded the Dutch and Swedish settlers as a band of "murderers, pirates and robbers." Probably the hostile incursions of the Senecas had caused them both to forget their own differences and to cultivate feelings of friendship.

In the early part of June, 1664, a Seneca Indian was taken prisoner at the house of a Mr. Ball, which was somewhere on the Patapsco River, under the following circumstances: Twenty-one of the Senecas came to the house under pretence of a friendly truce; but the inmates of the house, suspecting a possibility of treachery, began to provide for their defence, which, being perceived by the Indians, they fled, except

one, who, being more valiant than his comrades, remained behind and was captured. The Indian was taken to Major Goldsmith, who sent him to Francis Wright, who lived on the North East River, near the mouth of Principio Creek. Mr. Wright and three other persons examined the captured Indian, who stated that the Senecas had no hostile feeling against the Christians, but had brought them a present of forty beaver skins and belts of peake for the Susquehannaughs that desired peace; that the boys that were taken and the men that were killed at the mill were captured and killed by the Senecas. He further said, that if he had been taken by the Susquehannaughs, he should not have been put to death by them, and that all the joints of his body—using the figurative language of his own countrymen—were belts of peake that he had laid out for desire of peace and quietness. On being questioned of the strength of the Susquehannaughs, he said there were seven troops of them, and that the party he belonged to numbered two hundred; and, when asked why so many of them were out on a mission of peace, he answered nothing, but that their fort did not desire any war with Christians; that the troops were come out for revenge of the death of his son and two Indians more that had been taken and burnt by the Susquehannaughs. The first part of his story not agreeing with the latter part, those who had him in charge sent a letter to the authorities at St. Mary's, stating that they were unable to understand who or what he was, but that their Honors would be convinced that he and his party bore no good will to the English. They stated that he was the first Indian taken, and by God's providence without the shedding of Christian blood. They appear to have been much alarmed, and the next day, the 7th of June, 1664, held a court at ye house of Mr. Francis Wright, as we learn from the following letter, which throws so much light upon the history of these troublesome times, that we publish it verbatim:

“FROM CLAYFALL, this 7th of June, 1664.

“*May it Please Your Lordship :*

“Since our first, a court hath been held for this county at ye house of Mr. Francis Wright, where ye Indian being again had, and in some measure re-examined, nothing appearing to any purpose but what we have in our first given your Honors to understand. Yesterday, when ye prisoner was here, there was several Susquehannaughs to ye number of forty, and two of Civilitye’s uncles, who made show of much joy at his being taken, for they very well knew him, and were sensible of his warlike exploits, and would persuaded us to have *burnt him*, but we certified them it was not our manner to torture our prisoners, but that happily he might be sent home to his country both for their good and others. But we cannot find yet what this prisoner did allege in his own behalf (as to matter of beaver and peake which he has said they brought with them to purchase peace) to be true, whether had they any good intentions. We have done our utmost endeavors, according to our abilities, for ye obtaining a full discovery and perfect relation, that your Honors might have more full intelligence of what did and was very likely to happen. What we have and do understand, herein is inserted, and do conceive that your Lordship should have thoughts for (to send) this prisoner with a present to his own country, in hopes of purchasing thereby a peace, which, by every one we think, is much required and most earnestly desired, Jacob Clawson hath voluntarily and of his own free will declared to us his readiness to go upon your command ; and shall, to ye utmost of his ability (for ye country’s sake), aid and assist any one that your Lordship shall think fit to employ in a matter of so great consequence, and further that he is verily persuaded that if such a thing were to be acted, Civilitye, in ye behalf of all ye Susquehannaughs, would also go, and that thereby a peace might be procured. Ye Susquehannaughs, we know, would willingly embrace a peace if obtained, but are unwilling (through height of spirit) to sue for it. We have credible information by a gentleman from Manhattoes, now here present, who is thither with all expedition returning, that many of the Cenacoes will (through a customary trade) from ye last of June until ye middle of July, be at ye fort at Avanis, to whom, once desired, he would give this

relation, that he saw one of their countrymen (naming his name) that ye English had taken, attempting to do mischief, and that he was well and fairly by ye English dealt withal, not after ye manner and cruelty that they showed to some of us which they did formerly take, and that there was great hopes that he would, in some time, come amongst them again, for by his kind usage hitherto he conceived no less. If what we have done appears to your Lordship too much or too little, we have nothing to plead but our ignorance, humbly craving pardon.

“Your Lordship’s in all due obedience,

“THOMAS STOCKETT,
“SAMUEL GOLDSMITH,
“FRANCIS WRIGHT.”

Francis Wright and Jacob Clawson were formerly from the settlements on the Delaware. They are mentioned in a letter from Beekman to Stuyvesant, dated April, 1660, in which he refers to some property belonging to an orphan child whose mother had died either at Colonel Utie’s or Jacob Clawson’s, and states that he (Clawson) took over to Holland, besides other property, according to the letter of his partner, Francis Wright, “two silver key chains and two or three silver knife handles belonging to the child.” In the letter Beekman calls Clawson his friend. The child was then at New Amstel. Its name was Amstelhoop, or hope of Amstel.*.

This man Francis Wright obtained a patent for a tract of land afterwards called Clayfall, it being part of what is now called Carpenter’s Point Neck, on the 19th of September, 1659, and, as will be seen from the above extract from Beekman’s letter, was a partner of Jacob Clawson. Like the other settlers on Carpenter’s Point Neck, referred to in a preceding chapter, they were no doubt Indian traders. Wright died in 1667, and left no heirs, in consequence of which the land escheated to the lord proprietary, which led

*See documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, Vol. XII., page 307.

to a very interesting lawsuit nearly a century afterwards.* The Senecas, which was probably the name given by the English to all the different tribes of the Five Nations, continued to be troublesome, and Thomas Mathews informed the council, by a letter dated at Patapsco the 7th of June, 1664, that he had been sent for to visit the north side of the Potomac River, and that he went there and found the English had taken two Indian prisoners; "that they put one of them to the torture, and he confessed there were sixty Indians in his company on the north side of the Potomac River, and that they intended to make war and kill the English, and that they had cut off one house, and the English had killed six of them." They stated there were a hundred more who had gone to the head of the bay to kill Englishmen and Susquehannaughs too if they came nigh them. The endorsement upon this letter was as follows. It fully explains the object of Mr. Mathew's visit: "For ye Right Honorable the Lieutenant-General. These from ye Indian interpreter, Mr. Thos. Mathews, for ye safety of this province, from house to house, post-haste."

On the 27th of June, 1664, Lewis Stockett was commissioned colonel and commander of all the forces to be raised between the coves of Patuxent River and ye head of ye bay, on both sides of the bay and the Isle of Kent. The council, on the same day, took into consideration the incursion of the Cenego (Seneca) Indians, and proclaimed war against them, and offered a reward of a hundred arms' length of Roenoke† to any person, whether English or Indian, that should bring in a Cenego prisoner, or both his ears if he be slain; and that all the kings of the friendly Indians be sent to to order out their people in pursuit of the Cenegos, and that the respective military officers be authorized to press arms, provision and men to go in company with the friendly Indians. "And that the Indian

* See Harris and McHenry's Maryland Reports, Vol. I., page 190.

† Rough bits of shell rudely shaped and pierced for stringing.

taken at Patapsco be sent down to St. Mary's and kept in irons; and that a letter be written to General Stuyvesant to request him to give notice to ye Cenegos trading at Fort Range that we have such a person prisoner, whom we shall keep alive till we see whether they desire a peace or not, *because no present come*. And if they desire not a peace, as he alleges, we shall put him to death; and that Jacob Clawson do give notice to ye Susquehannaugh Indians of this, our intention, and to require them to declare whether they are willing to join with us in this message; till which answer come this *live* shall be deferred." What came of the Seneca we are unable to say. If he was sent back to his countrymen upon a mission of peace, he most certainly failed in it; for the next year, in June, 1665, we find the English again preparing for war with the Senecas. Captain William Burgess was commissioned colonel and military commander of the forces of the colony, and a long list of instructions were given him, in which he was ordered to "keep several parties ranging the woods as well to the head of Patuxent as Patapsco and Bush rivers, and even up to the utmost bounds of the province upon the Susquehanna River." He was instructed to report to his commander-in-chief once a week, and for this purpose was authorized to press messengers expressly to bring letters to the governor. He was to take special care of the people in Patapsco and Gunpowder rivers, and was to associate with him any friendly Indians, but was to take special care that his troops did not game or wrestle with them, and thus to avoid all cause of quarrel. The sheriffs of the counties were ordered to see that the neighbors of those who were pressed to go upon the expedition attended to the crops of the soldiers. The instructions given to the sheriffs were elaborate and interesting. We make the following extract: "You are straightly charged and commanded to issue your warrants to the several constables in your county to take notice what persons have been pressed for this present expedition,

and what crops they have standing of corn and tobacco, and what ground they have prepared for tobacco, and the same to cause to be tended and planted as the seasons do present and need shall require by the people of the neighborhood, for and during the term of six weeks next after his departure, if he or they shall be so long absent upon ye service." These orders were addressed to the sheriffs of St. Mary's, Calvert, Anne Arundel, Kent and Charles counties.

On July 26th, 1665, the council ordered that the soldiers now ready be sent forthwith to the *frontiers*; that is to say, that the parties drawn out of St. Mary's, Charles and Kent counties be sent into Baltimore County, there to secure that county as well on the eastern as on the western side of ye bay, and to be commanded by Colonel Lewis Stockett or some other fit person of an *abler* body to endure the hardships of the woods being in that county, and to be appointed by him. Whether the troops were sent upon the contemplated expedition or not is uncertain, for the record for that year contains no further information on the subject. Quiet seems to have prevailed along the frontier till the next June (1666), when three war captains of the Susquehannaugh met the council at St. John's, in St. Mary's County. The war captains desired the continuance of their league with the English, and stated that they had always been ready to have delivered Wanahedana (which was the name of the Indian that had murdered the men at the mill in Baltimore County) to the English, and desired that the villainy of one man might not be imputed to the whole nation. They also requested the aid of the English, they having lost a considerable number of men while ranging the country around the head of the Patapsco and the other rivers. They further stated that the Senecas intended to storm their fort in August next, and afterwards they intended to fall upon the English and exterminate them. This treaty differed slightly from those previously made, in this respect, that it was stipulated in it that the Susquehannaugh should de-

liver the Indian accused of murdering the men at the mill, who was then in captivity among the Senecas, if he ever returned, and all other Indians hereafter guilty of murdering any of the English. It was also stipulated "that any Indian hereafter convicted of killing any hog or cattle belonging to the English, should pay for every hog fifty fathoms of *peake*,* and for every head of any other sort of cattle one hundred fathoms of *peake* for satisfaction to the owners of every such beast;" and that the king of Potomac and his two sons were to be delivered up prisoners to Samuel Goldsmith with all convenient speed.

The Senecas seem to have commenced hostilities a little earlier than usual the next year (1667), for measures were taken at a meeting of the council, on the 8th of February, to raise as many men as possible to march against them with all expedition possible. The quota of troops assigned to Baltimore County indicates the sparseness of its population at this time, its quota being only thirty-six men. George Utie and Major Goldsmith were ordered to procure fifteen barrels of corn and 2,200 weight of meat out of Baltimore County for the use of the troops. This expedition probably never was sent against the Senecas, for we learn from the minutes of a meeting of the council held at St. Mary's on the 24th of the next August that "Mr. Francis Wright of Baltimore County being sent by the Susquehannaugh, was called in, who declared that the said Indians did require assistance and ammunition from the council sufficient to go against any Indians and likewise declared enemies to the inhabitants of this province according to one of the articles of a treaty of peace made by the English and said Susquehannaugh." Whereupon it was ordered that so many men be pressed as the Susquehannaugh shall require to their

* Small cylindrical pieces of clam or mussel shell, like the bugles now used for trimming ladies' dresses. They were strung upon strings, and used by the Indians for money.

aid and assistance, and that they be sent up forthwith. Also that a quantity of powder be delivered *with* Mr. Francis Wright, and the said Indians to be supplied out of the same, as the said Wright shall see requisite and convenient.

The governor and council further determined to go up into Baltimore County, and there to give the Susquehannaughs a meeting about the 15th day of September next to treat with the said Indians about the peace and safety of this province and how to proceed (with the Susquehannaughs' assistance) against any Indians now held and declared enemies of this province.

The volume containing the minutes of the council for the succeeding years is not to be found, and the preceding chapters contain nearly all the authentic history of the troubles between the English and the Susquehannaughs that is now extant; though tradition tells of a fearful fight between the Susquehannaughs and the Five Nations at a fort belonging to the former. This fort was on the east bank of the Susquehanna River, a short distance above the mouth of the Conestoga Creek, in Lancaster County, near a hill called Turkey Hill. Large quantities of Indian arrow heads and some small cannon balls have from time to time been found in the vicinity. The fight at the fort probably occurred in 1682, for the lower branch of the Legislature in that year made provision for the daughter of a Swede who had been killed at the Susquehannaughs' fort. Eight hundred warriors of the Five Nations are said to have invested the fort on Turkey Hill and made several assaults upon it, but were repulsed. They finally resorted to a stratagem which also failed. They sent twenty-five of their young men to the fort for provisions, stating that they would return as soon as they were supplied. The Susquehannaughs knew their treachery and seized them in the fort and burnt the whole of them alive. Those on the outside retreated hastily, but were pursued by the Susquehannaughs and nearly all killed. The Five Nations and the Susquehannaughs were

constantly at war with each other for some years afterwards, when the latter, becoming much reduced, were nearly all exterminated in Western Maryland by the English. The few that were left were incorporated with the odds and ends of other tribes, and for some years lived along the Susquehanna River, near the Conestoga Creek, in Lancaster County. They probably were, from the fact that they lived near the creek of that name, called the Conestoga Indians.

CHAPTER VIII.

Augustine Hermen and others naturalized—The Hacks—Hermen has a dispute with Simon Oversee—He tries to establish a village—Trouble among the Dutch—Sir Robert Carr conquers them—The name of New Amstel changed to New Castle—Account of D'Hinoyossa—Efforts of the Marylanders to extend their jurisdiction to the Delaware River—Durham County—Road from Bohemia Manor to New Castle—Grant of St. Augustine Manor—Ephraim George, and Casparus Hermen—Original limits of Baltimore County—Erection of Cecil County—The first court-house at Jamestown—Augustine Hermen and Jacob Young appointed commissioners to treat with the Delaware Indians—Account of Jacob Young.

OF the history of Augustine Hermen for some years after he came to Bohemia Manor very little is known; but he was probably engaged in making the map before mentioned, and there is reason to think that he followed his profession of surveyor, and also engaged in trade. In 1660 he applied to the council for a patent of naturalization for himself and his children, which was granted. He and his five children, and John Jarbo, Anna Hack and her sons, George and Peter, were all naturalized the same year, and were the first persons of whose naturalization any account has come down to us. These Hacks were no doubt the Hacks whose name has been perpetuated by being applied to Hack's Point, which is on the south side of Bohemia River, nearly opposite where the manor house stood.

The proceedings of council upon this occasion show that "Hermen had of long time used the trade of this province," from which it may be inferred that he continued to trade after he came here to reside permanently. The council book of this year shows that he had had a dispute with Simon Oversee (no doubt the same person who had translated the

credentials of Hermen and Waldron upon the occasion of their embassy to Maryland in 1659), and had entered into bonds for settling it by arbitration. It appears from the record, that the bonds had been forfeited for non-performance of the award, and he wishing to bring suit upon them, alleged that the umpire, one Robert Slye, unlawfully detained them. He therefore prayed to have the bonds delivered to him to make good his demand in court.

The sheriff of St. Mary's County was directed to obtain the bonds and deliver them to the clerk of the provincial court.

It appears from the records of the council for 1662 that Hermen had surveyed land on Ceciltown River (the Elk River), in Baltimore County, for one Nehemiah Coventon and others, of Accomac County, Virginia; but they having failed to enter the lands and pay the fees and costs of surveying, the council ordered that any other persons might take the lands and pay him his cost and charges.

In 1661 (as is supposed, for the letter is without date) he wrote to Beekman, then governor of Altona, as follows: "I visited my colony on the river (the Bohemia), and discovered at the same time the most proper place between this situation and South River. I am now engaged in encouraging settlers to unite together in a village, of which I understand that a beginning will be made before next winter. From there we may arrive by land in one day at Sand Hoeck, and may perhaps effect a cart road about the same time. The Maquas Kill (creek) and the Bohemia River are there only one mile distant from each other, by which it is an easy correspondence by water, which must be greatly encouraging to the inhabitants of New Netherlands."*

There is no reason to believe this village was ever built, the above extract being the only reference to it in any writing of that period. Its proposed location will forever

* Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania, page 321.

remain a matter of doubt; but it probably was intended to have been built near the head of Bohemia, or on Bohemia Manor near where Hermen erected the manor house. Mr. Vincent in his History of Delaware confounds it with Port Herman, a village on the Elk River, which was founded about thirty years ago.

The difficulties between the officers of the West India company at Altona and the colony at the city of New Amstel culminated in 1663, in the cession of the territory of the company to the city of Amsterdam, the authorities of which continued D'Hinoyossa as governor of the whole of their possessions on the Delaware. The next year D'Hinoyossa resolved to establish himself at Appoquinimink, where Odessa now stands, evidently with the intention of enjoying the advantages to be derived from the trade with the Marylanders, which at that early day was carried on by means of the facilities afforded by the navigation of the Bohemia River.*

But in this he was destined to be disappointed, for the next year King Charles II. determined to dispossess the Dutch of the settlements they had made on what the English claimed as their territory. To this end he granted to his brother James, Duke of York, a patent for all the country from the Connecticut to the Delaware Bay. Shortly after this grant was made war was declared between the English and Dutch, and the same year New Amsterdam surrendered to an expedition under command of Colonel Richard Nichols, and the name of that place was changed to New York.

Shortly after the surrender of New Amsterdam an expedition under Sir Robert Carr was sent to Delaware Bay, which without much bloodshed took possession of the country according to Carr's instructions, in the name of his Majesty the King of England. The name of New Amstel

* Vincent's History of Delaware, page 413.

was now changed to New Castle, and Altona was called by the name of Christiana.

New York and the country along the Delaware remained in possession of the English till 1673, when war again breaking out between the Dutch and English, they were conquered by the former. In the interval the government of New York was administered by Richard Nichols and Francis Lovelace, under both of whom Captain John Carr was deputy governor of the settlements along the Delaware. The downfall of the Dutch in 1664 terminated the connection of D'Hinoyossa with the settlement at New Castle. He first appears in the history of that place in 1656, at which time he was lieutenant under Captain Martin Krygier, who was commander of the military force of the Dutch. In 1659 he succeeded Jacob Alricks as vice-director of the company in Amsterdam, under whose auspices the colony at New Castle then was. He appears to have been quite as hard-headed, stubborn and vindictive as Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New York, to whom he should have been subordinate, but whose authority he did not hesitate to set at defiance whenever he chose to do so. In 1662, William Beekman, who was also vice-director of the company and the peer of D'Hinoyossa, complained to the authorities at New York that D'Hinoyossa had suddenly departed to Maryland. This sudden departure of D'Hinoyossa was in answer to a letter which he received from the governor of Maryland, inviting him to meet him at the house of Hermen, on Bohemia Manor. What took place at that meeting, or why it was held, cannot now be ascertained; but a short time after the meeting was held, Beekman accused him of selling every article for which he could find a purchaser, even powder and musket balls from the magazine. Beekman states that Augustine Hermen was one of the purchasers.

It seems plain that D'Hinoyossa studied to advance the interests of Maryland more than those of Delaware. He

probably had reason to apprehend the ultimate extinction of the Dutch authority, and wished to have an asylum in which to take refuge when the time of need arrived. After the conquest by Sir Robert Carr, D'Hinoyossa took refuge in Maryland, and his property, including an island in the Delaware River, was confiscated and given to Carr. D'Hinoyossa received a grant of the whole or part of Foster's Island which is a part of Talbot County, in the Chesapeake Bay, from Lord Baltimore. No doubt this was on account of the favor he showed the English in Maryland during the latter part of the time he was in authority in Delaware. He was a soldier of fortune, and is said in his early life to have been in Brazil. He returned to Holland and engaged in the war against Louis XIV., and died in Holland.

Ten years had now elapsed since the fruitless attempt had been made to adjust the dispute about the possession of the west bank of the Delaware. During this time little or nothing had been done to extend the jurisdiction of Lord Baltimore to the eastern limit of the territory named in his charter. But the country along the Delaware being now in possession of the English, the council of Maryland took advantage of this and renewed their efforts in behalf of the lord proprietary. At a council held July 28th, 1669, it was "ordered that the country from the Whorekill (which was the name applied to Lewes Creek, and seems also to have been the name by which the eastern part of Kent County was called), to the degree forty of northerly latitude be erected into a county and called by the name of Durham County, and that the surveyor-general do make out the northerly bounds of this province as near as possible at the degree forty northerly latitude, and return his observations to the deputy-lieutenant in council, and that Mr. Brooks, the governor's steward, be desired to provide the governor's sloop with men and victuals for the accommodation of the surveyor-general up the Bay by the 29th *instant*, October."

This is the only reference to Durham County that has

been found in the records of council, and it is not likely that any effort was made at that time to locate the northern boundary of the province. But on the 26th of the next November, one Jerome White went to New Castle in the interest of Lord Baltimore, and finding by observations that the town was south of the fortieth degree of north latitude, he thereupon wrote to Governor Lovelace, saying "he could do no less than acquaint him with the fact." He also made demand for the town of New Castle and all the islands and territories thereunto belonging, lying on the west to the main ocean and Delaware Bay, from the bounds of Virginia to the fortieth degree of north latitude.* But as the disputed territory had been granted to the Duke of York, Lovelace was precluded from acceding to this demand and continued to hold the territory in the name of his Majesty.

Hermen seems to have always been on the best of terms with his neighbors on the Delaware, and in 1671 the authorities at New York ordered those at New Castle to clear one-half of a road from that place to Hermen's plantation, the Marylanders having offered to clear the other half. This year Hermen obtained the grant of St. Augustine Manor from Lord Baltimore. It extended from the mouth of St. George's Creek southward along the Delaware River, to the mouth of Appoquinimink Creek, and west from the Delaware River to the ancient boundary of Bohemia Manor, and included the country east of Bohemia Manor from the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal to the head of Appoquinimink Creek, and from the ancient eastern boundary of Bohemia Manor eastwardly to the Delaware River.

A canal to connect the waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays was already talked of, and Hermen no doubt selected this land because his knowledge of the topography of the country led him to think the canal would be made through this part of the Peninsula, and he wished to receive the benefit that would follow its construction.

* See council book of that year, in possession of Md. Hist. Society.

Though the manor of St. Augustine was within the limits of Lord Baltimore's charter there is reason to believe that Hermen never had possession of any part of it, except a few hundred acres on the river bank opposite Reedy Island, and probably a small tract lying near the head of the branches of Drawyer's Creek. For it appears from an examination of a paper in the volume of Penn manuscripts in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, that Hermen the next year took possession under a license from Governor Carr, of a tract of land on the river side opposite Reedy Island, and that his sons, Ephraim George, and Casparus, settled there. Their object seems to have been by so doing to claim possession of the whole manor, if Lord Baltimore succeeded in making good his claim as far east at the Delaware River. Ephraim George, and Casparus Hermen, sons of Augustine, continued to reside in the territory along the Delaware for some years, probably till after the death of their father. The former was clerk to the court of Upland (now Chester) and New Castle, in 1676; vendue-master at New Castle the next year, clerk of customs and collector of quit rents in the jurisdiction of Upland and New Castle courts in 1677. Casparus, in connection with Edmund Cantwell (one of the ancestors of the Cantwell family of this county) obtained a grant of two hundred acres lying on each side of Drawyer's Creek, for the use of a water-mill, in 1682. He represented New Castle County in the General Assembly of Pennsylvania from 1683 to 1685.

The authorities of Maryland having failed to extend their jurisdiction over the country claimed by Lord Baltimore by peaceable means, resolved to try the effect of force. Accordingly a military expedition was fitted out in the year 1672 and placed under the command of one Jones, who proceeded to the settlement at the Whorekill and laid waste the country and devastated it terribly. The Dutch settlers there were more successful in their agricultural pursuits than the colonists in Maryland. And while the latter devoted all their

energies to the production of tobacco, the former turned their attention to the cultivation of wheat, and were in the habit of supplying the Marylanders with it. It is said that this malignant and vindictive expedition led to the punishment of those who sent it, and that the colonists of Maryland suffered much for want of food a few years afterward when their crops failed. Indeed a woman is said to have killed and eaten her own child during the time of this severe and terrible famine. She was executed for the crime, and when upon the scaffold declared her belief that the famine was a retributive act of justice sent by infinite wisdom in punishment of the raid upon the Whorekill.

A certain Henry Ward, gentleman, as he is called in the act that was passed for his punishment, was a member of this expedition to the Whorekill. He was also a member of the council, and, though he was called a gentleman, he took advantage of his position, and represented to the council that he had lost a valuable horse while upon the expedition in the service of the country. The council allowed him eighteen hundred pounds of tobacco to indemnify him for the loss he had sustained. But somehow it came to the ears of the council, in 1674, that Mr. Ward had not lost a horse, and had been lying about the matter, in order to get tobacco to which he had no right.

This is the first instance on record of an official of the province attempting to cheat the public. The council very promptly fined him four thousand pounds of tobacco, which appears to have taught fraudulently-disposed people a wholesome lesson, for no other record is found of occurrences of this kind among the ancient archives of the province.

Soon after the settlement of his sons on the Delaware a road was constructed from Hermen's Manor plantation to their residence. This was probably the first road on the Manor. The west part of this road was on or near the track of the present road leading from St. Augustine to

Bohemia Bridge. For many years after Hermen's death this road was called the *old man's path*. Its construction was a work of no small magnitude, for it was said to have been twenty-two miles in length. The ordinary roads in use at this time did not deserve the name of roads, for they were only spaces or paths cleared of trees, and often so narrow and obscure that it was very difficult to follow them. It was not till 1704 that it was enacted that the public roads should be cleared and grubbed at least twenty feet wide, and that overseers should be appointed to keep them in repair, and erect bridges over heads of rivers, creeks, branches and swamps where they were required. This act also directed that all roads leading to the court-houses in the several counties should be marked "by two notches cut in the trees on both sides of the roads aforesaid, and another notch a distance above the other two. . . Roads leading to a church were to be marked at the entrance into the same; and at the leaving of any other road with a slip cut down the face of the tree, near the ground." Roads leading to a ferry were to be marked with three notches. When roads ran through old fields they were to be marked by stakes discernible from each other, and notched like the trees. Even after this great improvement upon roads our forefathers must have labored under much difficulty when traveling after nightfall.

In the year 1678 Hermen and Jacob Young were appointed commissioners to treat with the Indians. Their commission is as follows, and may be found in the first book of the land records of Cecil County:

"BY THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

"Thomas Nottey, Esq., Lieutenant-General and Chief Governor of the Province of Maryland, under the Right Honorable Charles, our Lord and Proprietary of the same, to Augustine Hermen and Jacob Young, gentlemen, greeting:

"WHEREAS, Complaint to me hath been made that several

injuries and abuses have been frequently offered to divers the inhabitants of this province as to their stock of hogs, horses and cattle, by the Delaware Indians hunting upon their lands and driving away their stocks, pretending as just, right and title they have to the land, by reason whereof the inhabitants are very much molested and *damnified*; for prevention whereof for the future I have, by and with the advice and consent of his lordship's council, authorized and appointed you, the said Augustine Hermen and Jacob Young, to treat with the said Indians touching the premises, and to know of them what part and what quantity of the land in *Baltimore* and Cecil counties they pretend to, and what satisfaction they may demand to quit their claim thereto, to the end that the same may be duly executed and paid, and the inhabitants of this province quietly and peaceably enjoy their possession without any further molestation. An account of the proceeding herein you are to transmit unto myself and his lordship's council with all expedition possible. Given under my hand and seal this 14th day of June, in the third year of his lordship's dominion over this province, Anno Domini, 1678."

This Jacob Young, there is reason to believe, was the same man who was charged some years before with seducing the wife of Lears, the Swedish priest at Altona, but it was afterwards proved that, at the time he and Mrs. Lears absconded, the reverend gentleman had broken open Young's trunk with an axe, during the time he was stopping at his house, and most likely he had not used his wife as well as he should have done, and the court fined him heavily for assuming to exercise judicial as well as priestly functions. The court were of the opinion that the fugitives had fled to Maryland, and sent an express there to search for them. The priest did not take the loss of his wife very much to heart, for, a few weeks after she ran away with Young, *he married himself to another woman*, which called down upon him the displeasure of the dignitaries of the government, who censured

him severely, not so much for performing his own marriage ceremony as for doing so on Sunday.

At the date of his commission Young lived somewhere along St. George's Creek, probably on the north side of it, for the Dutch claimed that he was under their jurisdiction. At this time, and for many years afterwards, there was a cart road leading from where Chesapeake City now stands past his house to the Delaware River, near Delaware City or Port Penn. This road was called, in the old writings of that period, Jacob Young's cart road.

In 1680 the governor of Delaware issued a warrant to sheriff Cantwell of New Castle, "requiring him to summon Jacob Young to appear personally before the governor and council of New York, to answer for presuming to treat with the Indians in this government without any authority."

This indicates that the treaty was made, and that Jacob Young lived on Hermen's Manor of Augustine.

The Albany records, from which has been obtained much valuable information respecting the history of this period, contain no evidence to show that the warrant was ever served upon Young. For this and many other reasons it seems probable that he fled to the wilderness between Principio Creek and the Susquehanna River and secreted himself in that part of the county east of where Port Deposit now stands, and where a certain Jacob Young was living nine years afterwards.

Thirteen years had elapsed since the project of establishing a county to be called Cecil County had been proposed by Hermen and assented to by Lord Baltimore, and yet the county had not been erected. For fifteen years before this time, that is to say, from the year 1659 to 1674, the land that had been taken up and patented on the Western Shore from the mouth of the Patapsco River to the head of the bay, and on the Eastern Shore from the head of the bay as far south as Worten Creek, as well as that along the rivers on the Eastern Shore was described as being in Baltimore County.

The first volume of Land Records of Cecil County contains a number of deeds for land along Sassafras River and elsewhere on the Eastern Shore, in which the land for which they were given is described as being in Baltimore County. The same may be said of the first volume of the land records of Baltimore County, in which it is stated that Bohemia Manor is located in East Baltimore County. If more evidence is wanting to convince the most skeptical that Baltimore County at first included the upper part of the Eastern Shore, it may be found in the fact that Augustine Hemen for some years after he came to Bohemia Manor and probably till the erection of Cecil County was one of the justices of Baltimore County. The same may be said of Captain Thomas Howell, who owned large quantities of land at Howell's Point on the Eastern Shore, where there is no doubt he resided. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the court for Baltimore County frequently met on the Eastern Shore, which was certainly the case in 1664, when it was held at the house of Francis Wright, at Clayfall, in reference to the case of the captive Seneca.

The original boundaries of Cecil County, as created in 1674, by proclamation of Governor Charles Calvert, are described as follows: "From the mouth of the Susquehanna River down the eastern side of the bay to Swan Point, thence to Hell Point, and so up Chester River to the head thereof."* Nothing appears to have been said about the eastern or northern bounds of the county, because they were in dispute, nevertheless the lord proprietary still claimed to the Delaware and to the fortieth degree of north latitude. These bounds were slightly varied by another proclamation issued a few days afterwards, which there is reason to believe threw a small part of what is now the extreme southwestern part of Kent County under the jurisdiction of the authorities of Kent Island.

* McMahon's History of Maryland, page 92.

The first court-house was erected on the north side of Sassafras River, a short distance east of Ordinary Point, at what was afterwards called Jamestown, and is now designated on the map of Cecil County as Oldtown. At this time, probably not a dozen persons inhabited that part of the county north of the Elk River, and they lived along the North East River and so near to other navigable water as to have easy access to the court-house by that means. Very little is known of the first court-house, except that it was built by Casparus Hermen in 1692. It seems to have been a small structure, from the fact that it is stated in evidence taken before a land commission many years afterwards, that the jurors were in the habit of leaving it and holding their deliberations under the shade of an oak tree which stood on the river bank near by, and which for this reason was called the Jury Oak.

Before the court-house was built the court met at public and sometimes at private houses, as is shown by the minutes of the court. Some time in the year 1690 it met at the house of Thomas Jones, and on the 12th of April, 1692, it met at the house of Shadrack Whitworth. At the next court, which was held at Matthias Matthiason's, this same Shadrack prayed the court to be admitted an attorney to practice in the court. His petition was granted and he was admitted and took the oath. One William Nowell also prayed to be re-admitted, and promised to remove the causes that had led to his suspension, which seemed to be the fact that he had refused to take the oath of alliance and supremacy. On the 10th of August, 1692, the court met at Matthias Matthiason's. At this court, the same Shadrack was sued by one Robert Davidson, planter of Kent County. From the entries made in the minute book for this session of court, we learn that Shadrack was a *churgeon*. He was probably one of the first surgeons that practiced his profession in Cecil County.

CHAPTER IX.

The Labadists—Sluyter and Danckers—Their journal—They meet with Ephraim George Hermen and wife—Visit New Castle and Bohemia Manor—They go on down the Peninsula—Return and purchase the Labadie tract on Bohemia Manor, and establish a community there—Description of the Labadie tract and how they got it—Peter Bayard and others—Description of the community on Bohemia Manor—Augustine Hermen's quarrel with George Holland—Letter from Hermen—Hermen's patents of confirmation—He obtains a patent for Misfortune, or the three Bohemia Sisters—Extent of his possessions—He invests his son Ephraim George with the right and title to Bohemia Manor—A curious deed—Augustine Hermen's last will—His death and monumental stone—His place of burial—Codicil to his last will—His daughters.

THE Labadists were a sect of Christians that flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth century and took their name from their founder, John Labadie, who was at one time a Jesuit priest, and afterwards embraced the doctrines of Calvin. He seems to have been hard to please in matters of religious faith; and, probably because he did not find the creed of any religious sect adapted to his peculiar views, he originated one himself, which was better adapted to his wishes and wants. One great distinctive feature of the Labadie creed was, that the believers in his doctrine should live in communities by themselves. In accordance with this tenet of their faith, they had established a community at Wiewert, in Denmark, and being full of zeal and missionary enterprise, had established, or tried to establish, another community at Surinam; but the climate and country proving unfavorable, they were soon forced to abandon the enterprise at the latter place. The community at Wiewert sent two of their number, Peter Sluyter, *alias* Vorsman, and Jasper Danckers, *alias* Schilders, to America, in the latter part of

the year 1679, where they spent a part of that and the following year in "spying out" a good location for the colony. They traveled together, and kept a journal during this visit, in which they described the country through which they passed and speak of the people with whom they were thrown in contact. Their journal was found in the possession of a bookseller in Amsterdam a few years ago. In what manner it had been preserved could not be ascertained, but it is probable that it passed from the hands of some member of the community of Labadists at Wiewert, and after the lapse of many years ceased to be appreciated and fell into the hands of the bookseller, where the secretary of the Long Island Historical Society found it. The Society had it translated and published, and as the Labadists at Bohemia Manor were so intimately connected with the early history of Cecil County, and were the only colony of these strange people that was established in the United States, the reader, it is hoped, will pardon the author for quoting largely from it, and for saying much about the Labadists and their doings upon Bohemia Manor when they lived there nearly two hundred years ago.

Sluyter and Danekers landed in New York, where they first met Ephraim Hermen, the eldest son of Augustine Hermen, who had recently been married and had not yet taken his wife to New Castle, where he then lived. They state that Ephraim and his wife rode upon the same horse while making the journey from New York to New Castle.

Ephraim Hermen's wife's maiden name was Elizabeth Van Rodenburgh. She was the daughter of John Van Rodenburgh, at one time governor of the island of Curacoa, in the Caribbean Sea. Ephraim's father had long sought the hand of her mother in marriage, but was not successful. The two Labadists appear to have been on intimate terms with young Hermen soon after they first met him. They traveled in company with him and his wife, as before stated, from New York to Chester, and afterwards stopped at his

house during their sojourn in New Castle, he having left them at Chester and arrived at New Castle first.

During the sojourn of these travelers at New Castle they appear to have ingratiated themselves into the good graces of Ephraim Hermen, who become a convert to their religion. They also speak of his sister Margaretta, who then lived with him, in a way that indicates they hoped to proselyte her. Whether she became a member of the community on the Manor has not been ascertained, but it is probable she did not, because her father, who at first treated the Labadists with respect, and who, it appears, gave them some encouragement, had reason to regret having done so. They speak of Ephraim Hermen's wife as having the quietest disposition of any person they met with in America, and no doubt their efforts to convert her to the Labadie faith and the influence they had over her had much to do with the conversion of her husband. They represent him to have been very godless and wild in his early life, but say he had become reformed at the time of their visit.

After obtaining a passport or letters of credit and introduction from Mons. Moll, Mr. Alricks, and Ephraim Hermen, who were the dignitaries of the court at New Castle, they left there in company with Mr. Moll to visit his plantation, which was about fifteen miles from New Castle, in the direction of Casparus Hermen's place, which they state was on the Delaware River, near the head of the bay. Speaking of Mr. Moll's plantation, they say: "There was no person there, except some servants and negroes, the *commander* being a Parisian. The dwellings were very badly appointed, especially for such a man as Mons. Moll. There was no place to retire to, nor a chair to sit on, or a bed to sleep on. For their usual food the *servants* have nothing but maize bread to eat, and water to drink, which sometimes is not very good, and scarcely enough for life. Yet they are compelled to work hard and to spend their lives here in Virginia and elsewhere in planting *that vile tobacco, which vanishes*

into smoke, and is, for the most part, miserably abused. It is the chief article of trade in the country. If they only wished it, they could have every thing for the support of life in abundance, for they have land and opportunity sufficient for that end, but this insatiate avarice must be fed and sustained by the bloody sweat of these *slaves*. After we had supped, Mr. Moll, who would be civil, wished us to lie upon a bed that was there, which we declined; and as this continued some length of time, I lay down on a heap of maize, and he and my comrade afterwards did the same.”*

After leaving Mr. Moll's place they went to Casparus Hermen's place, which was then called *Augustine*, and was on the Delaware River just south of the mouth of Appoquinimink Creek, where they spent the night. The next day they proceeded on towards Maryland, which they soon reached, and “speak of it as being the most fertile part of North America,” and say it “is to be also wished that it was the most healthy.” No doubt the fever and ague prevailed in Cecil County at that time, and that there was much of the country in a swampy condition and covered with water. Augustine Hermen's map, made a few years previous to this time, has a note upon it, stating that the solid land between the head waters of Back Creek and Bohemia River and the streams that flow into the Delaware Bay is but a few miles wide. This accounts for the commissioners, Waldron and Hermen, taking a northwest course from New Castle when going to the Chesapeake Bay some years before. They undoubtedly took this course to avoid the swamps and stagnant water they would have had to cross if they had gone directly from New Castle to the head of Elk. Danckers remarks that “there are few Indians in comparison with the extent of the country,” and that they “lived in the uppermost part of Maryland—that is, as high up as it is yet inhabited by Christians.”

* The journal, though called by both their names, seems to have been written by Danckers.

When they reached Augustine Hermen's, they presented to him the letter from his son Casparus, and he received them with much kindness. "His plantation was going into decay as well as his body for want of attention. There was not a Christian man, as they term it, to serve him; nobody but negroes. All this was increased by a miserably, doubly miserable, wife, but so miserable that I will not relate it here. All his children have been compelled, on her account, to leave their father's house." This is the only evidence extant tending to show that Augustine Hermen married a second wife. He makes no reference to one in his will and it is probable the Labadists were mistaken in regard to this matter, or they may have willfully misstated it. Their journal is one of the most bilious and splenetic works ever published. But though they seem to have been depraved enough to have lied when it suited their purpose, they probably told the truth about the appearance of the country through which they passed. The genealogical record in Hanson's "Old Kent" in regard to Hermen's second wife is proved to be incorrect by the records of the Reformed Church in New York, where his children were baptized.

The two travelers relate that they were directed to a place to sleep, but the screeching of the wild geese and other wild fowl in the creek (the Bohemia River) before the door prevented them from having a good sleep. The next morning after Hermen had signed the *passport** which Mr. Moll, Alricks and Ephraim Hermen had given them, they proceeded on down the peninsula and crossed the Sassafras River at a place where there was an ordinary. Their passage over the river cost them each an English shilling. This ferry was either at Ordinary Point or at Oldtown just above it.

These disciples of Labadie went on down the peninsula, and spent a week in looking for a favorable location. They appear to have intended to visit the eastern shore of Vir-

* Augustine Hermen was a justice of the court at this time.

ginia; but the settlers in the lower part of Maryland advised them not to proceed further in that direction, and told them there were so many creeks and marshes there that they would find it difficult to travel. On their way back Danckers speaks as follows of the multitudes of wild fowl they found in a creek, which, as near as we are able to judge, was a tributary of the Sassafras: "I have nowhere seen so many ducks together as were seen in this creek. The water was so black with them that it seemed, when you looked from the land upon the water, as if it were a mass of filth or turf; and when they flew up there was a rushing and vibration of the air like a great storm coming through the trees, and even like the rumbling of distant thunder, while the sky over the whole creek was filled with them like a cloud, or like the starlings fly at harvest time in fatherland." A little further on he speaks of the wild *geese* they saw in the Sassafras on their return: "They rose not in flocks of ten or twelve, or twenty or thirty, but continuously, wherever we pushed our way; and as they made room for us there was such an incessant clattering made with their wings upon the water where they rose, and such a noise of those flying higher up, that it was as if we were all the time surrounded by a whirlwind or storm. This proceeded not only from geese, but from ducks and other water fowl; and it is not peculiar to this place alone, but it occurred on all the creeks and rivers we crossed, though they were the most numerous in the morning and evening, when they are most easily shot." They were greatly impressed by the majestic appearance of the noble forest trees they saw in this part of Maryland. These were no doubt fine specimens of trees, and perhaps many of them were many centuries old when they gazed upon them. The location of an ancient tree that stood at or near the northwest corner of the Labadie tract is marked upon Griffith's Map of Maryland, which was published in Philadelphia in 1793. It was called the "*Labadie Poplar*," and was noted

for its great age and size, and must have been of much notoriety, as it is the only tree located on that map. They also spoke of the abundance of wild grapevines they saw while upon this journey. There was a considerable number of Quakers in this part of Maryland at this time, and a little further on in the journal it is stated that they visited the place of Casparus Hermen with a view of purchasing it for the use of their community, and say that "it was objectionable only because it lay on the road, and was therefore resorted to by every one, and especially by these *miserable Quakers*." They had met a Quakeress at Upland (Chester) some time before, who, they state, was the "great propheticess from Maryland." She was traveling in company with two other women, also Quakers, who had "forsaken husband, children, plantation and all, and were going through the country in order to *quake*." They came to the house where Danckers and Sluyter were stopping, and drank a dram of rum with each other, after which they began to shake and groan, so that the Labadists wondered much what it all meant and what was about to come of it. She did not quake much at that time, however; but the next day she sat next Danckers at dinner and quaked very hard, so hard that she shook the bench upon which they and a number of others were sitting.

William Edmunson, a traveling preacher from England, also visited the Quakers on the Sassafras River a few years after this time, and speaks of stopping at the house of one William Southerly, a Quaker, who lived there. These thrifty people were no doubt attracted there by the fertility of the soil and the easy terms upon which they could acquire titles to plantations, and the freedom to hold any religious opinions they pleased. The great thoroughfare between the Delaware and Chesapeake at that time was along the Bohemia and Sassafras rivers and Appoquinimink Creek, and this no doubt led to the early settlement of that part of the county; and the Quakers were the first to see

the advantages to be derived from being located upon the route or in close proximity to it. These two Labadists found a Quaker near the Bohemia River and alongside of the road leading from Augustine Hermen's to his son's place on the Delaware, who was living in a little shed not much bigger than a "dog's kennel," but who was engaged in building a house, which he intended to use as an ale-house. It is plain from these facts that these Quakers were among the earliest settlers of our county, but they do not appear to have remained here long or to have been numerous enough to have left any enduring marks or monuments of their sojourn.

There is a remarkable difference between the journal of William Edmunson and that of Danckers; the former says but little about the country and was wholly engrossed in the work in which he was engaged—the spread of the Gospel; while the latter rarely refers to this matter, but speaks of everything else. The journals are evidences of the truth of the Scriptural maxim, that "out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh."

The Labadists gave the planters of Maryland and Virginia a very bad character. How they were able to speak of the planters of the latter State does not appear, for they did not visit it. Their austere and rigid doctrines had biased or prejudiced their minds, and most likely the description is a great deal too highly colored. If the truth were known, the men they speak so disparagingly of were probably as good, if not much better, than themselves. Their conduct afterwards proves them to have been men of poor character and of little or no piety. They speak of the planter as "godless and profane, and say they listen neither to God nor his commandments, and have neither church nor cloister. Sometimes there is some one who is called a minister, who does not, as elsewhere, serve in one place—for in all Virginia and Maryland there is not a city or village—but travels for profit (precisely what they were doing

themselves, as their subsequent actions and conduct abundantly shows), and for that purpose visits the plantations through the country and addresses the people; but I know of no public assemblage being held in these places." "When the ships arrive with goods, and especially with liquors, such as wine and brandy, they attract everybody (that is, masters) to them, who indulge so abominably together, that they keep nothing for the rest of the year, yea, do not go away as long as there is any left, or bring anything home with them which might be useful to them in their subsequent necessities."

After their return from their journey down the peninsula, the two Labadists visited New Castle again, and probably induced Ephraim Hermen to persuade his father to sell them part of Bohemia Manor, for about this time they speak of Ephraim Hermen and Mr. Moll visiting Augustine Hermen, who had made his will and left Ephraim, his eldest son, heir of his rank and title, in other words "Lord of the Manor," and they thought that "Augustine wished to make some change in his will, because he had offered some of his land which he had entailed upon Ephraim to them."

The Labadists were miserably mistaken in the supposition they made; for if the old man, then tottering upon the verge of the grave, wished to see his son and confer with him in regard to his lands, or his will disposing of them, it was that he might remonstrate with him about his connection with the Labadists, for a year or two afterwards he made a codicil to his will, in which he appointed three of his neighbors his executors, assigning as the reason for their appointment in place of his son Ephraim, that he adhered to the Labadie faction and was using his best endeavors to proselyte his brother and sisters, and he feared the Labadists would become, through Ephraim's efforts, the owners of all his lands.

Having concluded the business for which they came to America, the two pioneer Labadists returned to Wiewert.

They revisited this county in 1683, bringing with them from Wiewert a few of the sect to which they belonged, for the purpose of organizing the community on the Manor. Hermen refused to consummate the sale to them, and only did so when compelled by the court. The deed for the Labadie tract was executed by Hermen on the 11th of August, 1684, to Peter Sluyter (*alias* Vorsman), Jasper Danckers (*alias* Schilders, of Friesland), Petrus Bayard, of New York, and John Moll and Arnoldus de la Grange, of Delaware, in company. The land conveyed embraced the four necks eastwardly from the first creek that empties into the Bohemia River from the north, east of the Bohemia bridge, and extended north or northeast to near the old St. Augustine or Manor church. It contained thirty-seven hundred and fifty acres. The land is of good quality and will compare favorably with the best land on the peninsula. The selection of this tract of land did credit to the judgment of the two Labadists who selected it for the establishment of their community. They appear to have been better judges of land than they were of matters pertaining to religion and piety. It adds nothing to the credit of a disreputable person to assume a name to which he has no right; what then must be thought of these men who set themselves up as religious teachers and expounders of the Word of God, and who were so zealous in the cause they had espoused as to cross the ocean in order to promulgate their religious faith and establish a new community of their proselytes, when they start with a lie upon their lips and travel under assumed names. There may have been some reason unknown that satisfied their consciences for acting in this manner; but the means they used to obtain the title to their land and their subsequent doings while upon the Manor, indicate that they were men that made a cloak of their religion, and who were governed by sinister and mercenary rather than by philanthropic and Christian principles.

John Moll was a Dutchman and chief judge of the court

at New Castle. He was in business in Bristol, in England, at one time, but failed and migrated to Virginia, and traded there and in Maryland for a time. La Grange was probably a Frenchman. He lived in New York at one time, and the two Labadists appear to have had letters of introduction to him. Danckers, in his journal, *speaks of him as a great fop*, and when he first met him had a very mean opinion of him. He was in the habit of trading to New Castle, and professed to be a convert to the Labadie religion. Bayard is said to have been a hatter, and probably was the most, if not the only, sincere and honest man among the original grantees of the "Labadie Tract."

These three men, who no doubt were friends and associates of Ephraim Hermen, who seems to have been a man of not very superior mental ability, appear to have let themselves be used as willing tools in the hands of these Labadists to aid them in the consummation of the conspiracy to obtain part of the Manor, of which the weak-minded Ephraim was cognizant. No doubt they expected to reap much benefit from the establishment of the Labadie community so near them, which was probably the reason why they professed to believe in the new religion, for immediately after the company received the deed from Augustine Hermen, Moll and La Grange conveyed their interest to Sluyter and Danckers, who appear to have been at that time, and for some time afterwards, the leading spirits in the community.

Bayard retained his interest in the land till 1688, when he probably became disgusted with the doings of the Labadists and quit the community. Both he and Ephraim Hermen were at one time very strong in the Labadie faith. They both deserted their wives in order to follow the teachings of these strange fanatics, who entertained strange views in regard to marriage, of which more will be said hereafter. The misguided and undutiful Ephraim is said to have repented of his folly and returned to his wife, but in less than two years was taken sick, became crazy, and died, fulfilling

by his untimely end the malediction of his father, who, as it was said, pronounced the curse upon him that he might not live two years after uniting himself with the sect.

The community was composed of a few emigrants from the community at Wiewert and a few persons from New York, together with a few more converts and probationers from the vicinity of the community in Maryland.

Sluyter sent to Friesland for his wife, who came over and was installed as a kind of abbess or Mother Superior over the female part of the establishment. In 1693 Sluyter became the head of the community, Danckers, then in Holland, having in that year conveyed his interest in the land to him. Sluyter and his wife seem to have been rigid disciplinarians as well as mercenary and grasping people. They had many slaves, and did a thriving business in the cultivation of tobacco, notwithstanding Danckers spoke so contemptuously about it in his journal a few years before. Slavery was against the doctrines of the Labadists; but Sluyter found it profitable, and introduced it into the community on the Manor, where it prevailed while the community lasted. Probably there was no one who had the courage to report his bad practices to his superiors at Wiewert.

The community on the Manor was under the surveillance of the mother church at Wiewert, and before a person could become a full member of the former community their case had to be referred to the mother church. Sluyter acted his part so well that he was requested to go to Wiewert, in order that he might take an important place made vacant by the death of an eminent brother, but he preferred to remain on the Manor and traffic in slaves and tobacco, and lord it over the poor dupes he had under his control. This suited him better than a subordinate position at Wiewert, for he was a man better fitted to rule than to be under the control of others. A few years after he became proprietor of the Labadie tract, he sold the uppermost of the four necks to John Moll, Jr., who was no doubt a son of John Moll, who

had helped him and Danckers in their efforts to obtain the land from Augustine Hermen. The conduct of these men in this transaction about this land looks bad, after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, and indicates that if they were not positively dishonest, they were very far from being good Christians. The consideration named in the deed from Sluyter to Moll is £112 10s. sterling money of old England; but the great probability is that he got the land for nothing, and that it was the price of the duplicity of his father, the elder Moll. If the Dutch judges and officials at New Castle a few years before were no better than Moll, it is no wonder that the Swedes and Finns about New Castle were driven to take refuge in the wilderness in Maryland; indeed the wonder is that any of the inhabitants remained under the control of the Dutch, and that their province along the Delaware was not depopulated.

Two accounts of the Labadie community upon the Manor have come down to modern times. Samuel Bowens, a Quaker preacher who visited them in 1702, thus describes their curious ways: "After we had dined, we took our leave, and a friend, my guide, went with me and brought me to a people called Labadists, *where we were civilly entertained in their way.* When supper came in it was placed upon a long table in a large room, where, when all things were ready, came in at a call twenty men or upwards, but no women. We all sat down, they placing me and my companion near the head of the table, and having passed a short space, one pulled off his hat, but not so the rest till a short space after, and then they, one after another, pulled all their hats off, and in that uncovered posture sat silent, uttering no words that we could hear for nearly half a quarter of an hour; and as they did not uncover at once, so neither did they cover themselves again at once, but as they put on their hats, fell to eating, not regarding those who were still uncovered, so that it might be ten minutes' time or more between the first and last putting on of their hats. I afterwards queried with my companion concerning the reason of

their conduct, and he gave for an answer, that they held it unlawful to pray till they felt some inward motion for the same, and that secret prayer was more acceptable than to utter words, and that it was most proper for every one to pray as moved thereto by the Spirit in their own minds. I likewise queried if they had no women amongst them. He told me they had, but the women ate by themselves and the men by themselves, having all things in common respecting their household affairs, so that none could claim any more right than another to any part of their stock, whether in trade or husbandry; and if any had a mind to join with them, whether rich or poor they must put what they had in the common stock, and afterwards if they had a mind to leave the society, they must likewise leave what they brought and go out empty handed. They frequently expounded the Scriptures among themselves, and being a very large family, in all upwards of an hundred men, women and children, carried on something of the manufacture of linen, and had a large plantation of corn, tobacco, flax and hemp, together with cattle of several kinds."

The colonists conformed in most respects to the mode of living adopted at Wiewert. They slept in the same or adjoining buildings, but in different rooms, which were not accessible to each other, but were ever open to the father or such as he appointed for the purpose of instruction or examination. Their meals were eaten in silence, and it is related that persons often ate together at the same table for months without knowing each other's names. They worked at different employments in the houses, or on the land, or at trades, and were distributed for that purpose by the head of the establishment. Their dress was plain and simple, eschewing all fashions of the world. Gold and silver ornaments, jewelry, pictures, hangings, lace and other fancy work, were prohibited, and if any of the members had previously worked at such trades, they had to abandon them. They worked for the Lord and not for themselves. The product of

their labor was not to satisfy their lusts and desires, but like the air, simply for their physical existence, and hence all their goods and productions should be as free and common as the air they breathed. They were to live concealed in Christ. All the desires or aversions of the flesh were, therefore, to be mortified or conquered. These mortifications were to be undergone willingly. A former minister might be seen standing at the washtub, or a young man of good extraction might be drawing stone or tending cattle. If any one had a repugnance to particular food, he must eat it nevertheless. They must make confession of their sinful thoughts in open meeting. Those who were disobedient were punished by a reduction of clothing, or being placed lower down the table, or final exclusion from the society. There were different classes among the members, which were to be successively attained by probation, in conforming to the rules of the establishment, and the final position of brother obtained by entire severance from the world. Their peculiar belief about marriage was, that a member of their community could not live in the marriage relation with a person who was not a member of it. While it was all right in their opinion for Labadists and unbelievers to marry, it was very wrong and sinful for a Labadist to marry an unbeliever. It was owing to their efforts to enforce this peculiar doctrine that Ephraim Hermen deserted his young and amiable wife and called down upon himself the displeasure and maledictions of his aged and infirm father, who no doubt was shocked and mortified by his conduct.

One of their converts, who lived in the vicinity of the community, met with a tragic death. It happened in this wise: He had been induced to leave his wife, and had lived with the community for a time; when they supposed him to be sufficiently confirmed in their doctrine to remain steadfast in the faith, permitted him to reside with his wife again; he was still in the habit of attending their meetings, and one day, whether Sunday or not is not stated, while going

to attend the Labadie meeting, he met with a stray horse, which he took with him for the purpose of delivering it to its owner. The horse pleased Sluyter so well that he immediately began to covet it, and after service was over he placed the man upon it, in order to try its speed, intending, if that pleased him as well as its appearance did, to try and effect a trade with the owner. The horse ran away with the man, and, making a short turn in the road, he struck his head against a tree and was killed.

The colony, in a few years after it was established, appears to have been both detested and despised by the people in the vicinity.

In 1698 there appears to have been a division of the land of the Labadists among the principal members of the community, for Sluyter in that year conveyed, for a merely nominal rent, the greater portion of the land which, as before stated, he then held, to Hermen Van Barkelo, Nicholas de la Montaigne, Peter de Koning, Derick Kolchman, Henry Sluyter, and Samuel Bayard, and, as before stated, sold another portion to John Moll, Jr. Sluyter retained one of the necks himself and became very wealthy. He died in 1722, and though there seems to have been some kind of an organization of his followers kept up while he lived, it is said that the Labadists were all scattered and gone five years after his death.

The Labadists gave Augustine Hermen a great deal of trouble, of which no account has come down to us, but there is abundant evidence extant to show that he bitterly regretted having given them any countenance. Nor was this the only trouble he met with. In his case the accumulation of wealth brought an accumulation of care and trouble with it. Though he had been successful in acquiring a very large estate, and held it by an indisputable title, from the lord proprietary of the province, yet, notwithstanding this, he was put to much trouble to keep covetous people from encroaching upon his dominion and depriving

him of part of it. On the second day of November, 1680, he presented a petition to the governor and council of the province, in which he recites that one "George Holland, with other envious persons, had coveted, and were gone about privately to take away part of his children's land in Bohemia upon false allegations and untrue bounds." These false allegations appear to have been, that the metes and bounds of Bohemia Manor and Bohemia Middle Neck inclosed a great many more acres of land than the patents called for. The petition recites that he had obtained a warrant for a re-survey, and that the deputy-surveyor, one Joseph Chew, after he had surveyed the land and made a plot of it, for which Hermen paid him nineteen pounds of tobacco, had run away; that he had kept a plot himself, which he had returned to the office of Mr. Painter, who, it would seem, was at that time in charge of the surveyor-general's office, and who had promised to send him a new patent in consideration of six hundred acres of land which he had relinquished to him for it. The petition refers to several other persons, and closes by stating that the petitioner "had no other refuge left than his Lordship's favor, and that he therefore prayed his Lordship's goodness would be pleased to grant, and command that his patent might be issued forthwith without any longer delay," and that he had been at "great charges and trouble about it already, and hoped his Lordship would not suffer his estate to be consumed by unjust officers *that work by the rule of right and wrong for private gain.*" It was thereupon "ordered by the council that their clerk notify Mr. Painter to produce the papers in his office, and that a letter be sent to the petitioner, acquainting him therewith, and desiring him to transmit the certificate and plots, which he had by him, to ye clerk of ye council at ye city of St. Maries, with all expedition, who is to present the same to this board for perusal, when his Lordship will give further answer to the prayer of the petitioner."

These proceedings of the council did not produce the effect that Hermen desired. Probably the council, like many that have succeeded it, was trammelled by red tape, and was more concerned about "how not to do it" than it was about how to settle the dispute and end the difficulty between Hermen and his grasping and covetous neighbors, for he sent the following letter, among several other letters and papers, to some one, probably the clerk of the council, who read it at a meeting of the council held at St. Mary's, on the 16th day of August, 1681, nine months after the writer had presented the petition before referred to. This letter is valuable, as showing the peculiar style of phraseology that prevailed at the time it was written.

"RT. HON'BLE—*My Lord*:—My weakness and hindrance in my domestic affairs, having no overseer, makes me defer my coming down to your Lordship's until some time in September next. Meanwhile, John Browning and George Holland, having surveyed privately fourteen hundred acres of land out of my Middle Neck, which I have appointed a portion for my son Casparus Hermen, I have sent an exact journal to Mr. Lewellin, in your Lordship's land office, of my first foundation and seating of Bohemia Manor, to maintain my right and claim against those deluding allegations which false intruders may fill your Lordship's ears withal. If your Lordship would be pleased to peruse, at some leisure time, it will perhaps put your Lordship in mind of things your *Lordship now not thinks on*. I have also entered a caveat against John Browning and George Holland, desiring Mr. Lewellin to pass nothing in my prejudice. I humbly pray your Lordship be pleased to second it by your Lordship's commands. I have not, at present, troubled your Lordship with any other of my grievances, having given your Lordship too great a trouble with the above, which I hope your Lordship will excuse.

"Rt. Hon'ble, your Lordship's most
faithful and obedient servant,

"AUGUSTINE HERMEN.

"*June, ye 13th, 1681.*"

The caveat referred to in the above letter is as curious and unique in its phraseology and style as is the letter, and concludes as follows, written in a bold, large hand across the page: "EVERY ONE BEWARE OF A CHEATE." Immediately following this letter, and running through a period of several months, several other letters appear upon the records of the council, in which he speaks of his journal, a copy of which he submitted to their inspection and guidance, and which was entered upon their journal.

After much tribulation, the governor and council ordered a resurvey to be made, which most likely was done, and the patents of confirmation were made to Hermen. These patents were dated the 14th of August, 1682. In them is recited the fact of the quarrel between Hermen and Holland; and it is stated that within the original bounds, as recited in the first patents, there were contained 2,000 acres of swamps, barrens and *pocosons*,* from which it may be inferred that, as the forests were removed, the water in the swamps dried up and the appearance of the surface of the country changed. The tract called "Misfortune" (probably so called on account of the trouble he had about his other land) was granted to Hermen the same year and day. This is the tract that he afterwards called the "Three Bohemia Sisters" (it included the land upon which the northern part of Chesapeake City stands), and contained by estimation 1,339 acres and rented for 27s. 6d. It was north of Bohemia Back Creek and bounded on the west by Long Creek. It would seem that Hermen was successful in establishing his title to Little Bohemia, and that right and justice were upon his side, and that the old gentleman had reason to congratulate himself upon the successful vindication of his title. Probably he died in the belief that his son Casparus was legally invested with a good title to Little Bohemia; but such

* An Indian word, meaning low wooded grounds or swamps, mostly dry in summer, and covered with water in winter; usually covered with white oak or other timber.

was not the fact, for it will be seen by reference to the land records of the county, that in 1715, thirty-three years after Hermen obtained his patent of confirmation for Little Bohemia, his grandson, Ephraim Augustine (son of Casparus), and his wife, Isabella, conveyed 883 acres of the same Little Bohemia or Middle Neck to Thomas Larkin, of Anne Arundel County. The deed recites the fact that John Larkin, the father of the said Thomas, had patented the land before Augustine Hermen had obtained his patent for it, "*and that the said Thomas Larkin had made his right to the said land appear to be prior to the right of the Hermens; for these reasons, as stated in the deed, and for divers other good and valuable considerations, E. A. Hermen, who was then lord of Bohemia Manor, and his wife, conveyed their interest in the land to Larkin. This appears to have been the end of the quarrel, and proves conclusively that at least one grant was made inside the lines of Little Bohemia previous to 1662, which is the date of Hermen's original patent for the land called by that name. The boundaries of the land, which Hermen at this time held by patents from Lord Baltimore, were, as well as can now be ascertained, as follows: Starting from Town Point, at the junction of the Elk and Bohemia rivers, and following the Elk River and Back Creek to the mouth of Long Creek; up Long Creek to somewhere near the Delaware line; thence south along an old road, the location of which is now unknown, to near the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal; thence eastwardly along the course of the canal to the mouth of St. George's Creek, near where Delaware City now stands; thence down the Delaware River to the mouth of Appoquinimink Creek; thence up that creek and across the intervening land to the head waters of Little Bohemia River, and down it to the place of beginning. The reader will observe that this tract contained many thousand acres. The land is probably the best on the peninsula.*

The eventful life of the founder of Bohemia Manor was

now near its close, and on the 9th day of August, 1684, he invested his son, Ephraim George, with the right and title to the manor aforesaid by a deed of feoffment, which was executed upon that day. This deed, like many legal papers of that time, contains many curious provisions. The consideration mentioned in it is as follows: "Five thousand pounds of good, sound and merchantable tobacco and casks, and also six barrels of good beer or strong beers, one anchor of rum or brandy, one anchor of spirits, two anchors or twenty gallons of good wine, and one hogshead of the best cider out of the orchard, and one cwt. of good Muscavado sugar for my particular private spending; and lastly, if I should resolve to remove *with* my abode to any other place in the country from off the Manor, then he, my said son, is obliged to pay towards my said board the sum of 2,000 pounds of tobacco and casks; and if I should happen to go to New York, then my son is to furnish me with £25 in money."

The quantity of liquors mentioned in the aforesaid consideration appears to be very large at the present day, but it must not be forgotten that at the time this instrument was executed the manners and customs that prevailed in England in feudal times, when the lords and nobility kept open house and dispensed alms and charity with a munificence that would put to shame the generosity of modern civilization, prevailed to some extent in Maryland; and it was only fitting and proper that the founder of the manor should have the means to entertain his friends in a manner suited to the dignity of the position he formerly occupied. At that time, and for a century afterwards, liquor was considered as one of the necessaries of life.

On the 27th of September, 1684, Hermen made his will. This will, as stated in it, "was written with his own hand signed with his own hand, and sealed with his own seal," and proves him to have been a man of much learning and great ability. The ruling passion of his life, the great object

for which he toiled and strove, appears to have been to found a family and, by doing this, to perpetuate his name. When he obtained his patent, more than twenty years before, for his beautiful and magnificent manor of Bohemia, he no doubt intended it for the possession of his eldest son, and expected and hoped that in the ages to come his descendants would trace their descent from him with satisfaction and pride. "He directs, in his will, that his monument stone, with engraved letters of him, the first *seater* and *author* of Bohemia Manor, anno 1660,* shall be placed over his sepulcher, which was to be in his vineyard, upon his manor plantation upon Bohemia Manor, in Maryland." The plantation is situated a few miles above the mouth of the beautiful Bohemia, where the old ferry was once kept, and where the bridge of more modern times is now located. On this farm, though in a dilapidated condition, may be seen his "Monumental Stone." It contains the following inscription :

AVGVSTINE HERMEN,
BOHEMIAN,
THE FIRST FOUNDER.
SEATER OF BOHEMEA MANNER,
ANNO 1661.

His monument stone is a slab of oolite, the kind of stone from which the line stones along Mason and Dixon's line were wrought. This kind of stone is very durable, and is probably better able to resist the action of the elements than any other kind of stone. The slab is about three feet wide and seven feet long. No doubt the provision of Hermen's will in reference to this stone was carried into effect, and that it once covered the place of his sepulcher; but many years

* The reader will notice the discrepancy between this date and that on the tombstone. This one was taken from a copy of the will, the other from the stone itself.

ago Richard Bassett, who was a relative of Hermen and who was once governor of Delaware, erected a vault on the manor plantation for the safe keeping of the remains of his family, and removed this ancient historic slab from Hermen's grave and converted it into a door for the vault. This vault was erected some distance from the original burying-place upon the manor plantation, and in it were deposited the remains of the members of the families of the Bassetts and Bayards. The remains of James A. Bayard, one of the commissioners that negotiated the treaty of Ghent, were deposited in this vault, where they remained till a few years ago, when Richard H. Bayard had them all removed to another vault in the cemetery on the bank of the Brandywine. The slab in memory of Augustine Hermen was then suffered to lie neglected near the site of the vault, and by some means was broken into three pieces; which were gathered up and placed in the yard of the house on the farm near the bridge. The bank or ditch around an inclosure, which is said to have been his deer-park, is quite plain and is about three feet high. The view down the Bohemia from where the manor house stood, the site of which is yet quite plain, is magnificent and delightful. Bulls' Mountain and the hills of Elk Neck loom up many miles distant, while at the base of the eminence, upon which the manor house stood, the waters of the beautiful Bohemia sparkle in the sunlight as they flow onward to mingle with the waters of the Chesapeake Bay. Owing to the removal of the slab, the exact place of Hermen's sepulcher, like the place of the sepulcher of Moses, is unknown.

The will directs that all and every one of the inheritors or possessors, lords of Bohemia Manor, shall add to their Christian name and subscribe themselves by their ancestor's name "*Augustine*," or forfeit their inheritance to the next heir. He devised his Bohemia Middle Neck to his second son, Casparus, and his tract called "*Misfortune*," or the "*Three Bohemia Sisters*," he divided among his three daughters; and, lest the great object which appeared to

have been the ruling passion of his life should be defeated for want of heirs male to perpetuate his name, he orders in his will that, in that case, the custody of his estate shall be committed "to the Rt. Honorable Lord and Proprietary and most Honorable General Assembly, from time to time sitting in this province of Maryland, for the use, propagation and propriety of a free donature school and college of the English Protestant Church, with divine Protestant Minister, in free alms and divine service, hospitality and relief of poor and distressed travelers, etc., under the perpetual name of the Augustine Bohemia, to God's praise and glory forever."

Reference has been made to a codicil to Hermen's will, which was made, as before stated, on account of the adherence of his son Ephraim to the Labadie faction. This curious document, a copy of which is in the possession of the Historical Society of Maryland, was evidently written by Hermen or at his dictation. No new bequests are made in it; but "Edward Jones, William Dare and Mr. George Oldfield, his loving friends and neighbors, were jointly and severally appointed overseers and trustees" to see his said will executed; for the trouble of which execution he allows them the use of 100 acres of his land, then not cultivated, for twenty-one years, for the sum of 10s. sterling per annum. This codicil was signed by John Cann, James Williams, John White, Samuel Land and William Hamilton, neither of which names occur in any of the old documents or public records of this county at that period; neither was the codicil ever admitted to probate; for which reasons and some others it is probable that the document was executed at New Castle, Delaware.

The time of Hermen's death is uncertain, but it probably took place in 1686, as his will was admitted to probate in that year. Though the place of Hermen's sepulcher is unknown, and the memorial stone that once marked his last resting-place lies broken in the dooryard of his descendants; though perhaps few of them know aught of the last

provision of his will, the one in reference to the charity school and house of entertainment, still his name and nationality have been perpetuated by being applied to Bohemia River, Bohemia Manor, St. Augustine Church, St. Augustine Manor, and the pretty little town of Port Hermen.

Anna Margareta, the oldest daughter of Augustine Hermen, married Matthias Vanderhuyden. His name indicates that he was a native of Holland, and the old colonial laws show that he was naturalized in 1692. He was a prominent man, and for a long time was one of the justices of the quorum. He probably died in 1729, for his will was proved in that year. He left three daughters, the eldest of whom married Edward Shippen, of Philadelphia, of whom the wife of Benedict Arnold, the traitor, was a descendant. Augustine Hermen's second daughter, Judith, married John Thompson, a descendant of whom, Samuel Thompson, now lives upon part of the land devised to her by her father, the founder of the manor. Francina married a Mr. Wood. She left children; but the family is believed to be long since extinct.

CHAPTER X.

Delaware granted to William Penn—Death of Cecilius Calvert, who is succeeded by his son Charles—George Talbot—Obtains a patent for Susquehanna Manor—Its metes and bounds—Courts Baron and Courts Leet—The name of Susquehanna Manor changed to New Connaught—Extent of Connaught Manor—Talbot obtains a patent for Belleconnell—Bellehill—Talbot lays out New Munster—Makes a demand on William Penn for all the land west of the Schuylkill and south of the fortieth degree of north latitude—Runs a line from the mouth of the Octoraro to the mouth of Naaman's Creek—Lord Baltimore visits England—Talbot presides over the council during his absence—Presides over the court of Cecil County—Account of the court—Talbot makes a raid on the settlers east of Iron Hill—Builds and garrisons a fort near Christiana bridge—Account of the fort—Talbot's Rangers—Beacon Hill—Trouble about the collection of the king's revenue—Talbot murders Rousby—Is carried prisoner to Virginia—Makes his escape—Returns to Cecil County—Takes refuge in a cave near Mount Ararat—Surrenders to the authorities of Maryland—Is taken to Virginia by command of the King—Is tried and convicted of murder, but pardoned by the King—Returns to Cecil County and executes a deed for Clayfall—Returns to Ireland—Enters the Irish brigade, and is killed in the service of the King of France.

IN 1672 war was again being waged between the English and Dutch, and New York and its dependencies along the Delaware came under the jurisdiction of the latter, and Governor Lovelace was succeeded by Anthony Clove, who remained in office until 1674, when he was succeeded by Sir Edmund Andross, who was commissioned by the Duke of York; the country from the Connecticut River to the Delaware Bay having in the meantime fallen into the hands of the English, where it remained until 1681, when William Penn received his charter of Pennsylvania from King Charles II. In 1682 Penn received a grant from James II., then Duke of York, of the land on the west bank of the Delaware

River and Bay, now included in the State of Delaware, and took possession of it the same year, having in the meantime appointed his cousin, William Markham, governor of Pennsylvania, and instructed three commissioners who he appointed for that and other purposes, to lay out the city of Philadelphia.

Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, the founder of Maryland, died on the 30th of November, 1675. He was succeeded by his son, Charles Calvert, who had been governor of the province since 1661. He returned to England in 1676, where he remained four years, and came back to Maryland in February, 1680, to resume the management of his government,* probably bringing with him his kinsman George Talbot, who for a few years was destined to play a conspicuous part in the history of this county.

This warm-hearted, courageous and impetuous Irishman, about whom so much has been written and of whom so little is known, was the cousin of the second Lord Baltimore, and is supposed to have been a relative of that infamous Dick Talbot who was his contemporary, and of whom Lord Macaulay draws such a revolting picture in his History of England. It is probable they were both from the same part of Ireland, and so far as bluster and devil-may-care courage was concerned, they appear to have been much alike. However, no skillful limner like Macaulay has drawn the portrait of George, and probably there are not sufficient data extant to enable any one to accomplish it successfully if they had the ability to execute or disposition to attempt the task. While there appear to have been many traits in the characters of these two men that were common to each of them, the preponderance of virtue appears to have been in favor of George; for, while Dick was contented to remain in England and play the sycophant to a corrupt and imbecile monarch, whose want of manhood alone prevented him

* Scharf's History of Md., Vol. I., pages 283-84.

from being the tyrant that his imperious disposition and superstitious education led him to think his duty and eternal happiness demanded he should be, George chose the more manly occupation of planting a colony in the wilderness that then skirted the wild and romantic Susquehanna.

George Talbot is first mentioned in the records of the council for the year 1680, in which year he obtained his first patent for Susquehanna Manor. The unsettled boundary of Maryland had been a source of vexation and annoyance to the Lords Baltimore, and no doubt Charles Talbot flattered himself that his cousin was just the man to extend his dominion and sustain his authority in the territory in dispute. Had Talbot been less fiery and impetuous, he would probably have been more successful; as it was, his zeal in behalf of his illustrious cousin defeated the object he had in view; indeed, it is thought that an unfortunate effort he made to vindicate Lord Baltimore's authority—the murder of Rousby—was the principal cause that led to his loss of influence at the court of the English monarch and his ultimate loss of the territory along the Delaware.

Talbot, during the few years he was in authority in Cecil County, acted a more conspicuous part in its history than any of his contemporaries or any one of those who had preceded him, except perhaps its illustrious founder, Augustine Hermen.

The reasons that induced Lord Baltimore to grant unto Talbot the extensive manor of Susquehanna are stated in the patent as follows: After the greeting of all persons to whom it should come in the name of the "Lord God everlasting," which was the form in which such instruments were written at that time, it proceeds as follows: "Know ye that for and in consideration that our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and councilor George Talbot, of Castle Rooney, in the county of Roscommon, in the kingdom of Ireland, Esq., hath undertaken, at his own proper cost and charges, to transport, or cause to be transported into this

province within twelve years from the date hereof, six hundred and forty persons of British or Irish descent here to inhabit; and we not only having a great love, respect and esteem for our said cousin and councilor, but willing also to give him all due and lawful encouragement in so good a design of peopling and increasing the inhabitants of this our province of Maryland, well considering how much the same will contribute and conduce to the strength and defence thereof, and that he may receive some recompense for the great charge and expense he must necessarily be at in importing so great a number of persons into this, our province, as aforesaid, and the better to enable him to do us, our heirs and our said province further good service and for divers other good causes and considerations, etc., etc. . . . we have thought fit to grant unto our dear cousin and councilor all that tract or dividend of land called Susquehanna, lying in Cecil County, in our said province of Maryland, butting and bounding as follows, viz. : Beginning at the furthest northeast head of North East River, by a line drawn northwest till it intersects the Octoraro River, then by the said river till it falls into Susquehanna River, and by the said river to the mouth thereof, from thence by the head of the bay of Chesapeake to the mouth of North East River, and by the said river to the head thereof, containing, by estimation, 32,000 acres, be the same more or less." By this patent, which was dated at St. Maries, June 11th, 1680, Talbot was also authorized and empowered to hold courts baron and courts leet.

A few words descriptive of the character and power of these courts may be interesting and instructive. The king, by a legal fiction which the peculiarity of the case required, could do no wrong, and justice was supposed to flow in copious streams from him to his superior courts, and being subdivided into smaller channels, says Sir William Blackstone, the whole and every part of the kingdom was plentifully watered and refreshed. Hence that justice might be

brought even to each man's door, every manor created by the crown had, as incident thereto, courts for the trial of causes therein arising. The manorial court, having *civil* jurisdiction, was known as the court baron, the principal business of which was to settle controversies relating to the right to land within the manor. In it also were tried causes where the matter in controversy was less than forty shillings. The court was so called because every three weeks the barons or freeholders met at the castle or manor house to assist the lord of the manor in dispensing justice. The court leet was a court of record held once a year within a manor. The term *leet* comes from the Latin word *lis*, a lawsuit, and leet court is the court at which the suit of the king was instituted, it being a court having jurisdiction over criminals or breakers of the crown law. The business transacted in it was very similar to that which is daily transacted before the courts of quarter sessions and police courts in our larger cities, the design being to convict therein every variety of offenders and criminals, as well those of the highest grade known to the law, and also eaves-droppers and tattlers. We have not found anything in the records of Maryland that leads us to believe that any other person was ever authorized to hold courts of this kind in Cecil County. Hermen, though he was here twenty years before this time and fourteen years before the organization or erection of the county, was not empowered to do so by his patent. Indeed, it is not probable that courts baron or courts leet were ever held in the province, though many of the early proprietors of manors in other parts of the province were invested with the authority necessary for holding them.

Nothing more is said of Talbot in the journal of the council of Maryland during the three following years, and it is probable that he spent a part of that time in visiting his native country upon business connected with the settlement of his manor. On the 4th of April, 1684, he presented

a petition to the council, which was then sitting at St. Mary's, in which he stated that he had brought into the province since 1682 about sixty persons, which leaves 580 yet to be made good, or in lieu thereof £58 sterling: and offers to his lordship 13,920 pounds of tobacco, being the value of £58 sterling at one penny per pound of tobacco. It is plain from this statement in Talbot's petition that he was to pay twenty-four pounds of tobacco yearly per capita for the number of emigrants not yet imported into the province. There is no mention of this matter in the original patent, but it is probable that there was an agreement or understanding to this effect. He also states in his petition that the bounds of his manor of Susquehanna are susceptible of a doubtful construction, and prays for a confirmation of said patent, in which the bounds may be specified as follows: Beginning at the furthest and uppermost source and fountain head of North East River (henceforth to be called Shannon River), and all the lines to be as they are in the first patent, with mention of satisfaction received for the rights wanting (which refers to the payment of the tobacco for the persons not yet brought into the province), whereby your petitioner may be encouraged to *build, improve and inhabit that desert and frontier corner of your lordship's province*. This petition was granted, and Talbot was invested with authority over one of the largest grants of land ever made to an individual in the province of Maryland.

Although Talbot characterizes his manor as a desert and frontier corner of the province, and although the patent is silent on the subject, yet it appears that there were a few settlers on it as before stated, prior to 1680, who had obtained grants from the lord proprietary, whose rights were duly respected by Talbot. Though Talbot's manor is called Susquehanna in the patent, for some reason the name was changed to New Connaught. For what reason or at what time it was changed, has not been ascertained; but for some time about this period Susquehanna Manor and the country

lying east of it was called New Ireland, no doubt because other large grants of land were made to Irishmen there; and it is probable that when this section of country was first called New Ireland, the name of Susquehanna Manor was changed. Talbot, as the reader will recollect, tried to change the name of North East River, and prayed that it might thereafter be called Shannon River, but in this he was unsuccessful, and the wildly rushing creek and quiet, placid river now bear, and for more than a century past have borne, the original name (North East) that was given them, in all probability, by the early settlers very soon after the adventurous Smith had explored the bay, more than two hundred and fifty years ago. Talbot, like many of the other early settlers in Maryland, had a desire for the acquisition of land that was hard to satisfy; nor is this to be wondered at, for in Ireland he had seen the advantage that the possession of land gave to the aristocracy and was familiar with the prestige and power of the nobility, hence it was quite natural that he should wish to possess a large rather than a small manor. In the only deed from Talbot now on record in Cecil County, dated the 10th of June, 1687, the imaginary northeast line for the northeastern boundary of his manor is described as beginning at the farthest northeast fountain head of Shannon River. This is the second, and probably the last time that that boundary was changed. By what authority the change was made can only be conjectured, but it was probably done while Talbot was one of the deputy-governors of the province, which will be noticed further on. By changing the starting point of the imaginary northwest line "*from the furthest and uppermost source and fountain head of North East or Shannon River*" to the "*furthest northeast fountain head of that stream,*" Talbot succeeded in adding many thousands of acres to his manor and extended its limits about three-fourths of a mile further up the Octoraro, or to about five and one-quarter miles above the line as now established between Maryland and Pennsyl-

vania. Susquehanna or New Connaught Manor now included about one-half of the Fifth, all of the Sixth and Seventh, and nearly all of the Ninth districts of Cecil County, and all of West Nottingham, about one-half of East Nottingham, and one-third of Lower Oxford township, in Chester County.

Talbot, who was now located somewhere west of head of Elk River, probably near the head of North East or the mouth of Principio Creek, seems to have been very active in trying to extend the authority of Lord Baltimore as far eastwardly as possible during the year 1683, for on the 16th of April of that year he obtained a patent in his own name for two thousand acres at the head of Elk, under the name of Belleconnell. This tract was situated just east of the Big Elk, and extended forty perches in an easterly direction from the bend in the creek, called the "Half Moon," to near the top of Grey's Hill; thence two hundred perches north by a line parallel with the creek; thence west to the Big Elk Creek, which was its western boundary. *Belle Hill* is on the northern part of this tract, and no doubt was so named for that reason. On the 29th of August of the same year he, then being surveyor-general of the province, located the tract called New Munster, which was further up the Big Elk and extended a short distance beyond the bounds of Maryland as determined many years afterwards by Mason and Dixon, and which will be more fully described hereafter. On the 17th of September he was commissioned to make a formal demand on William Penn for the land west of the Schuylkill River and south of the fortieth degree of north latitude, and seven days afterwards appeared at Philadelphia for that purpose.

Shortly after Penn's arrival in America he dispatched two messengers from New Castle to Lord Baltimore, "to ask of his health, offer kind neighborhood, and agree upon a time the better to establish it."* No record of the reception these

* Hazard's Annals of Pa.. page 605.

messengers met with exists, but judging by the subsequent action of the authorities of Maryland, it was not a very cordial one. Talbot's mission in Philadelphia was attended with no success. Having failed to induce the authorities of Pennsylvania to comply with his demands, he ran a line from the mouth of the Octoraro to the mouth of Naaman's Creek,* in the latter part of this year, which he marked by notching the trees in the woods through which it passed. This line, which was intended to mark the northern limit of the province, deprived him of about one-half of his manor of Susquehanna; and it is hard to understand why he should apparently relinquish his claim to the northern part of it. But he probably doubted his ability to maintain his right to the whole of it, and resolved to defend his claims to the southern part by force of arms.

In 1684 Lord Baltimore went to England upon urgent business connected with his colony in Maryland. His son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, a minor, was appointed governor, but in the same commission nine persons were appointed deputy-governors under him. George Talbot is the first one of the deputies named in the commission, and it is probable that he presided at the meetings of these deputy-governors. He had previously been a member of the privy council of the governor, and was at this time surveyor-general of the province. In addition to his other duties, Talbot at this time presided over the court of this county. Inasmuch as the method of transacting legal business at that early day is interesting, a brief account of the transactions of the court during his administration is inserted here.

“Att a court held for Cecil County ye 8th day of January in the 9th year of the dominion of ye right hon'ble Charles &c., Annoq Dominic 1683. Present George Talbot, Esq.,

* This creek, so called from an Indian chief of that name, empties into the Delaware River a short distance above where the northern boundary of that State strikes the Delaware River.

one of his lordships councellers, & Nathaniel Garrett, gent. The said Geo. Talbot & Nathaniel Garrett appear in court & adjourn the same for want of commissioners to make a full court till the 12th day of March next ensueing."

"Three *accounts*," in the language of the record, "were agreed at this court & 12 accounts were continued till next court."

The next entry in the old record book is as follows: "March ye 11th, 1683. All actions *dye* and abate upon the Doquett for want of an adjournment. Wm. Pearce, Nathaniel Garrett, Wm. Dare, Geo. Wardner, gents, only being present, and they not of the quorum."

The meaning of the latter part of the last sentence is rather ambiguous, but the writer probably meant that there was not a quorum present, though he does not say so.

"Wm. Dare, of Cecil County, gent, appointed and put in to be high-sheriff of the said county by the Rt. Hon. Charles Absolute, lord and proprietor of the province of Maryland and Avelon lord baron of Baltimore, May ye 23d, 1684. Then came William Nowell and took the oath of an under-sheriff in usual form before Nathaniel Garrett, of Cecil Co. gent."

At the next court, which was held on the 10th day of June, 1684, George Talbot and seven justices were present. Talbot presided over the court, and the justices, who are also called commissioners, took the oath of office; their commissions were issued in the name of the lord proprietary, on the 26th day of the April previous. The commission of George Oldfield, as county attorney for the lord proprietary, is recorded immediately after the record of the administration of the oath of office to the justices. It is the first commission of a State's attorney that we have been able to find upon record in this county. As such it is invested with much interest that it would not otherwise have, and for this reason we copy it:

"Charles Absolute, lord, &c., &c. To Geo. Oldfield, gent,

greeting: Out of the trust and confidence we have in your integrity and honesty and in your skill & insight in the laws and in the practice of courts, we have thought fit to constitute and appoint you the said Geo. Oldfield to be our Attorney in all causes civil and criminal wherein we shall be concerned & which shall fall within the cognizance of a county court, and courts which shall be held for our county of Cecil hereby Impowering and *streightly* enjoining you to appear & prosecute for us in all civil causes and actions in the said court wherein we shall be plaintiff & to appear and defend us in all civil causes and actions in the county aforesaid wherein we shall be defendant, as also to present, indict, and prosecute in the said county all breakers of the peace & transgressors of the laws and acts of Assembly within the county aforesaid; you are also to observe all such orders as you shall from time to time receive from us or our leftenant-General in our absence & from our Attorney-General for the time being, to have hold and enjoy the said office of our county Attorney for Cecil County with all fees, benefits and perquisites thereunto belonging for and during our will and pleasure & no longer. Given under our hand and lesser seal at arms this 19th day of March, 1683."

George Oldfield was one of the "loveing friends and neighbors" that Augustine Hermen appointed in the codicil to his will as a trustee or overseer, to see his will "duly executed." He lived in Elk Neck, and a point of land, a short distance below Welch Point, is yet called by his name. He is believed to have been a Catholic, and was suspended from practicing his profession in the court of Cecil County because he refused to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance in 1690, which was just after the revolution in England, which ended in the flight of James II., and also firmly established the Protestant religion in England.

Just after the record of Oldfield's commission the following petition appears upon the record: "To the worshipful,

the commissioners of Cecil Co. The humble Petition of Thomas Joice humbly sheweth that your Petitioner humbly prays and craves the favor of this worshipful court that you would be pleased to admit your petitioner to practice as an Attorney of this court and your petitioner shall ever pray." "Admitted and sworn this 10th of June, 1684."

Then follows this order of the court: "Whereas there is not as yet any seal for this county for writs & processes which do issue out of this court we do therefore for the ease of the inhabitants of the same order John Thompson, clerk, for the time being to sign all processes and writs which do issue from this court with his own hand."

After noting that seven accounts upon the docket were agreed the court adjourned till ye 12th day of August, 1684, on which day it again met, George Talbot and the seven justices before named being present. This court, after being in session two days, during which time fifteen civil cases of no interest to the general reader were disposed of, adjourned till the 9th day of September, 1684.

These brief extracts from the dilapidated old book contain all the record of the civil administration of George Talbot in Cecil County.

After the departure of Charles Calvert for England, Talbot seems to have assumed almost dictatorial powers in the northeastern part of the province. In the early part of April, 1684, he made a raid upon the plantation of one Joseph Bowle, who lived somewhere east of Iron Hill, about eight miles from New Castle. Bowle's testimony may be found in the proceedings of the council of Pennsylvania; it was taken on the 12th of the 4th month, 1684, and is as follows: "About ten days since, Colonel Talbot ridd up to my house and was ready to ride over me and said d—you you, you dog whom do you seat under here, you dog? You seat under nobody; you have no warrant from Penn no my lord; therefore get you gone or else I'll send you to Saint Marie's; and I being frightend, says he you brazen-faced

impudent, confident, dog, I'll shorten Penn's territories bye-and-bye." It is added in the record, that, "the neighbors said they saw Bowle's land surveyed away."

About this time Talbot built a fort, which is described as being near Christiana bridge, on a spot of land belonging to the widow Ogle, which indicates that it may have been near Ogletown, which he garrisoned with a few of his retainers, not so much for any warlike purpose, as to establish and maintain possession of the country west of it. This fort was built of logs, and was described by those who had seen it, as "about thirteen or fourteen feet long, ten feet wide, and covered with *slip* wood." The garrison consisted "of six or seven men," (Irishmen no doubt) "who were esteemed Catholics, and behaved peaceably towards the inhabitants, among whom they frequently went." The garrison was commanded by one Murray, and was supplied with provisions *pressed* from the people living on Bohemia Manor, by one Thomas Mansfield, who at that time was press master, an officer whose duties seem to have been similiar to those of the captains of press-gangs of England in more modern times. The garrison continued to hold this fort for about two years, and till after Talbot went out of power, when they got drunk and layed out in the cold, from the effect of which they were so badly frost-bitten that some of them died, and others lost their limbs.* Shortly after the occupation of this fort the sheriff of New Castle County summoned a posse of the citizens, and accompanied by divers magistrates and other dignitaries, repaired to the fort and demanded of Talbot, who seems to have been in command at that time, by what authority he appeared in that posture? Whereupon "Talbot, with divers of his company, bid them stand off, presenting their guns and muskets against their breasts, and he, pulling a paper, commander-like, out of his bosom, said, 'here is my Lord Baltimore's commission for

* See testimony in Penn's Breviat.

what I do.'” Proclamation was then made in the king’s name for them to depart according to law, “but in the same war like posture they stood, and in the Lord Baltimore’s name refused to obey in the king’s name.”*

During the palmy days of Talbot’s administration in this county he had a company of mounted rangers whose duty it was to scour the country and repel the attacks of hostile Indians, a few of whom still lingered in the country north of New Ireland. A line of block-houses at convenient distances extended from one end of it to the other, and signals were established for the purpose of calling his clan together. Beacon fires on the hills, the blowing of horns, and the firing of three musket shots in succession, either in the day-time or at night, gave notice of approaching danger and called this border chieftain’s followers around him, who, with strong arms and stronger hearts, were ready to do his bidding. There is no doubt that *Bacon Hill*, which was originally called *Beacon Hill*, was so called, from being the site of one of these signal fires. Talbot had much trouble with the affairs appertaining to the extreme northeastern part of the province in the years 1683 and 1684; but there were other troubles that grew out of the unfortunate condition of affairs in England. The weak and vacillating Charles the Second, then king of England, was near the end of his inglorious reign, and for a long time had viewed with jealous eyes the powers and franchises with which the charter of Maryland invested the lord proprietary. So jealous indeed was Charles, that, in the last year of his reign, he threatened to institute proceedings in the court of chancery, with a view of wresting the charter from Baltimore. No doubt his cupidity was increased and his jealousy aggravated by the fact that that instrument shielded the people of Maryland to some extent from his rapacity. Parliament, which for a long time was excessively loyal to

* Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. I., page 58.

the House of Stewart, had passed an act in his reign for the collection of a tax or duty upon the products that were exported from the southern colonies; and Maryland being much interested in the culture of tobacco at this time, this tax was considered by the inhabitants as being onerous and oppressive.

The collectors of this tax were appointed by the king, and were in no wise amenable to the government of the colonies. The office of tax collector has always been a thankless one, and these collectors, representing as they did the royal authority, were no doubt as tyrannous and arbitrary as they dared to be. Years after this time the records of this county show that they were in the habit of farming out the offices they held. They were each supplied with a vessel, in which they cruised upon the navigable waters in their districts while in the prosecution of the business appertaining to their offices. At this time, and for some time before, one Christopher Rousby was one of the collectors of the king's customs in Maryland, and there is the record of a letter sent by Lord Baltimore to the president of the king's council, in which he speaks of Rousby as "having been a great knave and a disturber of the trade and peace of the province."

In 1684, a few months after the departure of Lord Baltimore for England, an armed ketch or brig, commanded by Captain Thomas Allen, of his Majesty's royal navy, arrived from England and cruised for some time in the lower parts of the Chesapeake Bay contiguous to St. Mary's, which, at that time, was the capital of the province. This Captain Allen, while he was upon good terms with the collectors of the king's revenue and quite willing to carouse and riot with them, treated the representatives of the proprietary with a haughtiness and contempt that soon produced a disastrous result. He went on shore and visited Mr. Blackiston, who at that time appears to have been chief collector of Maryland, and who resided at St. Mary's. His marines also

went ashore and probably got drunk; at all events they acted in a boisterous and swaggering manner, and did not hesitate to appropriate some of the property of the citizens of the town, which they carried away with them.

After spending a few days in this manner the swaggering captain went on board of his ketch, weighed anchor and set sail towards the Potomac, and thence sailed down the bay along the coast of Virginia. Not content with the manifestation of his authority upon land "he annoyed the captains of many of the bay craft and other peaceful traders that he met with, by compelling them to heave to and submit to be searched. He also overhauled their papers and offended them with coarse vituperation of themselves and of the lord proprietary and his council." Virginia was at this time governed by a royal favorite, Lord Howard of Effingham, who no doubt was ready upon every occasion to play the sycophant to his royal master, or to entertain any of his underlings who, no matter how remotely, represented his authority. There is no doubt, judging from what subsequently happened, that Allen went to Virginia and spent the intervening time between his first and second visit with Lord Howard, the governor, and that they discussed the governmental affairs of Maryland and the prospects of the ultimate success or failure of Baltimore's efforts to sustain his authority and maintain his rights.

In about a month after his first visit Allen returned to Maryland. This time he anchored near Rousby's house, which was on or near to Drum Point. As yet Captain Allen had not condescended to make any report of his arrival in the province to any officer of the proprietary, or in any way to recognize or acknowledge his authority. Upon the occasion of this second visit of Allen, Talbot it seems was at St. Mary's, or in the vicinity, whether by accident or design has not been ascertained. He doubtless heard of the contemptuous conduct of Allen and Rousby. No doubt the knowledge of their conduct, aggravated by

the treatment that his illustrious kinsman had received from his royal master, caused his indignation to overcome his judgment, and he went on board the ketch, which was called the Quaker, for the purpose of enforcing some little show of respect to, or obtaining some acknowledgment of, his own authority. Be this as it may, he and the two royal officers pretty soon got into a quarrel, which waxed hot and continued for some time; and when he wished to go on shore he was prevented from doing so, whereupon he drew his dagger and stabbed Rousby to the heart. This sad and unfortunate event took place on the 31st of October, 1684, less than three months after the last time that Talbot presided over the court of Cecil County, and fully accounts for the absence of his name from the records of our court subsequent to that date. Talbot's fellow-members of the council made a fruitless effort to get Allen to surrender him to the authorities of Maryland, ostensibly that he might be punished for murdering Rousby, but really no doubt in order to shield him from the vengeance of Allen and his crony, the sycophantic Howard.

After parleying for a short time Allen set sail for Virginia, and carried Talbot, whom he detained in irons on board his warlike vessel with the peaceful name, with him and handed him over to the governor of that province, who incarcerated him in Gloucester prison. Then began a correspondence between the remaining members of the council of Maryland and the governor of Virginia, in which the weakness and humiliation of the former and the strength and vindictiveness of the latter are strikingly exemplified. Considering the treatment that the lord proprietary had received from the crown of Great Britain, and the fact that the prestige and power of the House of Baltimore had for some time before this been waning, it is much to the credit of the council that they made the feeble efforts they did to effect the release of their fellow-member. Having no means by which to enforce their legitimate demands, they were

disregarded, and Talbot remained a prisoner in Virginia, whose arrogant governor treated the demands of the Marylanders with contempt and set their authority at defiance. But Talbot had a wife, who all this time was at home, where good wives and mothers are always found, in the house of her lord, on Susquehanna Manor, which there is every reason to believe was at the falls of Back Creek, now Principio Creek, just above where the railroad crosses that stream. She, good woman, no doubt was sadly grieved by the unfortunate occurrence that deprived her of the companionship and protection of her husband. Talbot also had a few faithful friends, who did not desert his cause in this time of extremity, as the sequel will show. Among these faithful retainers of Talbot were Phelim Murray, a cornet of cavalry under the command of Talbot, and Hugh Riley. The latter has descendants that bear his name living in the Eighth district of this county; and the McVeys and others in the Ninth district are also remotely connected with him. These men and Mrs. Talbot now planned and put in execution a scheme for the rescue of this brother chieftain, in which English arrogance and vindictiveness were defeated by Irish friendship and ingenuity. To Murray has generally been accorded the credit of this scheme, but there is little doubt that it was suggested by the love and affection of the wife of the prisoner. Mrs. Talbot, accompanied by her youngest child, a boy of two or three years of age, and attended by two Irish men servants, repaired to St. Mary's, while Murray and Riley followed her in the shallop of Talbot, which was navigated by one Roger Skreen, a celebrated seafaring man of that day, who took the shallop to the Patuxent River and anchored it at a point about fifteen miles from St. Mary's, whither Mrs. Talbot repaired, and the party set sail for the Rappahannock River and landed at a place about twenty miles distant from Gloucester prison, in which Talbot was confined. This was about the last of January, 1685. If the winters

at that time were as severe as they generally are now, it must have required an amount of courage and fortitude which few of the women living at this time possess to have enabled this woman to endure the cold, anxiety and privation incident to this perilous expedition. Immediately after the arrival of the shallop, Murray and Riley each mounted a swift horse that was furnished them by a confederate in Virginia, and started for the prison at Gloucester, where, by some means, of which Irish wit and suavity doubtless composed a part, they effected the release of the captive Talbot, and returned with him safe and sound to the shallop early the next morning. It is to be presumed that with as little delay as possible they sailed toward the eastern shore of the bay and continued to hug it closely, while, like many other fugitives of a later period, they made the best speed they could toward the north.

Without any mishap Talbot and his friends reached Susquehanna Manor in safety. This happened in the early part of February, 1685, and a few days afterwards Lord Howard made a demand upon the authorities of Maryland for the surrender of the fugitive, and the council of Maryland made a great show of trying to arrest him; and as stated in the chronicles of the times, the air resounded from one side of New Ireland to the other with the "*hue and cry*" that was raised. Proclamations were made and every means were exhausted to effect the arrest of the fugitive, but without success. Why the council were now so anxious to secure the arrest of their former president, when they a few months before had protested so energetically against his retention in Virginia, is one of the many strange things met with in history; but no doubt they acted wisely and as circumspectly as circumstances permitted them, and under all this show of obedience and submission to the representative of royalty in Virginia, there was probably concealed a determination to shield rather than capture the fugitive. Talbot was provided with a flaxen wig and other means of dis-

guise and kept himself well informed of the whereabouts of the officers of the law, any one of whom would probably have given him timely warning of their approach and aided him in effecting his escape, if they could have done so without jeopardizing themselves.

It was at this critical time in his life that Talbot took refuge in the cave that, while it was in existence, was called by his name. This cave was a short distance below Port Deposit, on the east side of the Susquehanna River, close by the water's edge and immediately above the mouth of Herring Run. One hundred and ninety-two years ago the place and its surroundings were quite different from what they are to-day; then the waters of the river were seldom disturbed save by the fragile canoes of the savages as they came from the regions of the great lakes and pine-covered mountains of the far north to exchange their peltries for the trinkets that the white man kept for that purpose at Palmer's Island, a few miles further down the river.

Mount Ararat, whose base on the northern side is washed by the limpid waters of the boisterous little stream, then, as now, stood silent and alone in the magnificence of its grandeur and beauty; but the busy, bustling town, whose commerce and industry now wakes the echoes among its granite hills, was not dreamed of by the anxious fugitive as he stretched his weary body on his lonely couch to seek in the sweet oblivion of sleep the rest that a troubled mind prevented him from obtaining while awake. Talbot's cave was a natural formation in the granite bluff, and was about twelve feet wide and extended back from the river into the rock about eighteen feet; it was about ten feet high, and was in a good state of preservation sixty years ago, and traces of it remained distinctly visible till a much later period; but about thirty years ago the modern march of improvement in this utilitarian age destroyed all trace of it, and the granite rocks that sheltered the lord of Susquehanna Manor now lie submerged in Chesapeake Bay, where

they were placed to effect an improvement upon its navigation in the vicinity of the "Rip Raps" many years ago.

Tradition, with its usual inaccuracy, says that Talbot dwelt in this cave for a long time, and that he had a pair of falcons or hawks with him, by means of which he obtained his subsistence, his falcons catching the wild fowl on the river. This is not at all probable, for there is evidence extant to prove that he was seen and recognized by Robert Kemble while at the house of George Oldfield, in Elk Neck, whither he had gone in his shallop, which was beating about in Elk River during the brief period he was sojourning at the house of his friend. This Robert Kemble is one of the witnesses of Augustine Hermen's will; he probably resided in Elk Neck or on Bohemia Manor. We know but little more of him; but he probably was a man of some distinction, though nearly every trace of him has been lost and the tide of oblivion has nearly covered and concealed his memory.

After fleeing from place to place, now hiding for a while in the cave, and anon lying concealed in the houses of his friends, the courageous Irishman, probably to save his friends further trouble and anxiety on his behalf, voluntarily surrendered himself to the authorities of Maryland and was committed for trial in the provincial court; whereupon the arrogant Howard renewed his demand that the culprit be sent to Virginia in order to be tried there. The council of Maryland were in no haste to reply to this demand, and it was not till after the lapse of several weeks that they made any reply to it. The news of the accession of James the Second had reached their ears a short time before, and he being of the same faith as Lord Baltimore, they had reason to hope that his influence with the king might mitigate or neutralize the displeasure of their new sovereign, which they feared he might otherwise visit upon them. They probably never would have surrendered Talbot had not the lord proprietary written to them, under date of July 30,

1685, "that it formerly was, and still is, the king's pleasure that Talbot shall be brought over in the Quaker ketch to England to receive his trial there; and that, in order thereto, his Majesty had sent his commands to the governor of Virginia to deliver him to Captain Allen, commander of said ketch, who is to bring him over."

This letter was received on the 7th of October, 1685, nearly a year after the unfortunate occurrence upon the Quaker ketch. Talbot was thereupon sent under guard to the governor of Virginia, where he was tried for the murder of Rousby on the 22d of April, 1686. He was convicted, but his kinsman, the lord proprietary, no doubt seconded in his efforts to that end by Dick Talbot, who probably was a still nearer kinsman of the culprit than he, was prepared for the emergency and had obtained a pardon for him, which he had transmitted to Virginia before the conclusion of the trial.

Of Talbot's history subsequent to his trial very little is known, but he is believed to have returned to this county, for in June, 1687, he executed the only deed given by him for land in this county, that is upon record.

The deeds that were written two hundred years ago are very curious documents. The conveyancers of that time never left any thing out of a deed that there was any practical method of putting in it, hence they contain many strange covenants and provisions. This deed from George Talbot to Jacob Young, for the tract of land called Clayfall, contains much valuable historical information in regard to the manners and customs of the early settlers upon Susquehanna Manor. The consideration named in it is the "Iron work of a Swedes mill, 200 young apple trees now growing near the present dwelling house of the said Young & lastly for and in consideration of a bargain and sale which the said Young promised to make to me and my heirs forever for 5s. sterling of ye seat of a mill that he formerly caused to be built at the head of Piny creek vulgarly called Mill

creek in ye county & manor aforesaid & fifteen acres of land contiguous to ye said mill seat, &c." This mill was on the creek that is yet called Mill Creek and probably Jacob Young had settled at the head of that creek before Talbot obtained his grant. However this may have been, this is the first mill we find mentioned in the early history of the county. No doubt it was a water-mill. The Swede's mill, the iron work of which is mentioned in the deed as part of the consideration, was probably a hand mill.

In the grant of Clayfall, "all mines of metals, waifs, estrays, wild unmarked horses, mares, colts, neat cattle & hogs of all sorts are excepted, and a yearly rent of 10s. sterling was to be paid by Young and his heirs at ye Rock of Essenewee alias Kannegrenda at ye falls of Back creek (now Principio creek) in ye manor aforesaid, on 1st day of October yearly & every year forever." Then came the proviso, that "Jacob Young & all his heirs and assigns living upon Clayfall shall send from time to time forever to ye mill or mills of me ye said George Talbot my heirs & assigns upon or near adjacent to ye said manor to be there ground all ye malt & bread, corn that shall be *spent* by the families inhabiting or resident upon any part of Clayfall aforesaid, except such times as they shall not be in good running condition." Young also covenants not to erect any mill upon Clayfall, and Talbot reserves the right to demolish any mill that Young might erect there. And Young agrees to attend court whan required and to do such "suit & service to and at ye said court as is costumary & usual on manors in England."

This instrument of writing is of great length and covers six pages of the book in which it is recorded, and concludes with a proviso which indicates, as do several other things mentioned in it, that the parties had but little faith in each other's honesty, for the whole thing was to be void if Young dug up and carried away the two hundred young apple trees. It is very hard to conceive how any-

thing else could have been incorporated in this deed, or how a stronger or better one could have been made, but Talbot covenants to make Young another one, such as his counsel, learned in the law, might suggest, but he was not to be compelled to go more than twenty miles from the manor to execute it. This curious document is dated June 10th, 1687, and is signed by George Talbot and witnessed by Henry Brent, James Lynch and Thomas Grunwin. The rock of Essenewee or Kannegrenda, there is no doubt, was at or near where the iron works of George P. Whitaker are now located, and no doubt that is where Talbot's house or castle then stood.

After laborious and patient investigation it has been ascertained that Talbot returned to Ireland and took part in the struggle between James the Second and the Prince of Orange.

After the downfall of the house of Stewart he joined the Irish Brigade, in which he was commissioned as an officer, and with it entered the service of the King of France, where he was afterwards killed.

Castle Rooney for many years has been in ruins. There is some reason to believe that a relative of George Talbot owned land and resided for a time at Perry Point,* below Perryville; for in 1710 James Talbot, of Castle Rooney, in the kingdom of Ireland, sold a tract of land which is described as being upon that point.

* So called from having been owned by Captain Richard Perry, of London, in the early part of the last century.

CHAPTER XI.

New Munster—Its metes and bounds—The Alexanders—Society—Cecil Manor—Charles Carroll—Fair Hill—The Scotch-Irish—Christiana Presbyterian Church—Rock Church—The English Revolution—Its effect on the Colony of Maryland—Nottingham—The Nottingham Lots—Original grantees—Reasons why the grant was made—The first Friends' meeting-house—The 'Little Brick or Nottingham Friends' meeting-house—Pop-pemetto—West Nottingham Presbyterian Church—Treaty with the Conestoga Indians—Thomas Chalkley visits them—Account of some of the first settlers of Nottingham—The Welsh tract—Its boundaries—The Baptist church on Iron Hill—The Pencader Presbyterian Church—Rev. David Evans—Rev. Samuel Davies—Iron Hill.

THE certificate of survey of the New Munster tract, which may be found in the old colonial records at Annapolis, is as follows: "Surveyed for Edwin O'Dwire and fifteen other Irishmen by virtue of a warrant from his Lordship, dated 7th of August, 1683. Laid out for him and them a certain tract of land, called New Munster, lying and being in Cecil County, on the main fresh of Elk River, on both sides of the said fresh, beginning at a marked poplar on a high bank over the west side of the said main fresh, and about a *pistole shott* to the mouth of a *rivelett*, called the Shure, and running west, . . . containing and now laid out for six thousand acres more or less, to be held of the manor of Cœcill, which is hereby humbly certified to your Lordship, this 29th day of August, 1683, by

GEORGE TALBOT,
"Surveyor-General."

The poplar tree mentioned in the aforesaid certificate stood upon the west bank of Big Elk Creek, a short distance above where the stream originally called the Shure, but now called Fulling Mill Run, empties into that stream. The Shure was no doubt called by that name because it was

not easily affected by drouth. It is a pretty little stream that rises near Fair Hill, and flows in a southeast direction thorough a section of country most of which, until quite recently, was thickly covered with forest trees, which prevented the evaporation of the water from the earth, so that the springs that fed it flowed nearly as strongly in the summer months as in any other season. It still sustains its ancient reputation as a *Shure* and reliable stream, and once supplied enough water to turn two mills that stood upon its banks. The poplar tree that marked the place of the beginning of the survey has long since disappeared, but the place where it stood is marked by a rough, undressed stone, with the letters W. S. on its south, the letter B. on its east and the letters N. M., and underneath them the letters N. I. on the north side, rudely chiseled on comparatively smooth places on its otherwise rough surface. What these initials mean we are unable to say. Their meaning, as well as the history of those who placed them there, is lost. But the water of the babbling stream still dances down its rocky channel, as if it was impatient to join the larger and quieter stream that flows so placidly at the base of the rugged declivity, midway up which this stone was planted in the long ago. There can be no doubt that the stone is near the place where the poplar stood, because the configuration of the country is such that the course of the streams must necessarily be nearly the same now as they were two hundred years ago.

Without attempting to give the accurate courses and distances of the boundary lines of New Munster, it is sufficient to state that the southern line, which started from the poplar tree, ran about a mile west until it reached the southwest corner of the tract, and then ran northwardly for about five miles until it reached the northwest corner, which was about a mile north of Mason and Dixon's line, where the northern line commenced and ran in an easterly course, and crossed the Elk a short distance above Mackey's (now Tweed's) mill, which is the first mill on that stream in

Pennsylvania above the State line. The northeast corner was nearly two miles east of Big Elk and a little south of a direct line joining the aforesaid mill and the village of Strickersville, in Pennsylvania. The east line ran south from the last-named corner until it reached the southeast corner of the tract, which was about a mile east of the place of beginning, from which the southern line ran west to the poplar tree that marked the beginning of the survey. The tract was about five miles long and two miles wide, and consequently contained about ten square miles. The Big Elk divided it into two nearly equal parts. Within the limits of the tract are some of the best water-powers in the county, no less than five of them being on the Big Elk.

Edwin O'Dwire, to whom the patent for New Munster was granted, sold it to one Daniel Toas, of Chester River, in Maryland, when, we have no means of ascertaining, for the deed is not on record, who died and left a son (John Toas), who inherited it as his heir and devisee. This John Toas, it would seem, was not a very thrifty nor a very well-to-do man, for he induced one "Robert Roberts, of Queen Anne's County (glover), to become bound for ye sd. Toas for ye sum of £200 and upwards, which the said Robert Roberts was obliged to pay and did pay, the said John Toas absconding himself from justice, for which there did an act of Assembly pass and was confirmed, thereby empowering the said Robert Roberts, by virtue of the same, to make good and valuable sale and absolute title of inheritance in fee simple of, to, and in four thousand five hundred acres of the New Munster tract." By virtue of this act of Assembly the said Robert Roberts sold to Daniel Pearce, of Kent County, 407 acres of the said tract for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, the deed for which is dated the 4th of September, 1713. This 407 acres was located in the southwest corner of New Munster, and contained the site of the mill near the mouth of the Shure, now owned by Howard Scott. Roberts also sold to Thomas Stephenson, of Bucks County, Pa., nearly three

thousand acres of the same tract, a large part of which was east of the Big Elk, for the sum of £300 current money of Maryland. The deed from Roberts to Stephenson is dated April 1st, 1714.

On the 18th of May following, Stephenson sold the tract on the east side of the Big Elk, containing upwards of 1100 acres, to Mathias Wallace, James Alexander, farmer, Arthur Alexander, farmer, David Alexander, weaver, and Joseph Alexander, tanner. The deed recites the fact that the tract of land then conveyed to Wallace, and the Alexanders "had for some years last past been improved and possessed by them, and had been by them divided among themselves, each man according to his *holden*, and that he, the said Stephenson, being minded to sell the said tract of land, thought it most equitable, honest and right, that they, the said possessors thereof, should have the first offer to buy or purchase each man his holden or division of ye same." There is no doubt, judging from the facts recited in the deed from Stephenson to Wallace and the Alexanders that they were part of the "15 *other Irishmen*" mentioned in the certificate of survey, and that they located upon New Munster many years prior to the time at which they obtained the deed to their farms. The first deed from Stevenson to the Alexanders contained a covenant that the grantor, Stephenson, would make them another and better one if they demanded it any time during the next seven years ensuing after the date of the first deed. In accordance with this covenant, Stevenson, by eight deeds, each of which is dated August 15th, 1718, reconveyed his interest in nine hundred and three acres of the New Munster tract to Joseph, James, David, Arthur, Elijah and Mary Alexander. This woman, Mary, was the widow of James Alexander, deceased, who probably was the son of one of the other Alexanders before mentioned. By two other deeds of the same date he also conveyed certain parts of the said tract to John Gillespie and Mathias Wallace, Jr. The land conveyed to the colony

of Alexanders embraced the northeast part of the New Munster tract and extended from a short distance north of Cowantown to the extreme northern boundary of New Munster, which, as before stated, was about a mile north of the State line, as it was located by Mason and Dixon fifty years afterwards. It was bounded on the west by the Big Elk and the west branch of Christiana flowed through it for about a mile, near the northeast corner of that part of it that is now in Maryland.

In 1701 James Carroll took up a survey of 2,104 acres of land west of New Munster, and in 1713 conveyed his interest in it to Charles Carroll. The tract was called "Society," and the deeds given shortly afterwards for certain parts of it, recite the fact that the survey, which was unfinished before, was completed in the latter year by Henry Hollingsworth, who was then deputy-surveyor. Morgan Patten, John Bristow, Joseph Steel, and Roger Lawson were among the first purchasers, and there is every reason to believe they were the first settlers upon this tract of land, which then, 1718 and '19, no doubt was covered by the primeval forest. "Society," like New Munster, was to be held of the manor of Cecil. This manor was just west of Little Elk, and extended from near the head of Elk River some miles northward. It was probably several miles wide, and like some of the other manors is believed never to have been surveyed or bounded. The southeast corner of "Society" was about a mile north of the southwest corner of New Munster, and the western boundary of the latter formed the eastern boundary of the former. The tract probably extended as far north as New Munster did. The deed from Carroll to Lawson warranted to defend his title "against all persons claiming title, or pretended title, under ye government of Pennsylvania or ye territories thereunto belonging." This was because the long and bitter controversy between the Penns and Baltimore about the boundaries of their respective provinces was then raging.

The Charles Carroll who owned Society was judge and register of the land office, and also agent and receiver of rents for Lord Baltimore. A part of this tract remained in possession of the Carroll family till 1805. In that year Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, sold 184 acres of it to Alexander Jackson for £183.

Fair Hill, which originally extended to the east side of Little Elk Creek, was taken up about the same time that Society was settled. New Castle at this time was a town of considerable size and much importance; then and for many years afterwards, it was probable that more Irish emigrants landed there than any other port on the eastern seaboard of the colonies. These people found their way to New Ireland and the southern parts of Chester and Lancaster counties.

The Alexanders, and probably most of the other original settlers on New Munster and the parts of Pennsylvania and Delaware contiguous to it, were Scotch-Irish; and as this class of settlers acted a conspicuous part in the early as well as in the subsequent history of the county, a short account of them may be interesting and profitable.

During the reign of Elizabeth, the people of Ulster, a province in the north of Ireland, rebelled against the government of England; and, as was always the case with the people of that country, they were subjugated and subjected to a vigorous and severe regime. Though they were obliged to submit to the English government, they did so with reluctance, and were ever ready for revolt. Though the fire of their patriotism was apparently extinguished, it was not wholly quenched, and soon after the accession of James I. another conspiracy was entered into between the Earl of Tyrone and the Earl of Tyrconnel against the English government. It was soon suppressed, and the two earls were forced to fly. Their estates, containing about 500,000 acres, were confiscated. A second insurrection soon afterwards gave occasion for another large forfeiture, and nearly

six entire counties in the province of Ulster were confiscated. This large territory of confiscated land was nearly depopulated by the efforts of the English in reducing its inhabitants to obedience. It soon became a favorite project of the English sovereign to repeople this depopulated territory with a Protestant population, hoping they would be more peaceable, and consequently less likely to rebel. Many inducements were held out to the people of England and Scotland to settle in this vacant territory in Ireland. The principal emigration, however, was from Scotland. Its coast is near the coast of Ireland, and the emigrants had only a short distance to travel to reach their new homes. The Scotch emigrants brought with them their habits of industry, and their strong Calvinistic faith and rigid adherence to the Presbyterian religion. This was the first Protestant population that settled in Ireland. The first Irish Presbyterian church was established by the Scotch-Irish in 1613. But owing to the unstable character of the House of Stewart, these emigrants were destined soon to undergo a fiercer and more cruel persecution than the Catholics whom they had succeeded. The persecution of the Scotch Presbyterians which soon afterwards took place, in which Claverhouse and his dragoons won for themselves an eternal infamy, drove many of the persecuted Scotch to take refuge in the secure retreats of Ulster.

This is the origin of the Scotch-Irish, a race that has been noted in the history of the United States for their love of religious and civil liberty; a race to whose exertions, sacrifices and valor we are much indebted for the successful issue of the Revolutionary war and the establishment of our present system of government. Their forefathers had been taught in the school of adversity and many of them had sealed their faith with their blood. When the long course of oppression and cruelty practiced by the arbitrary government of Great Britain upon the people of the colonies had culminated in the war of the Revolution, these Scotch-Irish

Presbyterians, whose forefathers had long before proved the truth of the adage that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," so in like manner did their sons attest their faith in the justice of the cause that they almost universally espoused, and hesitated not to shed their blood in maintaining it with the sword upon many a sanguinary field. Emulating in civil affairs the example their forefathers had set them in ecclesiastical matters, many of them became martyrs in the cause of liberty.

This race did not intermarry with the native Celtic population, and to this day, after the lapse of two centuries and a half, is as distinct as when the pioneer settlers first immigrated to Ireland. They were called Scotch-Irish simply because they were the descendants of Scots who had taken up their residence in the north of Ireland. The wretched policy of the House of Stewart, which had an unlimited capacity for tyranny and oppression, soon drove these people to seek an asylum in the wilderness of America. Here the ancestors of many of the members of the Presbyterian churches in the northern part of Cecil County settled in the early days of the history of our county. They brought with them their habits of industry, self-denial, frugality and economy that are yet retained and practiced by their descendants.

The Alexanders and the other Scotch-Irish settlers upon New Munster and the surrounding country were the founders of the old Presbyterian churches at "Head of Christiana" and "The Rock."

It is a singular fact that the first meeting-houses in which these congregations worshiped were outside of the boundaries of Maryland; the former being on the triangular part of Pennsylvania that extends south of Mason and Dixon's line, and only about two hundred yards east of the duenorth line which, for all practical purposes, is considered as forming the boundary between Maryland and Delaware. The latter was located in the "old stone graveyard" in

Lewisville, Chester County, and is about the same distance north of Mason and Dixon's line. Whether this was the result of accident or design is not known, but inasmuch as Maryland was a Catholic colony, and the interests of the first settlers in New Munster were identified with those of the people at New Castle, it was probably the result of the latter. The Presbyterian church at the head of Christiana was organized some time previous to 1708, by a few persons who had previously worshiped in New Castle. The first house of worship, which stood in the graveyard north of the present house, was probably built about the time of the organization of the church.

The first pastor of this church was Rev. George Gillespie. He was born in Scotland, in 1683, and was a son of the Rev. George Gillespie, a prominent member of the Westminster Assembly of divines. Among the names of the first elders of this church, which were equally divided among the three States, are those of David Alexander and Andrew Wallace, of Cecil County. David Alexander was no doubt one of the original settlers of New Munster, and there is little doubt that Andrew Wallace was a relative of Mathias Wallace, another of the original settlers upon the same tract. His grave is marked by a headstone, which shows that he died on ye third of March, 1751, aged 79 years. Many of the graves of the Alexanders are marked by headstones in a good state of preservation, which show that they generally lived to a good old age.

The Rock Church was founded in 1720, by members of the Head of Christiana living in the northern part of New Munster, and in Society, who wished a church nearer to their homes. For a short time this congregation was supplied by Rev. George Gillespie and other ministers of New Castle Presbytery, until in 1724 the congregation secured the services of their first pastor, Rev. Joseph Houston. He, like most of the early Presbyterian ministers, was a native of Ireland. The original name of the congregation was the

Church Upon Elk River. Theophilus and his brother, Amos Alexander, both elders of the Rock Church, are buried at Head of Christiana. They lived in the northeastern part of New Munster and were much nearer the churches at Lewisville and Sharp's graveyard, which is a short distance north of Fair Hill and near the site of the second church building, than they were to the old church at Head of Christiana, where they at first worshiped.

It is not within the scope of this work to give an extended account of the Revolution in England that resulted in placing William and May on the throne of that kingdom but inasmuch as it had a great effect upon the history of Maryland, and particularly on the history of Cecil County, it has been deemed important, in order to properly understand the latter, to call the reader's attention to it.

The liberality of the charter of Maryland had excited the cupidity of James II., who contemplated instituting proceedings to wrest it from Lord Baltimore, and who, had he continued to wield the sceptre of England, would most likely have found means to have wrested the rights and franchises which it conferred upon Lord Baltimore from him, and appropriate them to his own use. But it was not so ordered by Providence, and the Proprietary of Maryland escaped this ignominious treatment from the tyrant James, only to be made to endure it from his successor. He was in England when William and Mary were proclaimed, and at once gave in his adherence to them and sent orders to Mr. Joseph, who had succeeded George Talbot as President of the Council and chief Deputy Governor, to proclaim the new sovereigns in Maryland; but unfortunately the messenger died on the way and the council hesitated to act on their own responsibility till the new sovereigns had been proclaimed in most if not all the other colonies.

The Protestants of Maryland thereupon inaugurated a revolution on their own account, and in April, 1689, formed "an association in arms for the defence of the Protestant

religion, and for asserting the rights of King William and Queen Mary to the province of Maryland and all the English dominions." John Coode was placed at the head of this association. But little more was done till the following July, when the revolutionists marched upon the city of St. Mary's, which was then held by the council which remained loyal to the Lord Proprietary. The revolutionists were the stonger party, and the others evacuated the city without firing a gun. Whereupon Coode issued a declaration of the reasons which had actuated him and his party to usurp the government. In this declaration they speak of the tyranny and injustice of Lord Baltimore, and refer to the obstacles thrown in the way of the collection of the king's tax and the murder of Rousby "by one that was an Irish papist and our chief governor," etc., at great length.

The authorities of Calvert County alone made some opposition to the revolutionists; but they soon surrendered without bloodshed, and the others became masters of the province. They celebrated their triumph by sending an address to their Majesties in England, in which they reiterate the charges against Lord Baltimore in a more covert way than in the declaration, and seek to justify, or at least to palliate, the course they had pursued. The revolutionists, feeling secure, issued writs in their Majesties' names for an election of delegates to a convention to be held at St. Mary's in August, to which the people of Calvert County objected, and issued a declaration of their objections to choosing delegates. They also met with opposition in other parts of the province; notwithstanding which the convention met, and on the 4th of September drew up an address to their Majesties, which is remarkable only for the cunning method in which they seek to justify their own revolutionary proceedings by the laudatory way in which they speak of their Majesties' achievements of the same kind. This address was accompanied by others from Kent, Somerset, Talbot, St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert, Cecil, and Baltimore counties, some

of which were numerously signed, and a few of which speak well of Lord Baltimore and his illustrious father. The citizens of Cecil County sent a petition which was signed by nineteen of the inhabitants, of none of whom anything is known at this time, except George Oldfield, Casparus Hermen, William Nowell, and York Yorkson. George Oldfield has already been referred to; he was an attorney, and a few years later refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, from which it is inferred that he was a Catholic and still adhered to the House of Stewart. He removed to Pennsylvania, as it was then called, where he probably still owned land, he being one of the landholders in St. Augustine's Manor as early as 1682, in which year William Penn addressed him and some others upon the subject of the dispute between himself and Lord Baltimore. Casparus Hermen was at that time lord of Bohemia Manor, having succeeded his brother Ephraim George, and in accordance with the provision of his father's will had assumed the name of Augustine.

William Nowell was a lawyer. He refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, for which the courts stopped him from practicing; but probably readmitted him for the minutes of the court show, as before stated, that he promised to remove the cause of disability. York Yorkson, there is reason to believe, came to this county from the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. He was probably a Swede or Finn. Some years after this time he leased a few acres of land on the north side of Bohemia River just east of the ferry. He is designated in the lease as innholder, and was probably the first person who kept an inn at Bohemia, ferry. The addresses of the Protestants of England were not without effect upon King William, and he thought seriously of depriving Lord Baltimore of his charter. Legal proceedings were instituted for that purpose; but the facts upon which his advisers relied were not susceptible of proof, and Lord Baltimore was allowed to retain the charter

upon consenting to allow the province to be governed by Protestant governors, appointed by the king. This continued to be the case till 1715, when his son Benedict Leonard Calvert embraced the Protestant religion, and the rights and franchises conferred by the charter were restored to him.

During the interval from 1689 to 1715 the members of the House of Baltimore were under a cloud, so to speak, and in no condition to defend the province from the encroachments which the proprietor of Pennsylvania made upon it. This brief reference to the English Revolution it is hoped will enable the reader to better understand the reason why the Nottingham lots and the Welsh Tract, large portions of which are in Maryland, were granted by William Penn and his agents, and why no efforts were made to repel their encroachments.

Nottingham was the outgrowth of the settlements on the Delaware around New Castle, which, at the time of the settlement of the former place, was second only to New York in commerce and population. The pioneer settlers of Nottingham were two brothers, James and William Brown, who, on pack-horses, boldly started out from New Castle in the summer or fall of 1701 into the wilderness to make for themselves a home. They were said to have been influenced in their opinion of the fertility of the soil by the great size of the forest trees with which it was covered. They stopped near a large spring, which is yet to be seen on the north side of the road leading from the Brick Meeting-house to the Rising Sun, and a short distance east of the road which forms the boundary between the Sixth and Ninth election districts. It is on the farm now owned by William Cameron. Near this spring was a favorite camping-ground of the Indians. Their trail from the great valley of Chester County to the head of the bay, whither they were accustomed to resort for fish and also to trade at the post on Palmer's Island, led directly past it. Here the brothers

Brown unloaded their weary horses and went to work felling the forest trees and clearing the land for the purpose of making room for dwelling-houses and engaging in agricultural pursuits. The small amount of provisions brought with them were soon exhausted, and they were obliged to return to New Castle for a fresh supply. Other Friends accompanied them on their return to Nottingham, and by the next spring they had accommodations for several families. The first house, erected by William Brown, is said to have been built on the site now occupied by the house of William Cameron. This is the traditional story of the first settlement in Nottingham that has been handed down from generation to generation of their descendants, some of whom yet occupy part of the land upon which their forefathers settled.

It is very probable that the brothers Brown preceded the other settlers a short time, and that the others were acquainted with them and admired the fertility of their land and the beauty of the location, and were for these reasons induced to ask for the privilege of taking up the Nottingham lots. This name was applied to Nottingham Township after the Revolutionary war by the Legislature of Maryland, in an act for the relief of the owners of the land, which, though granted by Penn, was found to be in Maryland when the dispute between him and Baltimore was adjusted in 1768. It was called Nottingham Township by the authorities of Pennsylvania, and was divided into thirty-seven parts; hence the name, "Nottingham lots."

In compliance with the provisions of this act of Maryland, which was passed in 1788, the then proprietors of Nottingham, in order to show the validity of their title, procured copies of the minute of their application to the commissioners of property of Pennsylvania, and also their warrant for the survey of Nottingham, which they caused to be recorded among the land records of Cecil County.

The minutes of the commissioners, like all the writings of the Friends, is laconic and concise. It is as follows:

“At a session of the Commissioners at Philadelphia, 14th of the 11th mo., 1701. Present—Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, James Logan, Sec. Cornelius Empson, for himself and several others, to the number of twenty families, chiefly of the county of Chester, propose to make a Settlement on a tract of land about half-way between Delaware and Susquehannough, or near the latter, being about twenty miles distant from New Castle, on *Otteraroe* river, in case they may have a grant of twenty thousand acres in said place, at a bushel of wheat per 100 (acres), or five pounds purchase, to be after at a shilling sterling per annum, which being duly considered and the advantages that might arise thereby, by rendering the adjacent lands more valuable and encouraging ye settlement of Susquehannough river, 'tis proposed that they shall have 15 or 20,000 acres at £8 pounds per 100 acres, or at 2 bushels of wheat rent per annum, the first year for their encouragement to be free of rent, or one year credit to pay the purchase money. He agrees to the price of purchase or to a bushel and a half per annum, But it is referred to thee in further consideration.”

The application of Empson, as set forth in the preceding minute of the commissioners who were appointed by Penn and authorized to have charge of his land and to look after his interests in the province, met with the favorable consideration of the proprietary, or the commissioners concluded to act on their own responsibility, for on “ye 7th of ye 1st mo., 1701,” they issued the warrant of survey to Henry Hollingsworth, at that time a citizen of Pennsylvania. This warrant contains the names of the original settlers for which the survey was made. They are as follows: Henry Reynolds, Cornelius Empson, John Empson, John Richardson, James Brown, William Brown, Henry Bates, Edward Beson, Jas. Cooper, (of Darby), Randal Janney, Andrew Job, John

Churchman, Ebenezer Empson, John Guest, of Philadelphia.* These were to have one thousand acres each. Joel Bayley, Robert Dutton, Samuel Littler, and Messer Brown were to have five hundred acres each. The whole township was to be divided into eighteen several divisions of one thousand acres each, three of which the proprietor reserved for his own proper use. The choice of the several divisions was to be disposed of by lot. The warrant directed the surveyor to begin at the northern barrens, between the main branch of North East and *Otteraroe* Creek, and further specified that the southern boundary was to be an east and west line parallel with the southern line of the province, and that the £8 were to be paid within one year after the date thereof. It also provided for the payment of an annual quit rent of one shilling sterling for every one hundred acres, or, in case of failure to pay the first sum, they were to pay two bushels of good winter wheat for every one hundred acres, *to be delivered at some navigable water or landing place on the Delaware River.* Following the record of the certificate of survey is a plat of the township, accompanied by a certificate certifying that it is compiled from data in the office of the surveyor-general of Pennsylvania. The plat shows the tract to have extended two and a half miles east of the common on part of which the Brick Meeting-house now stands, from which it ran due west nearly nine miles. West of the common, for a distance of three miles, it was three and a quarter miles wide; for three miles further west it was three miles wide, while from the southwest corner there extended

* Cornelius Empson, John Richardson, Henry Reynolds, Ebenezer Empson, and John Guest, each of whom are mentioned in the warrant of survey, and all of whom were among the original grantees, never resided in Nottingham. The reader will notice a slight discrepancy between the names in the warrant and those on the plat. The original record has been followed in each case. The Reynolds and Janney families of this county are the descendants of the above mentioned Henry Reynolds and Randal Janney.

4.	3. A Draught of the Township of Nottingham according to the survey made thereof in the 3d month, A. D. 1702. Copied from the original on page 55, Book No. 16, one of the land record books of Cecil County.	2.	
Edward Beson.	1.		
Henry Reynolds.	19.	5.	Henry Reynolds.
John Richardson.	20.	6.	John Richardson.
Proprietor.	21.	7.	Proprietary.
Eb. Empson.	22.	8.	Cor. Empson.
Wm. Brown.	23.	9.	Proprietary.
Cor. Empson.	24.	10.	Eb. Empson.
Proprietor.	25.	11.	Joel Bayley.
Jas. Cooper.	26.	12.	James Cooper.
Jas. Brown.	27.	13.	Proprietary.
Wm. Brown.	28.	14.	James Brown.
Robt. Dutton. Sam'l Littler.	29.	15.	Randal Janney.
Common. Meeting-House.	30.	16.	John Churchman.
Robt. Dutton. Sam'l Littler.	31.	17.	
Andrew Job.	32.	37.	John Bates.
Wm. Brown.	33.	36.	
Randal Janney.	34.		
Andrew Job.	35.		

a parallelogram a mile a quarter long and a half mile wide, which included what is now known as Vinegar Hill. The whole township contained thirty lots, the most of which were a mile and a half long and half a mile wide, which shows that the instruction in the warrant, authorizing the surveyor to lay out the tract into eighteen several divisions of one thousand acres each, had been disregarded. The names of Robert Dutton and Samuel Littler appear upon each of the lots immediately east and west of the meeting-house, while the names of John Churchman and Randal Janney are found upon the lots immediately north and northwest of it. Andrew Job's name appears on the lot at the southeast corner of the tract, which was a short distance southeast of the Blue Ball tavern; and those of Edward Beson and Henry Reynolds upon the two most westerly lots, as will be seen by reference to the map. The lots are separated by what seems to be intended to represent a road, but which, by the scale accompanying the plat is an eighth of a mile wide. The lots, as before stated, were to contain a thousand acres each; including the road, they did actually contain, as shown by the plat, about five hundred acres. It was intimated in the warrant that the four persons that were to have five hundred acres each were to divide a thousand acres between them; this accounts for the township being divided into thirty-seven instead of eighteen lots, as directed in the warrant. The plat also shows that several of the persons who were to have a thousand acres each took up two of these five hundred acre lots, and that in some cases they were several miles apart.

The reader will recollect that Talbot's grant of Susquehanna Manor, which was made twenty years before by Lord Baltimore, included the whole of Nottingham and extended some miles north of it into Pennsylvania. Talbot was charged with the maintenance and extension of the authority of Baltimore as far north and east as circumstances warranted him in believing it was possible to extend it.

Although his manor extended many miles above the mouth of the Octoraro, he probably had little hope of maintaining his title to all of it, and probably extended it northward simply to acquire a claim and to hold it in behalf of Lord Baltimore. He saw with what tenacity the settlers along the Delaware maintained possession of the land there, though it was covered by Baltimore's patent, and he resolved to profit by their example. Talbot's line, from the mouth of Octoraro to the mouth of Naaman's Creek, is the line referred to by the commissioners of Penn in their warrant of survey as the southern line of the province.

The religious and political difficulties that prevailed in England in the reign of James the Second, as before intimated, had a disastrous effect upon the prosperity of Lord Baltimore. His misfortunes were increased by the efforts his kindness prompted him to make in behalf of his kinsman Talbot, in order to shield him from the consequences of the murder of the unfortunate Rousby. He was a Catholic, and the Puritanical spirit that raged in the time of Cromwell was not yet extinct. William of Orange and Anne owed too much to the Protestants of England to be disposed to look with much favor upon the claims of Baltimore, created as they were by a prince of an exiled family and a member of the church which they despised. Talbot, the courageous and irrepressible Talbot, whose brilliant career in Cecil County atones for its shortness, had long since disappeared, and the proprietor of Maryland, shorn of everything but the nominal possession of his right in the soil of his splendid domain, languished in neglect and obscurity. These were the reasons why the princely domain of Susquehanna Manor was cut in twain by the commissioners of Penn. Had George Talbot been alive and at the head of his rangers, the quiet Quakers would never have thought of asking the commissioners of the courtly Penn for the Nottingham grant, nor is it probable he would have granted their request. It was a masterly stroke of policy on the

part of Penn to cut Susquehanna Manor in twain, and plant a settlement of his followers in the midst of it. This was the surest way of thwarting the efforts of Lord Baltimore and his agents to extend his jurisdiction to the 40° of north latitude should that experiment be tried in the future. This view of the case is strengthened by a tradition among the Friends that the original settlers of Nottingham had at first intended to settle in the rich valleys of Pequea or Conestoga, but were influenced by the earnest solicitation of Penn to settle in Nottingham in order to strengthen his claim, and that in the spring of 1701 he rode over the ground in company with the leaders of the party to view the "lay of the land." During this visit he is said to have marked with his own hand a spot he selected, from which the water descended in all directions, as the site of the present brick meeting-house, which was built upon part of the forty acres he donated to them for that purpose, and which is yet in their possession.

When Mason and Dixon's line was located, it cut upwards of 1,300 acres off those lots that extended farthest north, and in 1787 their owners presented a petition to the government of Pennsylvania, stating that owing to the unsettled condition of the boundary between that State and Maryland, the original grantees had not complied with the terms of sale, and praying that those parts of the lots in Pennsylvania might be surveyed and their titles be confirmed. Their request was granted and a warrant was issued to George Churchman, who the same year surveyed them.

The Friends that settled upon Nottingham were frugal and industrious, and soon the forest disappeared beneath their sturdy strokes, and grass and the waving grain succeeded it. The brothers Brown, like their father, were ministers of the gospel, and in 1704 a meeting was organized at the house of James, which was the origin of the Quaker congregation that now worships in the Brick Meeting-house. The first meeting-house was erected in 1709 or 1710. It

was built of hewn chestnut and yellow poplar logs, which were very durable; some of them are to be found at the present time in an old building on the place where Susannah Reisler now lives. Authorities differ about the time of the erection of the brick house; some of them place it in 1724, others in 1735. There is also a difference of opinion as to whether the brick used in its construction were imported from England or made in the neighborhood. Elisha Rowls, who died some forty years ago, at the age of eighty, said his father did the carpenter work of the building in 1750, after the first fire when the addition was built. From information obtained from him some of the old residents are of opinion that the bricks were made near the house; others think they were imported from England. It is a curious but well authenticated fact that the first building was roofed with slate obtained somewhere along the Octoraro Creek, but where, no person now living knows. In 1751 the wood-work of this house was burned, and in the following year a stone addition of equal size with the original structure was erected—thus its capacity was doubled. In 1810 the wood-work was again burned, and in the following year it was replaced. Strange to say, though half of the walls of this old house are stone, it still bears its original name of “the Brick Meeting-house,” and though the bricks have stood the test of two fires in addition to their original burning, and though the frosts and snows of one hundred and fifty-four winters have spent their fury upon them, they appear to be none the worse and look as though they might last for many centuries longer.

The meeting-house called the Little Brick, standing on the north side of the P. & B. Central Railroad and about one mile and a quarter southwest of Rising Sun, was built on a lot embracing five acres and a few perches, granted on the 11th day of first month, 1727, by James King and William Harris, “To the people of God, called Quakers, members of the monthly meeting of Nottingham and New

Garden," and the money paid therefor was declared to be the money of that people. This lot was a part of Penn's lot No. 20.

The present brick building was erected in 1811. The frame building previously occupied was removed to the eastern side of the Rising Sun, and was there used by Benjamin Reynolds for a carpenter shop and afterwards for a stable.

In 1730 the monthly meeting of Nottingham and New Garden, mentioned above, was divided into two, viz., Nottingham, held at the Brick Meeting-house; East Nottingham, and New Garden, held at New Garden, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and at the same time a preparative meeting was established at Little Brick. In 1732 Edward Churchman was buried in the burying-ground at that place, showing that it was then occupied for that purpose. He died of smallpox, at the mill of Henry Reynolds, on Stone Run.

It is probable that upon the erection of this last meeting-house, the names of East and West Nottingham were first applied to the respective parts of the original Nottingham Township. In 1729 many of the inhabitants of Susquehanna Hundred petitioned the court for a road to be laid out "from the *church road* by the Indian town, called Pop-pemetto, until it joins unto the road leading unto the Quaker meeting-house at the west end of Nottingham." They give as a reason why they wanted the road, that the country was settling so fast that the old road was about to be closed up. The church road referred to in the petition was a road leading from some point near the mouth of the Octoraro to the Episcopal church at the head of North East, or to the chapel connected with it, that stood a short distance east of Port Deposit. Nothing is known at this time about the location or history of the Indian town.

The people who were settling the country so fast as to excite the apprehension of the inhabitants of Susquehanna Hundred that their road would be closed, were the Scotch-

Irish Presbyterians who settled contiguous to Nottingham and who were the founders of the Nottingham Presbyterian church. The road they speak of was the one they traveled from the upper ferry (now Port Deposit) to Philadelphia, and was a continuation of the old Philadelphia and Nottingham road which ran from the former place to Darby, thence to Chester, thence past Concord meeting-house to Kennett and New London X roads and reached Nottingham at the Brick Meeting-house. Many of these Scotch-Irish settled on the romantic hills among which the beautiful Octoraro rushes so impetuously to meet and mingle with the more stately Susquehanna. Others of them settled immediately south of the western part of Nottingham. In the course of time, and as opportunity offered, many of them became residents of the original Nottingham grant. The Ewings, Moores, Evanses, Pattons, Maxwells and many others whose descendants are now members of the West Nottingham Presbyterian church, settled on or near the west part of Nottingham about this time. As early as 1724 they had organized a church, and it is probable, judging from the fact that in 1720 their meeting-house is called the old meeting-house, they were numerous enough to have organized a church and erected a house of worship several years prior to the year 1720. It is a matter of doubt where the first house of worship stood. Even tradition, with its contradictory stories, is silent upon this subject. The name of the congregation, as it first appears on the records of the Presbytery, is the Mouth of Octoraro. Afterwards it was called Lower Octoraro. In 1730 it received the name of Nottingham, by which it has been known ever since, notwithstanding there was an effort made in 1803 to change the name to Ephesus, and in 1844 to change it to Kirkwood, both of which efforts failed. The history of this church and the distinguished divines that have been connected with it, as well as the history of the Nottingham academy, will be given more at length in a subsequent chapter.

The Quaker settlement of Nottingham was frequently visited by itinerant Friends when they were journeying from place to place to proclaim the gospel.

It is worthy of remark that at this time the Indians still lived in Lancaster County, and that a few traders were stationed at or near the mouth of the Conestoga. These Indians were the remnant of the Susquehannocks that had taken refuge there with the Senecas and Shawnees, from the encroachments of the settlers along the head of the bay. In 1705 they were visited by the dignitaries from Penn's plantations along the Delaware, who made a treaty with them. The same year Thomas Chalkley visited Nottingham and as he expresses it, "had a concern upon his mind to visit the Indians living near Susquehanna, at Conestoga. He laid it before the elders of Nottingham meeting, with which they expressed their amity and promoted my visiting them." Accordingly, having secured the services of an interpreter he, accompanied by about a dozen of the citizens, set out through the forest to visit the Indians. The party traveled on horseback and carried their provisions with them. They spread their food upon the grass and dined under the shade of the trees in the primeval forest refreshing themselves and horses with water from the river, upon whose banks they had stopped to enjoy the midday meal. The Indians received them kindly, and some of them gave evidence that the preaching of this humble Quaker, whose zeal was only equaled by his meekness, had touched their hearts and prepared them for the reception of the divine grace and light, an abundant measure of which appears to have been vouchsafed to him. There were two tribes of these Indians, Senecas and Shawansee. One of the tribes was governed by an empress, so Chalkley calls her, whose advice the Indians sought before they consented to hold the meeting. She appears to have been a woman of age and experience, and had had a remarkable dream a short time before the

visit of the Quakers, which seems to have left a deep impression upon her mind. Though the Friends sanctioned the preaching of women, they were surprised to find this tribe under the government of a woman, and inquired why it was so. The Indians replied that some women were wiser than some men."

Inasmuch as many of the descendants of the first settlers in Nottingham are yet living in this county, and this account of it would otherwise be incomplete, we append a few brief sketches of some of the most prominent of them.

Benjamin Chandlee, the emigrant who planted the family name at Nottingham, was the son of William Chandlee, of Kilmore, in the county of Kildare, Ireland, probably born about 1685. The next notice we find of him is on the 25th of the 3d month, 1710. On that day he was married at Friends' meeting, in Philadelphia, to Sarah, daughter of Able Cottey, "watch maker of Philadelphia." It appears that Benjamin at the time was engaged with Able Cottey in business, probably as an apprentice or journeyman.

In 1706 Able Cottey had purchased one of the Nottingham lots from Randal Janney, some four hundred acres. This lot Able conveyed to his son-in-law upon his marriage to his daughter. This fortunate event induced Benjamin to remove to the property soon after his marriage. He established his trade in a small way, doing also iron work for the neighbors.

It seems that Able Cottey had also become possessed of a small farm adjoining the Brick Meeting-house lot. This property his widow, Mary Cottey, left by will ("being aged and infirm") to her daughter, Sarah Chandlee, dated 6th mo., 18th, 1712, and proven and registered at Chester, 3d month 3d, 1714. She also mentions grandsons Able Cottey and Cottey Chandlee, and leaves £10 to John Cottey, "if he comes into these parts again." Benjamin Chandlee, the first, seems to have been a man who, had opportunities offered, would have risen to distinction in his profession. As it was,

located in a new country where the indispensable necessities of life claim the most prompt attention, and the demand for the exercise of his skill limited to the most simple products of domestic use, he could do little more than act as a pioneer for succeeding artisans. In 1741 he removed with his younger children to Wilmington, Delaware, where he became the ancestor of the respectable citizens of the name in that vicinity.

Benjamin Chandlee, founder of the celebrated firm of Chandlee & Sons, of Nottingham, manufacturers of clocks, surveyors' compasses, and mathematical instruments of all kinds, was the son of Benjamin Chandlee, the emigrant, born at Nottingham about 1728, and resided on his father's farm till it was sold on his removal, to Joseph Trimble, in 1741, when he took up his residence on the lot left by Mary Cottey to his mother, adjoining the meeting-house land. Here he lived, and died 9th month, 18th, 1794, in the 69th year of his age. In 1749 he "proceeded in marriage with Mary Fallwell, daughter of Goldsmith Edward Fallwell, of Wilmington, according to the good order established among Friends." Mary survived him, and after a life spent in the fulfillment of Christian duty, died 10th month 6th, 1806, in the 78th year of her age, both being interred in East Nottingham Friends' graveyard. The eminence attained by Benjamin Chandlee in the manufacture of scientific, mathematical, and chemical instruments, was probably not surpassed during his time by any other firm in America. After his decease the business was continued with credit and success by his sons, Isaac and Ellis, who inherited their father's taste and zeal, applying their ingenuity to the production of most of the then known instruments used in the various measurements of time, the properties of the magnet, electric currents, engraving, etc.

Isaac Chandlee was a member of the Society of Friends, taking part in its deliberations and laboring quietly in the

moral and religious duties assigned him. He lived unmarried, but having secured the services of Susanna Fallwell, his mother's sister, as housekeeper, his domestic comforts were such as to occasion few regrets on that score. This excellent lady survived him, and died in the 2d month, 1816. Isaac departed this life, much regretted by his neighbors, the 10th of the 12th month, 1813, aged 62 years.

Ellis discontinued the business after the loss of his brother. He had lived to see it rise, flourish and expire, and to note the departure of many of his generation. He died about the year 1820, leaving a family.

Cottee Chandlee, son of Benjamin, the emigrant, born at Nottingham about 1713, and died there in 1807, aged about 94 years, was a quiet, unobtrusive Quaker, and lived unmarried.

Joseph England was an approved minister in the Friends' Society; son of "John England and Loue his wife;" born in 1680 at Burton, on the river Trent, in Staffordshire. In 1710 he married Margaret, daughter of Samuel and Joanna Orbel, born at Deal in Kent, in 1685. They settled first at Deal, but removed to Burton, whence, in 1752, they came to America, bringing their children, John, Samuel and Joanna, with them; Joseph and Lydia were born after their arrival. Joseph and Margaret departed this life, the latter in 1741 and the former in 1748. The fine tract of land on North East Creek that they called "Springfield" is still occupied in part by their descendants, and by Joseph Hamilton, whose residence is on the site of the original homestead.

Among the early Friends who settled at Nottingham was Jehu Kay. He purchased a tract of land called "Hindman's Legacy," which corners at Colora. The residence of the late John Tosh is upon it; also the depot and railroad buildings at Colora. The Friends have a tradition that this Kay was a descendant of the first male child born of English parents on the site of Philadelphia after it was laid out for a city. In consequence, Penn presented him with a

square in the new town. His appreciation of this present was such that when he arrived at manhood he exchanged it for a horse, saddle and bridle.

The Browns, before spoken of, were noted as well for their zeal as ministers as for their enterprise and industry. The mill on North East Creek, known as Hurford's mill, was built by them; and one of the sons of James Brown, who married and lived near Principio iron works, had an interest in them as early as 1718, in which year he died. In 1751 six of the Brown family, four men and two women, were ministers of Nottingham monthly meeting. A substantial stone house built by Messer Brown is now (1881) standing about a mile southwest of the Brick Meeting-house, and is occupied by the descendants of John Churchman, one of whom intermarried with a descendant of Messer Brown.

Andrew Job established the first tavern in Nottingham on lot number 35, about 1710, in a small brick house which is believed to be yet standing a few rods north of the house formerly called the Blue Ball inn, of which it was doubtless the forerunner. The Blue Ball tavern being at the junction of the Lancaster County and Nottingham roads, which were the great thoroughfares between those places and New Castle a century ago, was well patronized, and for a long time was one of the most celebrated hotels in the county. *The* Henry Reynolds who settled in Nottingham, is the reputed founder of the village of Rising Sun, the original name of which was Sumner Hill, by opening a public house near the X Roads in the village. If tradition is to be relied upon, John White, who purchased lot number 29 from Robert Dutton about 1717, established at that time the X Keys tavern, near the Brick Meeting-house, on the spot where his grandson, Abner White, many years after erected the present brick edifice.

Although but a part of Welsh Tract is in Cecil County, it seems proper to give a short sketch of its early history,

because of its close proximity to our county and intimate connection with and influence upon it. It was granted to a colony of Welsh Baptists in 1701. Talbot had disappeared some fifteen years before that time, and Penn was no doubt quite as anxious to interpose a barrier on the east of New Ireland by granting the Welsh their tract as he was to cut Susquehanna Manor in two by his grant of Nottingham to the Friends, which he did about three months afterwards. The three agents who, for themselves and the company for which they acted, obtained the grant of the Welsh Tract from William Penn were at that time residents of Radnor Township, then in Chester County, Pennsylvania., where for a short time most of the original Welsh settlers on the Welsh Tract lived. The agreement between Penn and the agents of the Welsh stated that they were to have "thirty thousand acres, if there be so much vacant in the place hereafter expressed. That is to say, behind the town of New Castle westward, extending northward and southward; beginning to the westward, seven miles from the said town of New Castle, and extending upward and downward, as there shall be found room by regular, straight lines, as near as may be." The purchasers were to pay £12 10s. for every hundred acres, and were to pay for 7,000 acres at the expiration of the two years next after the purchase, and for the remainder of the tract at the end of the three following years; and if they failed to make the payments at the time specified, they were to pay one English pound for every one hundred acres as a yearly rent till such time as the other payments were made. They were also to pay one English silver shilling for every hundred acres as a yearly rent forever. The northeast corner of the Welsh Tract is a few hundred yards northeast of the depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad at Newark, Delaware, from which the north line extended 1,446 perches, or about four and a half miles, west to the northwest corner; from which the western line ran due south upwards of a mile, and then by a number of angles continued south, gradually bearing east,

to some distance south of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. The southern and eastern boundaries were quite as irregular as the western, the only straight line being the northern one. The northwest corner of the tract was not very far from the Big Elk Creek, and there is some evidence in the land records of New Castle County of that period that the land west of the upper part of the tract, and between it and Big Elk Creek, was granted by Penn's agents, and for a time was considered as being part of New Castle County. The northwest corner of the tract is mentioned in the report of a commission which marked and bounded the lands of Samuel Wilson, who was the proprietor of the celebrated place called Wild Cat Swamp in 1784, but owing to the division of the lands then marked and bounded, and the length of time since it was done, it is not easy to ascertain the location of the said corner at this time. Wild Cat Swamp has been known in modern times by the name of "Cat Swamp." It is located a short distance west of where the road from Elkton to Newark crosses Persimmon Run. Some of the residents of that locality had rather an unenviable reputation in former times, and at least two murders were committed on or near it. Owing to the bad reputation of the place it was hard to locate, and in time the name was applied to a large section of country extending some miles in every direction from the original Wild Cat Swamp. This section of country now contains some of the best farms and the most industrious, enterprising and moral people in the county.

Certainly one-eighth, possibly one-fourth, of the original Welsh Tract is now in Cecil County, a part of it being west of the boundary line located by Mason and Dixon more than half a century after it was granted by Penn to the Welsh. The object of Penn in granting this tract to the Welsh was the same he had in view when he granted Nottingham to the Friends, viz., to extend his domain as near the navigable water of the Chesapeake Bay as he possibly could, and at the same time to circumscribe the limits of

Maryland as defined in its charter, or rather to counteract and destroy any right that Lord Baltimore might have acquired by virtue of the erection and occupation of the fort before spoken of, which Talbot had erected on the Christiana Creek.

The Welsh found a few settlers on their tract when they took possession of it. These persons claimed under titles from Lord Baltimore, and the Welsh had some trouble in dispossessing them. One of them had planted a peach orchard upon Iron Hill, and, as was very natural, he was loth to leave his home. The Welsh threatened to put some of these people in New Castle jail, and owing to causes heretofore mentioned, Lord Baltimore was unable to aid them in maintaining their rights, and the Welsh appear to have had an easy victory.

Why the Welsh located where they did has long been a mystery, for much of the land is too swampy now to be of any use for any purpose, and it must have been much worse a hundred and ten years ago. But probably the land in Welsh tract was better than the land in Wales, and very likely some inducements were offered the Welsh of which we are ignorant.

Prominent among the original settlers upon the Welsh Tract were the founders of the old Baptist Church upon Iron Hill, which was founded one hundred and seventy-seven years ago by residents of Pembroke and Carmarthenshire, South Wales.

The original entry in the church record is as follows: "In the year 1701 some of us who were members of the churches of Jesus Christ in the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthenshire, South Wales, in Great Britain, professing believers baptism, laying on of hands, election, and final perseverance in grace, were moved and encouraged to come to these parts, viz., Pennsylvania, and after obtaining leave of the church, it seemed good to the Lord and to us, that we should be formed into church order, as we were a sufficient number and as one of us, Thomas Griffith, was a minister;" which

was accomplished, and they brought letters commendatory with them, so that if they met with any others of like faith, they might be received by them as brethren in Christ.

Among the names of this pioneer band of Baptists are those of Thomas Griffith, Enoch Morgan, Mary Johns, Margaret Matthias, and James David. In June, 1701, this little band of Christians sailed from Milford Haven in the ship James and Mary, and landed in Philadelphia the September following. After their arrival the old church record states they lived much scattered for about a year, but like good Christians they were not forgetful of the apostolic injunction, but kept up their weekly and monthly meetings. During this time their number was increased by the arrival of twenty-two other members, among whom are the names of Reese and Catharine Ryddarcks, Peter Chamberline, and Thomas Jones, all of whom, except the first, have left descendants who yet reside within the bounds of this ancient congregation.

Reese Ryddarcks lies buried in the old church-yard belonging to the church on Iron Hill. Tradition saith he was an officer and served in Cromwell's army during the troublesome times that preceded the trial and execution of Charles I. A modest and unassuming tombstone marks the last resting-place of the hero of many battles, who sleeps his last sleep on the northern slope of the Iron Hill, near which the murmuring waters of the Christiana have sung his requiem for more than a century and three quarters. He seems to have been a man of distinction, for his tombstone has on it a Latin inscription, the only Latin one in the graveyard. It is as follows:

RICEUS RYTHROUGH
NATUS, APUD. FFANWENOG
IN. COMITATU CARDIGAN
ET HIC SEPULKUS FUIT
. AN. DOM. 1707
ÆTATIS FUSE 37.

of which the following is a translation: "Reese Ryddareks, born at Hanwenog, in the county of Cardigan, and was buried in the year A. D. 1707, being 87 years of age."

This church was the third Baptist church founded in America. The present meeting-house was built in 1747, and is yet in a good state of preservation. It is said that the floor and ceiling joists of this building were taken from the first house, which was a log structure and stood near the site of the present house. The bricks used in the construction of this old house were imported from England, and transported from New Castle, where they were landed, in panniers upon mules. The difficulty of obtaining bricks probably caused the adoption of the peculiar style of architecture that prevailed at this time in this country. The gables of this and some other old churches stop short of the height of the apex of the roof, a small part of which is pitched so as to throw the water falling upon it towards the end instead of the side of the building. This peculiarity gives the buildings a curious and unique appearance. Many of the original settlers on the southern part of Welsh Tract were Presbyterians, whose religious opinions and doctrine differed but little, except in the ordinance of baptism, from that of their countrymen who settled on the northern part of it. These Presbyterians were the founders of the Pencader Presbyterian Church at Glasgow, which in organization is probably nearly as old as the Baptist church at Iron Hill.

David Evans and William Davis, two of the persons who acted as agents in procuring the grant of the Welsh Tract from Penn, are believed to have been Presbyterians. At what time they erected their first house of worship is not known. The Welsh did not remain long at Radnor, where they first stopped, but some of them soon afterwards located at Trediffrein, in the great valley of Chester County, about the same time that others of them settled upon the Welsh Tract.

The Rev. David Evans was the first pastor of the Pen-

cader Presbyterian Church. He was a native of Wales, and a son of the David Evans before referred to. He commenced preaching without license or authority, but was promptly stopped by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, in whose jurisdiction the Pencader Church then was, which ordered him to cease preaching for one year and devote himself to study under the direction of one of the ministers of that body. He obeyed their order and went to Yale College, where he was graduated in 1713. He was licensed the next year, and had charge of the united congregations of Pencader and Trediffrein until 1720. It *seems strange*, now when churches are so near together, that two churches so far apart should be in the charge of the same pastor. But the pioneers of Presbyterianism were men that delighted in missionary labor, and were prepared to make any sacrifice or undergo any hardship in order to preach the gospel to those who then resided in the wilderness. It is said of some of them that they spent one-fourth of their time in work of this kind. They were eminently devoted and pious men, who, with a zeal and energy not unlike his who heralded the coming of our Saviour in the wilderness of Judea, were ever ready to spend their strength in their Master's service. To have offered them a vacation would have been to have offered them an insult. They fully recognized the fact that the warfare in which they were engaged would admit of no truce and would only end when their Captain called them to go up higher; hence it was *not strange* that this Welsh preacher, who probably was the only Presbyterian preacher in the colonies that spoke the Welsh language, should have charge of two churches fifty miles apart, and that he endured the hardships and labor incident to the faithful performance of his duty. David Evans was a man of much learning and ability, though eccentric and high-spirited. He was the first stated clerk of the Presbytery of New Castle, and was pastor of the Pencader and Trediffrein churches for about six years. His successor was the Rev.

Thomas Evans, who was a native of Wales and a relative of the first pastor. His pastorate extended over a period of about twenty years, until his death, which occurred in 1742. He was an excellent scholar and had an academy at Pencader. Near the close of his pastorate the Pencader Church was rent in twain by the controversy that grew out of the preaching of Whitefield. This division in the church led to the organization of the Presbyterian church at the Head of Elk, now Elkton. The gospel was preached in the Welsh language to the Pencader congregation till 1776. The same language is said to have been used for nearly a quarter of a century later in the Baptist church.

This brief sketch of Welsh Tract would be incomplete without a short reference to Rev. Samuel Davies, who was born there on November 3d, 1723. He received his classical education under the tuition of Rev. Able Morgan, a Welsh Baptist minister, who had received his education from Rev. Thomas Evans, at the academy at Pencader. He was of Welsh extraction, became President of Princeton College, and was one of the most learned and eloquent divines of the times in which he lived. He was the pioneer who planted Presbyterianism in Virginia, and was sent, at the request of the Synod of New York, to Europe to solicit contributions in aid of Princeton College. He was a true patriot, and like all the early Presbyterian divines, he was always found on the side of civil and religious liberty.

Pencader, which name is now applied to one of the Hundreds in New Castle County, is a Welsh name, and is said to mean "the highest seat." If that is the meaning of the word, it was probably applied to the Hundred because Iron Hill, which is so high as to have been called by the early Swedish settlers "*a great and high mountain*," is in the northern part of it.

Iron Hill is so called from the large quantities of iron ore which it contains; and it is not improbable that the first settlers were induced to locate on the Welsh Tract that they

might be near this deposit of useful metal. They had a furnace and forge in operation on the Christiana Creek, near the mine, about 1725. Abundant evidence is yet extant to show that their method of mining differed from that now in vogue, in this, that they sunk a shaft till they struck a vein of the ore, and then followed it for long distances, many feet under the earth's surface.

A few years ago the miners employed in the ore pit on Iron Hill, came upon one of the galleries made by the Welsh miners, and discovered a rude shovel and pick and a small tallow candle, the wick of which was made of flaxen yarn. The candle, though probably a century old, was in a good state of preservation, but the shovel and pick were so badly rusted that the former could be readily picked to pieces with the thumb and finger.

CHAPTER XII.

Characteristics of the early settlers—Augustine Hermen succeeded by his son Casparus—Account of Casparus Hermen—Farms on Bohemia Manor—Death of Casparus Hermen—Succeeded by his son Ephraim Augustine—Sketch of Ephraim Augustine Hermen—His wives and children—John Lawson marries Mary Hermen—Peter Bouchell marries Catharine Hermen—Peter Lawson—Catharine (Hermen) Bouchell—Her death—Joseph Ensor—Quarrel about the possession of Bohemia Manor—Joseph Ensor, Jr.—Division of Bohemia Manor—Death of Peter Lawson.

It is worthy of note that, although several of the centres of civilization in Cecil County were settled two centuries ago, the manners, customs and religion of the original settlers have been transmitted from generation to generation of their descendants; and although not as distinctly marked now as they were at first, still they are yet easily distinguished and readily noticed by the close observer.

Augustine Hermen and George Talbot differed in many respects from each other, but they were not more different than those who now live upon their respective manors. The Bohemian and the Hollander; the Irish Catholic; the English Episcopalian; the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian; and the meek and unassuming Quaker, have each left the well-defined impression of their nationality and religion upon that part of the county where they settled. With few exceptions, wherever a church was planted by the early settlers, one of the same denomination yet exists. The old Catholic Church in Sassafras Neck, which is called Bohemia, though it is some miles south of Bohemia River, the Episcopal churches of St. Stephen and St. Mary Ann, and the Nottingham and Rock Presbyterian churches, are notable examples in proof of the truth of this assertion. The early extinction

of the Labadists is an exception; but they were more mercenary than religious, and their community, like most systems of religion which have been founded upon a false basis, having had nothing but the cupidity of its devotees to hold it together, soon disintegrated and fell to pieces. It is also worthy of note that many of the leading families of the county at the present time can trace their connection back to the leading families of two hundred years ago. This is especially the case with the descendants of Hermen, many of whom have occupied positions of honor and responsibility.

It would be neither interesting nor profitable to give the exact date of the smaller grants of land in the county. It suffices to state that with the exception of a few tracts along the Sassafraz River and the Elk Neck, which were taken up about the time that Augustine Hermen settled upon Bohemia Manor, the other portions of the county were not extensively settled until after the beginning of the seventeenth century. Probably nearly all of the land in the county had been patented previous to 1750, though much of it still remained uncultivated.

The reader's attention is now directed to the conclusion of the history of Bohemia Manor. The time of the death of Augustine Hermen, as before stated, is unknown, but it probably occurred in 1686. His oldest son, Ephraim George, survived him only a short time, when the vast estate which his father had been at such pains to acquire passed into the possession of his second son Casparus, who, in accordance with the will of his father, assumed the name of Augustine. He took possession of the Manor house on the 3d day of June, 1690, but did not long enjoy the honor of being Lord of Bohemia Manor. A law enacted in 1697 by the colonial legislature, empowering his widow Catharine to dispose of some of his real estate, shows that he died about that time. It is probable that there was some contention about the occupation of the Manor house, for there may be seen among

the papers in the Hermen portfolio in possession of the Historical Society of Maryland, a sheet of paper with this certificate upon it:

“Possession of the Manor house of Bohemia Manor delivered by Daniel O’Howry, the tenant in possession, to Casparus Hermen, the lawful and undoubted heir of Augustine Hermen, lately deceased, before us, this third day of June, 1690.

“WILLIAM DARE,
 “EDWARD JONES,
 “JOHN THOMPSON.”

Immediately after this is the following entry on the same sheet:

“Quiet possession of the Manor house of Bohemia Manor accepted and received, this 3rd day of June, 1690.

“CASPARUS AUGUSTINE HERMEN.

“In presence of us—Wm. Dare, Edward Jones, John Thompson, clerk to the Commissioners of Cecil county.”

The two first-named gentlemen were no doubt justices of the quorum, who with the clerk had been authorized to invest the new lord of the manor with the rights and franchises belonging to him. He represented this county in the legislature in 1694, and in the same year entered into a contract with the General Assembly for the erection of the parish church, school-house and State-house at Annapolis; the seat of government having been removed from St. Mary’s to that place a short time before. He was thrice married; first to Susannah Huyberts, secondly in New York, August 23d, 1682, to Anna Reyniers, and thirdly in Cecil County, August 31st, 1696, to Catharine Williams. He left three daughters, Susanna, Augustina, and Catharine, and one son,

Ephraim Augustine, to whom the manor descended by the terms of the deed of enfeoffment given to Ephraim George by his father shortly before his death, and which has been referred to before; and also by virtue of his grandfather's will, which entailed the Manor upon his descendants.

The land records of the county warrant us in believing that, at the time of Casparus' death, the Manor was but very sparsely settled, for up to 1733 seventy-five plantations had been sold or leased by the Hermens, most of which were disposed of by Ephraim Augustine, the grandson of the founder of the Manor. A few of these plantations were in Elk Neck and elsewhere, for Casparus was not exempt from the mania for the acquisition of land that almost always attacked the leading men of that time, and had acquired a thousand acres—part of St. John's Manor, which was located in the above named place, and another large tract between the Conowingo and Octoraro creeks, in the Eighth district. This tract was called the "Levles." It contained upwards of a thousand acres and included the farm of William Preston, which for that reason he calls "Hermendale." The legal papers of this period contain many allusions to hawking and hunting, fishing and fowling, wild cattle, etc. And the considerations in many of them refer to the customs of manors in England. These leases were made for three lives or during the lives of three persons then living, and the tenants were to demean themselves according to the manners and customs of tenants of manors in old England.

In 1715 one of these farms on the Manor was leased for £1 15s. current money of Maryland, or value thereof in good, sound, bright tobacco, winter wheat, barley or Indian corn, at the current merchant price in Maryland. The rent was generally made payable at the Manor house in the month of November. In many cases a good fat capon or two dung-hill fowls were exacted of the tenant as part of the annual rent. One of the most curious and suggestive

considerations mentioned in these leases, is that in the lease for the tract on which Port Hermen stands. It was executed in 1713, and the consideration was one ear of Indian corn, payable annually, if demanded in the month of November, and the further consideration that the lessee was to "keep two hunting hounds, that were to be part of the cry of hounds that the lord of the manor then kept." This was a low rent for 160 acres of land, but probably the tenant was expected to devote some of his time to the entertainment of his lordship, and it might have cost him more in time and trouble than at first sight is apparent.

Casparus Hermen died in 1797, and, as before stated, was succeeded by his son Ephraim Augustine, who was a minor at the time of his father's death, and who arrived at maturity about the year 1713. He seems to have been a man of business, and represented the county in the legislature in 1715, 1716, 1728 and 1731. He died in 1735. His personal property was appraised at £875, and consisted of a large amount of household goods and eighteen negro slaves. His manor plantation, consisting of 350 acres of land, is represented as being in a very bad condition. The house and out-buildings were in a dilapidated condition, the fences were down, and judging from the return of the appraisers, which is recorded among the land records of the county, it must have presented a forlorn and doleful appearance. The land was divided into four fields, and there was on it an orchard of about 450 old apple trees. The rental value placed upon it was only £10, Maryland currency, after the quit rent was paid. The disparity between the value of the personal and real estate is very notable, and it is more than likely that the proprietor of the Manor had neglected his estate while attending to the public business, and sacrificed his individual interest to the public good. The miserable condition of his plantation was probably owing to the existence of slavery and the baneful effect which invariably followed its introduction. He was twice married and left

two daughters, Mary and Catharine, by his first wife. The name of his first wife, and also the family name of his second wife, are unknown. The given name of his second wife was Araminta. The records of the county show that she was married at least four times; first to Hermen, secondly to Joseph Young, thirdly to William Alexander, and fourthly to George Catto. She is said to have been very aristocratic and haughty. She lived to a good old age and was buried in the lot a short distance southeast of the dwelling-house, near Elkton, now occupied by Daniel Bratton. By his second wife he had one son, who survived his father, but died before reaching maturity.

A paper in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, but which has no date upon it, shows that E. A. Hermen sought to obtain the king's dissent to the act of the legislature of the colony confirming his grandfather's will. This will, to which reference has been made before, was properly proved and recorded, but some malicious person tore out the leaves of the book upon which it was written. A copy of the will being afterwards produced, it was legalized by an act of the colonial legislature and admitted to record. Ephraim's object probably was to acquire a fee simple title to the Manor, as he did to Little Bohemia, as Middle Neck was then called, in 1724, by an act of the legislature passed at his solicitation, and which broke the entail of that part of his grandfather's estate. There is reason to think that his motive was a mercenary one, but it probably would have saved his family much trouble had he succeeded in accomplishing his purpose, as the history of the disputed succession to the Manor will show. Mary; or Mary Augustine Hermen, as she is sometimes called, because she assumed the Christian name of her great-grandfather, was of very weak mind; indeed, if tradition is true, she was almost, if not altogether, an idiot. Now it so happened that a cunning and designing lawyer, one John Lawson, made the acquaintance of this idiotic girl and fell in love, not

with her, but with her fortune, and resolved to marry her that he might obtain it. In order to accomplish his purpose he sought every opportunity to be thrown in contact with the young lady, and was in the habit of taking her carriage-riding with him for long distances. Nor was this all, for upon these occasions, in order to secure the success of his well-laid scheme, he taught her to repeat, much like a parrot would have done, the proper answers to such questions as he believed a jury would ask her when empaneled to ascertain whether or not she was *compos mentis*. It is highly probable, indeed it is almost certain, that during this time she was under the care of her stepmother, Mrs. Alexander, who probably was not cognizant of Lawson's nefarious scheme to entrap her, and who, if she was, may have been gratified with the prospect of being relieved of the responsibility of taking care of her. Owing to the strenuous and persistent efforts of the designing Lawson, the young lady was so well instructed when the proper time arrived, which was probably when she reached maturity and was about to take possession of her share of the Manor, that she answered the questions propounded by the jury so intelligently that they pronounced her to be of sound mind, and she was legally invested with one-half of the rents and profits of the Manor. Lawson soon afterward sought another opportunity to take her out carriage-riding. During this ride he and the heiress were married, and the deep-laid scheme that put him in possession of one-half of the princely domain that Augustine Hermen obtained in order to perpetuate his name was successfully accomplished. This happened some time previous to the year 1751, for the records of the county show that in that year Peter Augustine Bouchell, who was of an ancient family that came to the Manor while the Labadists were in the heyday of their power and prosperity, and who had married Catharine Hermen, the sister of the simple-minded woman, and John Augustine Lawson, jointly leased several plantations on the Manor.

These two persons, the reader will observe, both assumed the name of "Augustine," in accordance with the will of their wives' great-grandfather. Young Hermen, the half-brother of these ladies, being dead, they were, or were supposed to be, the sole and rightful heirs of the Manor, which then was divided into upwards of fifty plantations, most of which had been leased by former proprietors for long terms of years, for what now would be considered very low rents. These rents were generally made payable at the Manor house, semi-annually, at Christmas and Whitsuntide. All, or a large number of them, were payable in grain or tobacco, and frequently a pair of good fat capons or dung-hill fowls were added as part of the rent, so that the table of the lord of the Manor might be well supplied with poultry.

The widow of Ephraim A. Hermen (then Mrs. Catto) was living at this time and was in the enjoyment of her share of the income derived from the Manor. During the life of Catharine, her husband, Peter Bouchell, (as appears from a bill filed in the court of chancery, by Joseph Ensor, in 1760, a copy of which is in possession of the Maryland Historical Society), received the rents from the lessees of the Manor plantations, and kept the accounts incident to the business transactions between himself and the other heirs, whose agent he seems to have been, and the tenants.

John Lawson and Peter Bouchell and their wives were in the enjoyment of the Manor as joint tenants for several years, and no doubt had a fine time; but the designing Lawson was at length brought face to face with an enemy, in combating whom his legal knowledge and cunning availed him nothing. He seems to have done the best he could to secure the property he so meanly acquired to his brother Peter Lawson. This Peter Lawson had received a power of attorney from his brother John and wife in 1751, which empowered him to transact all business appertaining to their share of the Manor, and it is probable that he continued to be their attorney until the time of his brother's

death. John Lawson's will is dated September 3d, 1755. It was admitted to probate on the 13th of the following October. He devised all his property, real and personal, to his brother Peter, and the records of the Orphan's Court show that his wife gave notice on the day his will was proved, that she would not abide by it, and that she demanded her third of the property, agreeable with the act of Assembly, from which it is inferred that her husband had presumed to dispose of her share of the Manor in his will. On the 4th of December, 1755, this simple-minded Mary Lawson leased her share of the Manor to the aforesaid Peter Lawson* "for 21 years, or during the lives of Judith Bassett and Michael and Richard Bassett, her sons." This is the first reference in the records of the county to Richard Bassett, who became a distinguished lawyer, and was a member of the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States; afterwards a member of Congress and Governor of the State of Delaware. He was also a warm friend of Francis Asbury, and a leading and influential member of the Methodist church.

On the day following the date of this lease, the widow of John Lawson gave her brother-in-law, Peter Lawson, a special power of attorney to act for her in all business matters pertaining to the management of her share of the Manor. In this instrument she covenanted not to interfere with him in the management of her estate; from which it seems plain that she had unlimited confidence in him, or that she was certainly the simple-minded mortal that tradition states her to have been. At all events, Peter Lawson seems to have been as securely invested with one undivided half of the

* Peter Lawson was never married; about fifty years previous to 1787 he went to live with the Bassetts, who were his relatives and who kept a tavern at Bohemia Ferry, and continued to reside with them for many years, until the time of Mrs. Bassett's death. For some reason Mr. Bassett deserted his wife, and Lawson seems to have acted as clerk in the tavern. See Cecil Co., Land Records, book 17, page 273.

Manor as circumstances permitted him to be. He is described as "inn-holder" in the lease from Mary Lawson, which indicates that he had succeeded the Bassetts as proprietor of the tavern at Bohemia Ferry, which still continued to be a place of much importance. A short time after this, in 1760, Peter Bayard, who was probably inspector of tobacco, refused to repair the inspection house at the ferry, that place being one of the places designated for the inspection of that staple, which was then cultivated to a considerable extent upon the Manor and in that part of the county south of the Bohemia River.

Catharine Hermen, the reader will recollect, married Peter Bouchell. She died about the year 1752, leaving two daughters, Mary and Ann. Mary married Joseph Ensor in 1757; and Ann, being quite young, was raised by her grandmother, Mary Holland. This is so stated in a bill filed in chancery to compel Joseph Ensor (who had been appointed her guardian in 1757) to pay her her share of the rents. This Mary Holland must have been the mother of Peter Bouchell, who had married a gentleman by the name of Holland.

Joseph Ensor was a member of the Ensor family who settled in Baltimore County very early in the history of the colony. At this time he was called Joseph Ensor, merchant, of Baltimore County. The family at one time owned a large tract of land just east of Jones' Falls, upon which part of the city of Baltimore has been built. Joseph Ensor is believed to have resided in North Elk Parish in 1760, for the birth of his eldest son, Augustine Hermen Ensor, may yet be seen upon the register of that parish, and was recorded in that year. In 1760 "he and his wife and Ann Bouchell, an infant by the said Joseph Ensor, her next friend," instituted a suit in chancery against Peter Lawson and Mary Lawson, alleging that they and John Lawson, for a long time had collected the rents of the Manor, as had also Peter Bouchell, and that Peter Bouchell had kept a book of memorandums

of the rents received from the said Manor and leased lands, and "which rents amounted to the sum of £1,000 or some other large sum of money, besides a very great number of dung-hill fowls received as rent on the said leases," and that the said Mary Lawson had actually felled, cut down, and carried away, off and from the Manor plantation sundry and great quantities of wood and timber, insomuch that there is not left on that plantation any quantity of timber to support the same, nor fire-wood sufficient therefor for any number of years, etc.; praying that they might be compelled to make discovery of the book kept by Bouchell and of the rents since received, and be enjoined to desist from the waste of the timber, etc.; to which the defendant replied at the April term of court, 1761, that on the death of Ephraim, their half brother, Catharine and Mary had possession of the said Manor, claiming and taking the same in right and quality of joint tenants *in tail* in remainder, according to express words and stipulations of Augustine Hermen's will; that the two sisters continued to hold the Manor till the death of Catharine, when her husband Peter Bouchell, took his wife's part as tenant by courtesy, and continued to receive one half the rent during his life, and that no partition of the Manor had ever been made; that the joint tenancy continued to exist till the time of the death of Catharine, and that Mary was entitled to hold by right of survivorship, and that they were not obliged to make any discovery, etc. In other words, that Mary Lawson was the heir of her sister, Catharine Bouchell's part of the Manor.

As for the rents, arrearages and profits, the dung-hill fowls, etc., and the book of memorandums, they, the said defendants, demurred thereto, alleging that, inasmuch as the plaintiffs had no title to the Manor they were not responsible for those things, and furthermore that the plaintiffs had instituted three several suits at common law for the recovery of the rents, etc. The demurrer was not sustained, and the cause remained in court till the September term, 1763, when it was stricken off the docket.

In 1762 Ensor and wife suffered a recovery of all the Manor, the effect of which was to break the entail and give them a fee-simple title to the half of the Manor claimed by Mrs. Ensor under the will of her great-great-grandfather. Mrs. Lawson, who was no doubt instigated by her brother-in-law, Peter Lawson, some time afterwards, probably in 1765, resorted to the same legal proceeding, with a like result as to her share of the Manor. It is worthy of remark that Samuel Paca, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, once resorted to this legal fiction or process in order to effect a recovery, and by that means became invested with a fee-simple in that part of the Manor known as Town Point. Mary Lawson had resorted to the same proceeding in 1760, but Ensor resisted her in the provincial court, where the proceedings were had, and the court, after a full hearing of the witnesses on both sides, was unanimously of the opinion that she was not capable of "suffering a recovery, by reason of her insanity of mind." However, in 1766 she gave Michael and Richard Bassett a deed for a thousand acres of land each for the small consideration of "five shillings, and on account of the love and natural affection she bore toward the said Michael and Richard Bassett, the sons of her loving cousin, Judith Bassett." This fact indicates that Judith Bassett was a descendant of Judith Hermen, the second daughter of the founder of the Manor. On the 9th of December, 1766, she executed a deed in favor of Peter Lawson for her undivided half of the Manor, excepting the 2,000 acres which she had conveyed to her cousins the Bassetts. The consideration named in this deed is five shillings and an annuity of £100 Maryland currency. One of the witnesses to this deed was George Catto, her stepmother's husband. This deed effectually accomplished what John Lawson's will had failed to do, and perfected that which the Lawsons had vainly tried for many years to accomplish, namely, the acquisition of Mary Lawson's share of Bohemia Manor.

The before-mentioned recoveries were made without any reference to the deed of enfeoffment given to Ephraim George Hermen, by the founder of the Manor, on the 9th of August, 1684; indeed it is stated in a legal opinion by Thomas Johnson, Jr., a distinguished lawyer of that day, which may be seen among the Hermen papers now in the possession of the Historical Society, that the said deed was not known to be in existence when the aforesaid transactions took place. The discovery of this deed put a new phase upon the matter; and Ensor, following the advice of Daniel Delaney, another eminent counselor, who was of the opinion that the descendants of Casparus Hermen's daughters were legally entitled to the Manor by virtue of the provision of this deed of enfeoffment, set to work to hunt them up and purchase their rights.

This view of the case makes it necessary to refer to the daughters of Casparus Hermen, who the reader will recollect was the grandfather of Ann Bouchell and Mary Lawson. This gentleman, as before stated, left three daughters, Susanna, Augustina and Catharine. The first named married James Creagear, the second Roger Larramore, the third Abel Van Burkelow. Each of them was dead at this time, but two of them had left heirs. The heirs of Susanna Gravenrod* lived in New Castle, those of Catharine Van Burkelow in Virginia. But Joseph Ensor seems to have been a man of determination and he sought them out, and in order to make his claim to the Manor doubly sure, he purchased any right they had or were supposed to have in it. It is curious to observe the old English custom that still prevailed when these purchases were consummated. A large number of these heirs constituted Samuel Beedle, (Biddle) their attorney, to invest Ensor with possession of

* The genealogy of the Gravenrods has not been ascertained, but they were evidently the descendants of one of the daughters of Casparus Hermen.

the Manor. And it is shown by papers in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, that "Samuel Beedle attorney for Catharine Gravenrod, having taken possession and livery of all Bohemia Manor, or of some part thereof in the name of the whole, for Catharine Gravenrod, did deliver the same to Joseph Ensor, on the 27th day of February, 1767."

The Van Burkelows have been mentioned before, and it may be interesting to our readers to know that they were the descendants of Herman Van Burkelow, who lived with the Labadists in 1683, at which time he was twenty-one years of age. He was probably one of the original colony. The name has been applied to a small stream on the Manor now called Burkalow Creek. After Ensor purchased the rights of the heirs of Casparus Hermen, he, as was very natural, wished to get possession of all his lands. To this end he consulted his attorney, Daniel Delaney, and made the following statement: "Col. Peter Bayard and Dr. Bouchell were guardians to my wife and Ann Bouchell, her sister. After their father's decease, they kept the Manor plantation one year, and then divided it with Mrs. Lawson and Mrs. Catto, who had her dower in it." "Catto rented his wife's part to Lawson and kept it till Mrs. Catto's death, and now refuses to give up the half of her part to me, and has, ever since he had her part, stopped up the road to the Manor house. I want to know how I shall get possession of that part that falls to us at Mrs. Catto's death and get the road opened," etc.

This was in 1766, and it seems to indicate that Mrs. Catto was dead at the time. Delaney recommended a resort to legal proceedings, in the prosecution of which Ensor was probably successful. In 1768 Joseph Ensor seems, after long continued litigation and much expense, to have been in the undisturbed possession of one undivided half of the Manor, for in that year he mortgaged it and some other land in Baltimore County, a part of which was called by the curious name of "Seed Ticks Plenty," to Charles Carroll, of

Carrollton, for the sum of £3,191. In 1774 he became afflicted with the mania that often prevailed in the early history of the county of building a town at Court House Point. But the land was heavily mortgaged, and no person would invest in town lots so encumbered. Ensor accordingly induced Carroll to release twenty-five acres at the aforesaid point for this purpose, and gave him his bond conditioned for the execution of a mortgage on the ground rents of the town lots, which were to be leased for ninety-nine years, renewable forever for a yearly rent of not less than forty shillings per acre.

This brings us to the troublesome time of the Revolution, when the people of this country were no doubt thinking more about defending the towns they already had than they were of building others, and Ensor met with no better success than his predecessors. Joseph Ensor and wife were the parents of at least three children, the oldest of whom bore the Christian name of Augustine Hermen, and was accidentally killed, while celebrating his twenty-first birthday, by being thrown from his horse while fox hunting, on January 28th, 1781. His other son, whose name was Joseph, was an idiot, with probably still less sense than his grand-aunt, Mary Hermen. He is said, by old residents of the Manor, whose parents were well acquainted with him, to have been very fond of dogs, and to have always been accompanied by several of them. He had a habit peculiar to many simple-minded persons of wandering about in an almost nude condition, without any definite object in view, and frequently slept in fodder houses, which were rude structures much in vogue in those days, built of poles and covered with corn fodder. Frequently in the mornings, after spending a night in one of these houses, he would awake, and finding the dogs had left him, in search of food, he would call them in stentorian tones and a curious nasal twang that could be heard for a long distance. Simple though he was, he knew that he was lord of the Manor, or at least the heir of one-

fourth of it, and it is said he would often draw a circle round him on the ground with his cane, and defy any person who disputed his right to the title to cross it. Joseph Ensor's other child, Mary, married Colonel Edward Oldham, who was an officer of great bravery and much distinction, and who served in the Continental army under General Greene, in the campaign in the Carolinas.

The time of Ensor's death is uncertain, but it occurred about the close of the Revolutionary war. He lived on the Manor for some years previous to his death, and was probably buried there. Peter Lawson is believed to have occupied the Manor house near Bohemia Ferry, as before stated, at the time of his death. In 1791 he sold one undivided third part of his share of the Manor to Richard Bassett and Dr. Joshua Clayton for £2,300. He had previously sold to Bassett a plantation on the Manor, containing 450 acres, for the small sum of twenty shillings. A slip of paper to be seen among the Hermen papers, in possession of the Maryland Historical Society, contains several memorandums, among which it is stated that he was at that time "deranged in his understandings," which is not strange, considering that the greater part of his life seems to have been spent in litigation.

Richard Bassett, the reader will recollect, had received a gift of one thousand acres of the Manor from Mary Lawson, which in addition to the portions purchased from Lawson, probably was equivalent in extent to the share of Mary Lawson.

About the close of the Revolutionary war Charles Carroll instituted legal proceedings to foreclose his mortgage upon Joseph Ensor's share of the Manor. But the Manor had never been divided, and Ensor, who was then dead, had during his lifetime continually resisted a partition of it. Part of it being in Delaware, it is easy to comprehend the difficulty of foreclosing a mortgage under such circumstances, but the legal talent of that day was equal to the emergency, and accordingly, in 1780, the legislature of Maryland passed

an act empowering the Court of Chancery to appoint two commissioners to act in conjunction with two others to be appointed by the Court of Chancery of Delaware (the legislature of which State passed a like act in 1790) to divide the Manor between Peter Lawson, Charles Carroll, Joseph Ensor, Esq., his guardian, and Edward Oldham, and Mary, his wife, whose approbation and consent to this method of settling the dispute had been obtained. Stephen Hyland and Tobias Rudolph were appointed by the court of Maryland and Isaac Grantham and Robert Armstrong by the court of Delaware. These gentlemen caused the Manor to be accurately surveyed, and found that it contained about 20,000 acres. They divided it into four parts, two of which they assigned to Peter Lawson. One-fourth part they gave to Charles Carroll, and the other to Joseph Ensor and Edward and Mary Oldham, to be held by them in severalty, except the share of the Oldhams. These proceedings were ratified and confirmed by the courts of the respective States, and the litigation that had lasted for more than half a century was ended, as was also the legal existence of Bohemia Manor, that had continued for a period of one hundred and twenty-eight years. Charles Carroll sold his share in 1793, for £9,827 10s., to Joshua Clayton, Richard Bassett and Edward Oldham, who were then in possession. It contained 3,931 acres, and was bounded on the north by Back Creek and embraced a portion or all of that part of the Manor that was in Delaware.

James A. Bayard afterwards married the only daughter of Richard Bassett, and in this way came into possession of that part of the Manor that his descendants still own.

Peter Lawson's will was proved in 1792. He claimed one-half of the Manor and devised the bulk of his estate to Richard Bassett, who was the executor of his will, and directed that he should "support and maintain Mrs. Mary A. Lawson with everything that is necessary during her natural life, or pay her or the person who may take and provide for her as above, the sum of £100 annually in gold or silver."

CHAPTER XIII.

The Van Bibbers—They settle on Bohemia Manor—Their mill—John Jawert marries Casparus Heimen's widow—Keeps Elk Ferry—Wild stock—Rangers—Collection of the King's revenue—Wild animals—Trade with England—Bill of lading—Slave trade—The Jesuit mission at Bohemia—The Cross Paths—James Heath, the founder of Warwick—Bohemia a port of entry—Ancient cross—Father Mansell—Peter Atwood and other Jesuits—The Jesuit school—Efforts to suppress the Jesuit mission—Labors of the Jesuit Fathers.

PROMINENT among the early settlers of Bohemia Manor were two brothers, Isaac and Matthias Van Bibber. Their father, Jacob Isaacs Van Bibber, was a Hollander, and was one of the first settlers of Germantown. His sons, the two brothers before mentioned, were natives of Holland, and were naturalized in Maryland in 1702. Previous to coming to Maryland they had been engaged in merchandizing at Philadelphia. In 1702 Mathias Van Bibber bought part of John Moll, Jr.'s land, which the reader will recollect was the easternmost of the four necks which comprised the Labadie Tract. Two years afterwards he bought another portion of the same tract, and in 1708 his brother Isaac bought 130 acres of it, which he and his wife Fronica sold to Matthias, in 1711, for £150, which, it is stated in the deed, had been expended in the erection of a mill then occupied by the said Isaac. This mill was located upon a branch of the Bohemia, called Mill Creek, on the site of what was formerly known as Shuyter's mill, every vestige of which has long since disappeared, even the land once covered by the dam now being cultivated. This is the first mill mentioned in the history of that part of the county. It was built a short time before the date of the deed.

Matthias Van Bibber appears to have been fond of the acquisition of land, for in 1714 he purchased St. Augustine Manor of Ephraim Augustine Hernien for £300. This Manor was directly east of Bohemia Manor and was separated from it by an old cart-road, which was known then and for many years afterwards as the "Old Choptank Road." It was originally an Indian path that led from the Choptank River along the dividing ridge between the two bays, probably far up into Pennsylvania, but was laid out and cleared from the head of St. George's Creek to the Chester River, twelve feet wide, for a cart-road, in 1682, by Casparus Hernen and Hugh Gregory, who were appointed for the purpose by the court. The road had been used so little that it was then overgrown with young timber and its location was doubtful, consequently the boundaries of the Manor were unknown. Van Bibber claimed that the road from the head of Elk to the head of Bohemia, which ran near the head of Back Creek, was the boundary between the two Manors. Whereupon Hernen obtained a commission from the court to ascertain the eastern boundary of Bohemia Manor, and in this way to settle the dispute. The commissioners, who were John Dowdall, Captain Benjamin Pearce, Francis Mauldin and William Dare, met in September, 1721, and after taking the testimony of several witnesses, fixed the location of the Choptank Road, and thus ended the dispute. The alienation fee claimed by the Proprietary of Maryland was paid when the sale of St. Augustine Manor was consummated, showing that it was then claimed as part of Maryland. Matthias Van Bibber also became the proprietor of Van Bibber's Forest, which was patented to him in 1720. This was a large tract of land in the Third district, near Mechanics' Valley, containing 850 acres. In addition to this he owned another tract, which is described in his will as his plantation at the head of Elk. It was located a short distance southeast of the mansion of Hon. J. A. J. Creswell. Matthias Van Bibber was for a long time chief justice of the

county and occupied that responsible position when the court-house was built at Court House Point.

Isaac Van Bibber's will was proved in 1723. He left three sons, Jacob, Peter and Isaac, and three daughters, Hester, Christiana and Veronica. Matthias Van Bibber's will was proved in 1739. He left four sons, Jacob, Adam, Matthias and Henry, and four daughters, Sarah, Rebecca, Christiana and Hester. He bequeathed his land at Head of Elk to his son Jacob; his dwelling plantation, which was part of the Labadie Tract, to his son Adam; Clifton, in Middle Neck, he devised to his sons Matthias and Henry, and his part of St. Augustine Manor to his daughters, Sarah and Rebecca.

Henry Van Bibber, brother of Isaac and Matthias, came to Cecil County about 1720. His will, which was written in Utrecht, is to be found among the records of the Orphans' Court, and being a literal translation from the original Dutch is probably the most curious document in the archives of the county.

These members of the Van Bibber family were contemporaries of the grandson of Augustine Hermen, and probably occupied a more conspicuous place in this part of the history of the county than any other family then residing in it. The descendants of these Van Bibbers intermarried with the Petersons and acted a conspicuous part in the history of St. Augustine Manor. They continued to hold some of the land there as late as 1840, when Henry Van Bibber, of Virginia, sold it to Robert Cochran, father of J. P. Cochran, late governor of Delaware, who yet owns it.

Dr. W. C. Van Bibber, of Baltimore, and his brother, Thomas E. Van Bibber, the distinguished author of the "Flight into Egypt," are descendants of the Van Bibbers of Bohemia Manor, many members of which were noted for their patriotism in the Revolutionary war. Their grandfather, Isaac Van Bibber, was commercial agent of the colonial government in the West Indies at that time. He was a son of one

of the three Van Bibbers who have been referred to as being among the early settlers on the Manor.

John Jawert, who was surveyor of the county in 1707, married the widow of Casparus Hermen. He is believed to have lived at Germantown before he came to Bohemia Manor. He was one of the justices of the quorum, that is to say, he was one of the number of justices specially commissioned to hold courts, which at that early day appear to have been somewhat like the ancient English courts leet. These justices were frequently called commissioners. In 1714 Jawert and his wife relinquished their right to the Manor brick house, which they occupied in common at that time with Ephraim Augustine Hermen, the son of Casparus, in consideration of which he was to build them a house "five and thirty feet long and 20 feet wide, with two chimneys and two windows." The house was to be plastered, and in addition to it they were to have the use of one hundred and fifty acres of land. The Manor brick house referred to is the old brick house which was built by the founder of the Manor, on the bank of the Bohemia River, and which, with its contents, including many valuable paintings, were afterwards destroyed by fire.

Jawert's will was proved in 1726. No real estate is mentioned in it, and he is believed to have left no children. He was keeper of Elk Ferry, between Elk Neck and Court House Point, in 1720, and was accused of leaving it to the management of negro slaves, who neglected it. The citizens of the county, after much trouble, had him removed, and Herman Kinkey, who kept a tavern and had a plantation on the Elk Neck side of the river, was appointed in his place. In 1713, Jawert purchased a large tract of land from his stepson Herman, called Town Point Neck or "Jawert's Delight," for £33. This land was adjoining the tract upon which Port Herman now stands.

At this time the stock of the early settlers was allowed to run wild in the forests, and after the lapse of years became

very plentiful. The county was very sparsely settled and but little of it was under cultivation, and much of it being covered with the original growth of timber, which afforded shelter for these animals, they increased very fast. It was customary for the owners of this stock to mark it in some way, commonly by making a number of slits, notches or holes in one or both the animals' ears. This custom was recognized by an act of the legislature, which provided for the registration of these marks among the records of the county. Some pages of the record books are yet extant in which are to be found the names of the marks used by our forefathers. A swallow tail, which appears to have been made by shaping the end of the ear like the forked tail of that bird, was one of the favorite marks. The under-keel which was made by cutting a long oval strip from the ear, was another; a number of notches, slits or holes, and every conceivable combination of under-keels and swallow tails are among the number of recorded marks. As early as 1687 George Talbot, it will be remembered, speaks of the wild horses and neat cattle upon Susquehanna Manor, and in 1705 the Quaker preacher, John Churchman, speaks of the trouble he experienced from wild horses enticing away the colt which accompanied the mare upon which he rode while upon an errand for his father. Many of these cattle and horses were unmarked and ran wild in the forests, and owing to the fact that some of the land was yet in the possession of the lord proprietary, he claimed them as his own.

In 1715 an act was passed by the legislature in reference to these animals, which provided for the appointment of an officer in each county where they prevailed, whose duty it was to capture this wild stock. He was called the ranger, and was appointed by the governor and council upon the recommendation of the justices of the quorum in the county where he resided. His compensation was one-half of the stock he captured. John Ryland is the first person mentioned in the records of the county as ranger. In 1722 he

petitioned the court to be discharged from the office; but the court not having appointed him, rejected the petition. In 1724 Thomas Johnson presented a petition to the court, stating that he was a person of "good name, fame and repute," and prayed the court to recommend him for ranger of the county, which they did.

A fragment of book two of the original land records of the county, containing forty-seven leaves, is yet extant, in which is to be found the copy of a power of attorney from "Peter Coode, commander of his majesties' advice boat, the *Messenger*, attending the province of Maryland," to John Fowke, then belonging to the said advice boat, authorizing him to "collect from all persons in Maryland or any of the territories thereunto belonging, be ye same in any manner of ye production of the growth of ye said province, as tobacco, Indian corn, peas, beans, and all manner of cattle whatsoever for and in my name but to his own proper use." This document was given in 1701, and bears upon its face evidence that the collector of the king's revenue was farming out the emoluments of his office. A detached leaf of another book contains an account of the receipts of taxes for part of the year 1696. Among the items in it are the following:

"Received of Mr. James Coutts, for importing seven hundred and fifty-two gallons of rum, £28 11s. 6d.

"Received of John Smith, for 124 gallons of rum, £4 13s.

"Received of Capt. Deane Cook, for exporting of 30 cubbs, 30 bears, 100 deer skins, 100 racoon, 30 fox and cat, and 10 *fishers*, £1, 18s. 9d.

"Received of Matthias Clements, for import of two negro boys and one woman, £3.

"Received of Col. Wm. Pearce, for import of two negro men, £2.

"Received of Capt. Wm. Surting. for export of 12 racoon, 14 fox, 2 otter, and 2 muskrat skins, 2s. 3½d."

The tax levied upon the skins exported from the province was for the support of free schools, the act for the establishment of which was passed in 1695.

The foregoing is only a small part of the account, but it serves to show the character of the exports and imports of the county at that time. The great staples of importation were rum and negroes; the staple articles of export were skins of animals, which were still abundant, and tobacco. What kind of a "varmint" the fisher was has not been ascertained. His hide, however, appears to have been valuable, else it would not have been exported. As late as 1724 Benjamin Allen prays the court for an allowance due him for one wolf's head and thirty-eight squirrels' heads which had been omitted in the levy for that year. The same year Cornelius McCormack prays to be allowed for eighty-six squirrels' heads and a large number of crows' heads. These animals were so numerous and destructive for a long period, that the legislators of the colony set a price upon their heads for the purpose of keeping them in subordination. This served a good purpose, for money was scarce and squirrels and crows were plenty, and the taxpayers were allowed to pay their taxes in squirrels and crows' heads, which was a great advantage to them, as well as to the commonwealth. In 1680 wolves seem to have been very plenty in the adjoining county of New Castle, for the court ordered "fifty wolf pits or houses to be made," and enjoined the constables to see that they were well baited and tended.

From 1700 to 1720 Bohemia Manor and the country as far south of it as the Sassafra River, far exceeded the other portions of the county in wealth and importance. Tobacco, the great staple of the colony, was extensively cultivated there, and yielded a large return to the planters. The land, but little of which had been cultivated long enough to become impoverished, was well adapted to the production of wheat, some of which was raised, though probably not in very large quantities. The tobacco was packed in hogsheads for shipment to England, and the inspectors were obliged to see that each hogshead contained a specified amount. If a hogshead fell short they were enjoined to "prise" it—that is, to pack

or press it by means of a "prise" or lever—till it would contain the maximum quantity. From this custom the inspection houses came to be called prise houses. The name is yet applied to a few old buildings on the Sassafras River.

The planters in the southern part of the county at this time shipped their tobacco directly to England, and were supplied with slaves (many of whom they owned) by slave traders, who carried cargoes of tobacco from the Chester and Sassafras rivers and the upper part of the Chesapeake Bay to London and Liverpool, and then visited the coast of Guinea and procured cargoes of slaves, which they disposed of to the planters when they returned for another cargo of tobacco.

The old record books of the county, a few of which are yet extant, contain many allusions to the commercial transactions of this period. Bills of lading, notices of freight, and bills of exchange, for some reason, were recorded, and are to be found in the old books, sandwiched between indentures of servants and deeds for land.

The planters in the southern part of the county not only shipped their tobacco from the wharves of the county, but they also shipped some of it from the South River, which name was still applied to the Delaware, as the following bill of lading will show, which is inserted in this connection to indicate the changes that time has wrought in instruments of this kind:

"BILL OF LADING.

"Shipped in good order & well conditioned by Mr. George Huddleston on his proper accompt & *Resque* in & upon ye good ship Vesilla, whereof is master under God for this present voyage James Bradly & now riding at anchor in South river, and by God's Grace bound for London, to say 3 Hhds of Md. Tobacco, being marked & numbered as in ye margin & are to be delvrd in ye like good order and well conditioned at ye afd. port of London, danger of ye sea

only excepted. Mr. Micajah Perry & Co. Merchts in London or the assigns, he or they paying freight for ye said goods after ye rate of £15 per ton, & Maryland duties, with primage & average accustomed. In witness whereof the master or purser of ye said ship hath affirmed to two Bills of Lading all of this tenor and date ye one of which two bills being accomplished ye other to stand void & so God send ye good ship to her destined port in safety. Dated in Md. Nov. 20th, 1705.

“Quantity recorded but quality unknown. Marked (C. H. Nos. 1, 2, 3.)

“JAMES BRADLY.”

At this time and for years afterwards a law was in force obliging the masters of all vessels carrying goods from Maryland to ports in England to *publish their freight*; that is, to give notice of the rate they charged per ton, and to record it in the records of the county. This law existed, or at least this custom was observed, as late as 1744, for in that year Captain Henry Elves published his freight £9 sterling per ton. His ship was in Sassafra River, which indicates that the direct trade with England existed at that time. The following notice of freight is from among several others of like tenor. It shows that the direct slave trade between the Sassafra River and coast of Guinea existed at the time it was written:

“For London Directly, July ye 8th, 1705. This is to give notice to all gentlemen, merchants & others, that ye Dorsett, barkentine, John Hayes Commander, mounted with Tenn guns, navigated with Twenty men, *Burmudas* bilt, prime Saylor, Lately arrived from giny, now Riding att Worton Creek, will be Reddi to take in goods by ye 12th of this Instant for Sixteen pounds per Tunn, and will depart in sixteen days If convoy is gon without Compinni.

“JOHN HAYES.”

England and France were at war at this time, and the owners of merchant vessels were in the habit of arming them in order that their crews might be able to defend themselves against the attacks of the French cruisers. Sometimes a fleet of merchant ships would be accompanied by an armed vessel for their protection, but the Dorsett no doubt was engaged in the slave trade, and had brought a cargo of slaves to this county and disposed of them to the planters near where she then rode at anchor.

The archives of the Order of the Society of Jesus, now in possession of the faculty of Loyola College, in Baltimore, show that the Jesuit mission near the head of Bohemia River, was founded by the Rev. Thomas Mansell, and that he lived there in 1704. Two years afterwards, July 10th, 1706, he obtained a patent for a tract of land containing 458 acres. This land had never been patented and was granted to him upon the usual terms, under the name of Saint Xaverus. It is worthy of note that the records of the Society call him Mr. Mansell only, and do not mention his Christian name or title. No doubt this omission was caused by a desire to conceal the character of the enterprise in which he was engaged, owing to the opposition and persecution that the Jesuits then met with, not only in Maryland but in the mother country also.

James III. (so called by the House of Stewart), the son of James II., there is reason to believe, was recognized by the Jesuits at this time as the rightful sovereign of England. Certain it is, that a rebellion was inaugurated in Ireland a few years after this time (in 1715) for the purpose of placing him upon the British throne.

The effects of this rebellion were felt to a certain extent in the colony of Maryland, and the property in Maryland of the Irish subjects of the British crown, who participated in it was confiscated, and the sheriff of Cecil County was enjoined to seize it for the use of the crown. So it was no wonder that Father Mansell made no reference to the fact that he was a member of the Society of Jesus.

Part of the said tract of St. Xaverus had been formerly surveyed by virtue of the power contained in a warrant granted for Mary Ann O'Daniel and Margaret, her sister, March 18th, 1680, by the name of Morris O'Daniel's Rest, containing three hundred acres, as by the original survey appears.

This survey was never recorded, nor any grant issued thereon to the said sisters. Of the two sisters Margaret died first, and the whole right to the said land was vested in Mary Ann, who dying, bequeathed the same to Messrs. Thomas Mansell and William Douglass, which said William having made over all his right and title thereunto to said Thomas Mansell, he, the said Thomas, petitioned for and obtained a special warrant to resurvey the said tract and take up the same as vacant land, together with what surplus or vacant land was thereunto contiguous; which was done accordingly, and patent granted, as before stated.

The Jesuit mission of Bohemia is a few miles southeast of the junction of the Great and Little Bohemia rivers, and is probably about half a mile west from the State of Delaware and about the same distance from the village of Warwick. At the time, and for a long time subsequent to the foundation of the mission, the Head of Bohemia was one of the most important places in the colony. Bohemia Landing, which was at or near the junction of the two branches of that river, was only a few miles from the navigable waters of Appoquinimink Creek, and owing to the short distance between these points, nearly all the trade between the people living along the shores of the two bays was carried on by this route. There were probably at the time several landing places upon each of the branches of the Bohemia River, and probably quite as many upon the Delaware and its tributaries.

The streams at that time were navigable for much greater distances than they are at present, and there is reason to believe that there was once a landing upon one of the tribu-

taries of the Little Bohemia, not very far from where the mission chapel now stands. The roads between the different landings, on the tributaries of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, were known by the expressive name of "cross paths" and many references are made to them in the land records of Cecil County a century ago, but it is impossible at this time to describe their exact location. The feasibility of connecting the waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays by a canal between the Bohemia and Appoquinimink, had been apparent to Augustine Hermen a quarter of a century before the mission was founded. No doubt most if not all the merchandize passing between the settlers on the west side of Delaware River and those living near the shores of Chesapeake Bay was transported along the "cross paths," at the time that Thomas Mansell founded the mission. A few years afterwards, namely, 1715, it was enacted by the colonial legislature, that "all Importers of Rum, Spirits, Wine, and Brandy" (which seem to have been the principal, if not the only, articles of traffic) "from Pennsylvania and the territories thereunto belonging by land, should pay a duty of 9 pence per gallon, and should bring the said liquors into this province to the place commonly called Bohemia Landing, and to no other place or landing, till the duties thereof be paid, under pain of forfeiture to the King's majesty."* The duty was afterwards fixed at three pence per gallon, and continued to be collected for many years at Bohemia Landing. The northern part of Cecil County being at this time a wilderness, with only a few settlers scattered here and there along the Elk River and other streams, it is easy to see the prospective advantages that induced Mansell to locate where he did.

Father Mansell appears to have remained in charge of the mission till 1721, for in that year the records of the Society

* See Bacon's Laws of Maryland, Session 1715, chapter 36.

show that he purchased of Mr. James Heath* a parcel of land bounding upon St. Xaverus and containing three hundred and thirty-five acres. This purchase comprised the whole of a tract called St. Inigo, which had been taken up and patented by James Heath, under the name of St. Ignatius, in 1711. How or why the name had been changed does not appear. The aforesaid additional purchase of 335 acres embraced a part of Worsell Manor, which had been taken up and patented by one Colonel Saver (when, we have no means of ascertaining) and also a part of a tract called Woodbridge, which was originally taken up by David MacKenzie, by him sold to Darby Nowland, and by his son Dennis sold to James Heath, (that is to say) his part thereof, containing 75 acres, adjoining St. Inigo, and by Mr. Heath sold, as above stated, to Mr. Mansell. Some of the names of these tracts of land, as well as the names of the persons who owned them, indicate the nationality as well as the religion of the proprietors, and warrant the conclusion that the first Jesuit Father that settled at Bohemia was induced to do so from

*James Heath was the father of John Paul Heath, the founder of Warwick. He was a member of the old Catholic family of that name, and the owner of "Heath's Range," and other large tracts of land near Warwick. His grave is about two miles from Warwick, in Appoquinimink Hundred, New Castle County, and is covered by a stone slab containing the following inscription: "Here lyes the body of James Heath, who was born att Warwick, on the 27th day of July, 1658, and died the 10th day of November, 1731, in the seventy-fourth year of His age." The Warwick mentioned in his epitaph is no doubt the name of his native town in England.

His son, John Paul Heath, probably died in 1746. His will was proved in that year, and shows that Warwick had been laid out by him some time before. He refers to a brew-house and tavern which were in the town. He was a large landowner, and was engaged in merchandising at Warwick; and at the time of his death owned one-half of a vessel, engaged in trading between the Sassafras River and the West Indies. Daniel Delaney and Charles Carroll were two of the executors of his will. He was a zealous Catholic, and directed that his sons, James and Daniel, should be educated at St. Omers, and that his children should be brought up in the "Roman Catholic religion."

the fact that it was a settlement of Irish Catholics who were no doubt zealous members of that church. The Jesuits at this time, and for many years previous had a mission in St. Mary's County, on the Western Shore, and as the mission at Bohemia was the first one established on the Eastern Shore, there can be little doubt that Father Mansell came there from the former place. It is highly probable that he brought with him the ancient cross, which has been at Bohemia ever since. This cross is about five feet high and is said to have been brought to St. Mary's by the first settlers who came there from England. It is made of wrought iron and certainly looks ancient enough to have been brought over by the Pilgrims who came in the Ark and Dove. It has been at Bohemia from time immemorial, and save this tradition, nothing more is known of its history.

Little if anything is known of the history of Rev. Thomas Mansell. The rules, or, at least the customs of the Society prohibited the erection of any monuments over the graves of its members and if he died and was buried at Bohemia, this custom precluded the erection of anything to distinguish the place of his sepulcher. A few of the early fathers that labored there, were buried in the garden, but not even a grassy mound has been raised over their moldering remains, and their last resting-place would no doubt long since have been forgotten, had not some pious person enclosed it, many years ago, with an edging of boxwood that has now attained the height of five or six feet. Father Thomas Hudson lived at the mission in 1713. Whether he had charge of it during the temporary absence of Father Mansell or sojourned with him for a time doth not appear. The records of the Society only show that he was at Bohemia in that year. He seems to have been succeeded by Father Peter Atwood, for the records of the Society show that in 1731 he (Atwood) was involved in a dispute with Joseph George, who was then the proprietor of Middle Neck, which he had purchased from Ephraim Augustine Hermen, the grandson of the founder of Bohemia Manor.

After Joseph George purchased Middle Neck he obtained an order from the provincial court to have it surveyed. This survey took in all of St. Xaverus and part of several other tracts adjacent to it, and George had already ejected one Reynolds from the land by him claimed, it being included inside the limits of the new survey, when Atwood and George compromised the matter by the former paying him "35 pounds for a deed of release to all the right or claim he might have to any or all the lands I hold between the two branches of the St. Augustine's creek." This quotation is taken from an old memorandum book in the possession of the Society and was kindly copied for the author by Father Lancaster, the Proctor of the Society in Maryland. This dispute grew out of the fact that Augustine Hermen had taken up a tract of land including the site of what was afterwards called "The Priests' Mill," the site of which may yet be seen in the meadow in front of the chapel. In all the broad domain of Augustine Hermen there were very few locations where it was practical to obtain sufficient fall for the purpose of erecting water-mills. So he very wisely took up this tract for the purpose of erecting a water-mill thereon, as he states in his first will, though there is no reason to believe he ever obtained a patent for it.

In 1732 Peter Atwood, who is then said to be of St. Mary's County, purchased another tract of land called "Askmore," from Vachel Denton. This tract was supposed to contain 550 acres, and had been granted to John Browning and Henry Denton in 1688. Denton claimed it by right of survivorship, and from him it descended to his son Vachel Denton, who, as before stated, sold it to Atwood. The Jesuit Fathers now had quite an extensive tract of land, comprising nearly thirteen hundred and fifty acres.

Father Thomas Pulton was at Bohemia in 1742. He probably remained there most of the time till 1748. Rev. John Kingdom was also there in 1748. From a few detached entries in the old memorandum book before men-

tioned, there is reason to believe the school, which was kept at the mission for some years, was started in 1745 or 1746. John Carroll, a distinguished member of the Society, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, and founder of Georgetown College, attended this school in 1745-6, and also in 1748. There is some reason to believe that his cousin, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a pupil there at the same time; but the records now in the possession of the Society contain no proof of it. This school was the only one in the colony under the control of the Jesuits or any other order of the Catholic Church, consequently it was patronized by many of the leading Catholic families in the colony, who sent their sons there to receive the rudiments of their education, after which they were sent to St. Omers, in French Flanders, to finish it. This was the case with John and Charles Carroll, both of whom afterwards took such a prominent part in the history of the State.

It is impossible, owing to the loss of a portion of the records of the mission, to ascertain how long the school continued to exist. Though it is considered to have been the germ from which Georgetown College grew, it seems probable that it was discontinued before the college was organized. Every vestige of the school-house has long since disappeared, but it is well known that it stood in the lawn, a few feet south of the manse, and that the bricks of which its walls were composed were used in the walls of the dwelling-house, which was built about 1825. The chapel, which is in a good state of preservation, was partly finished in 1795. Tradition says that Rev. Ambrose Marechal, third Archbishop of Baltimore, then resident at Bohemia, during his hours of recreation turned the banisters used in inclosing the sanctuary in the chapel.

It is probable that the school was in a flourishing condition in 1754; so much so, indeed, as to have excited the cupidity of the members of the Established Church. Rev.

Hugh Jones, who was a zealous churchman, was then rector of St. Stephen's Parish, and his correspondence as early as 1739 shows that he was bitterly hostile to the Jesuit Fathers. The records of the colonial legislature for the year 1754 show that a bill passed the lower house in that year creating a commission to inquire into the affairs of the Jesuits in the colony, and also to ascertain by what tenure they held their land. Nicholas Hyland, a zealous churchman and resident of North Elk Parish, and six other delegates, were designated as members of the commission. They were also enjoined to tender the oaths of "allegiance, abhorrence and abjuration" to the members of the Society. The bill did not pass the upper house. A bill was introduced in the lower house at the session of 1755 intended to prevent the "importation of German and French papists and Popish priests and Jesuits and Irish papists *via* Pennsylvania or the government of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, on the Delaware." The bill did not become a law.

There is reason to believe that the Protestants of Sassafras Neck, Middle Neck and Bohemia Manor petitioned the legislature at the session of 1756, praying that stringent measures might be taken against the Jesuits. At all events the lower house at this session was about to pass a very stringent bill prohibiting the importation of Irish Papists *via* Delaware, under a penalty of £20 each, and denouncing any Jesuit or Popish priest as a traitor who tampered with any of his Majesty's subjects in the colony; but the bill did not pass, the governor having prorogued the legislature shortly after it was introduced.

These measures may now seem harsh and unjust, but it must not be forgotten that at the time of which we write the excitement produced by the French and Indian war was at its height, and the Jesuits of Maryland, probably very unjustly, were accused of being in league with the French and of inciting the Indians to massacre the Protestants.

The few meagre records of the mission for the period between 1756 and 1764 contain little of interest to the general reader. They show, however, that Rev. Joseph Greaton died there in 1749. He was probably succeeded by Rev. John Lewis, who is known to have been there in 1753.

Rev. John Lewis was probably succeeded by Rev. Joseph Mosley, who came there in 1760, and probably remained continuously till 1787. Rev. Mathias Manners was also there in 1771, and died and was buried there in 1775. During the long period that Mr. Mosley was in charge of the mission he traveled all over the eastern and southern part of the Western Shore, and baptized about six hundred persons, many of whom were negro slaves. His journal contains some entries which warrant the opinion that some of the old Quaker families of the Eastern Shore embraced the Catholic religion, as he speaks of baptizing Thomas Browning, who was probably a descendant of John Browning, whom Augustine Hermen accused of trying to fraudulently obtain part of Middle Neck after he (Hermen) had obtained a patent for it.* The Hollands, one of whom was accused by Hermen of aiding Browning in his design on Middle Neck, seem also to have embraced Catholicism, for the successor of Mosley speaks of baptizing one of them. During the period between the years 1766 and 1787 the journal kept by Rev. Mr. Mosley shows that the accessions to the Catholic churches to which he ministered numbered one hundred and eighty-five. During this period he performed the marriage ceremony for members of the several congregations in his charge one hundred and seventy times and officiated at about one hundred and seventy-five funerals. In 1764 he organized a church at St. Joseph's, in Talbot County, and probably with a view of founding another mission similar to the one at Bohemia, purchased about three hundred and fifty acres of land in that county.

* See page 101, ante.

The next year he placed eight negroes, which he brought from Prince George's County at a cost of £10, on the farm. These negroes are supposed to have been in charge of an overseer.

Mr. Mosley's journal contains many curious entries illustrative of the manners and customs of society at the time they were made. Among them are the following: "4th November, 1770, I married Jerry, a negro of ours, to Jenney, a negro belonging to Mr. Charles Blake, but afterwards bought by us. Test,—many negroes, both ours and others, at St. Joseph's, Talbot. 23d July, 1777, I married Davy, a negro of ours, to Hannah, a negro of John Lockerman, by his consent; many negroes of his and our family being present. September, 1795, married at home a wench of John Connell (Senior) named Hannah, to a fellow of Tullies Neck, *by note.*"

There are many entries in Mr. Mosley's journal of marriages of negroes by note, which meant that the sable couples had notes from their owners requesting or authorizing him to perform the marriage ceremony.

CHAPTER XIV.

First Friends' meeting-house—First Episcopal minister—North and South Sassafras parishes—First vestrymen—Population—Curious lot of church property—First Episcopal Church—Chapel of Ease in Elk Neck—Shrewsbury parish—Rev. Hugh Jones—Chapel on Bohemia Manor—Sketch of Rev. Hugh Jones—North Elk parish—First vestrymen—Richard Dobson—John Hamm—Rev. Walter Ross—Chapel near Battle Swamp—Rev. William Wye—St. Mary Ann's Church, North East—Tearing the Church—Death of Rev. Mr. Wye—Rev. John Bradford—Rev. John Hamilton—Clayfall.

AUGUSTINE HERMEN, and probably many of his cotemporaries who settled on Bohemia Manor, were members of the Reformed Dutch Church. George Talbot, George Oldfield, and many of the first settlers along the Elk and Susquehanna rivers were Catholics; and the Labadists, as we have seen, had a faith peculiar to themselves. These various sects lived in harmony and peace together, under the mild government of the province as administered by the first proprietor and his successors. Even the then persecuted and despised Quakers found an asylum in the province, and were permitted to enjoy their peculiar belief in peace and quietness. They are believed to have been the first denomination that erected a house of worship in the county. As early as 1698 George Warner and seven other Quakers prayed the court that their meeting-house at the head of a branch of Still Pond Creek might be registered according to the act of Parliament, and promised "ever to pray for the eternal happiness of the court." This is the first reference to a meeting-house that has been found in the records of the county.

The first clergyman of the Church of England, of whom there is any account in the history of the early settlements

in our county, is the Rev. John Yeo. He came from Maryland to New Castle in 1677, and exhibited his credentials as a licensed minister of the Church of England, and was well received by the court.* In 1676 he had written a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from Pautuxent, Maryland, in which he gives a sad account of the religious condition of the province. At this time there were only three ministers of the Established Church of England in the province of Maryland. Mr. Yeo seems to have exercised the duties of his calling at New Castle for a year or two, for in 1679 he presented a petition to the court, in which he prayed to be remunerated for preaching the gospel and for baptizing children, marrying people, and burying the dead. The court refused his request, and nothing more is heard of him till 1681, when he was tried at New Castle "for mutinous expressions against the Duke of York, the town, the court," etc., for which he was tried before a jury and acquitted. He had, no doubt, been attracted to Bohemia Manor by the prosperous condition of the people residing thereon, and by its close proximity to New Castle, near which he afterwards settled, which was at that early day a town of much importance. He was the first clergyman of the Established Church that visited Cecil County.

In 1692 the legislature of the province, which was thoroughly Protestant, passed "an act for the Service of Almighty God and the establishment of the Protestant religion in the Province." This act was passed previous to the 9th of June, 1692, and on the 22d of the November following the commissioners of this county, who were Captain Charles James, Colonel Casparus Hermen, Mr. Humphrey Tilton, Mr. William Ward, Mr. Henry Rigg, Mr. John James and Mr. William Elms, with some of the principal freeholders of the county, in pursuance and compliance with the act of Assembly, laid out and divided the county into

* See Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania, page 448.

two districts or parishes, that is to say, one parish for Worton and South *Sassafras* Hundred and the other for North *Sassafras*, Bohemia and Elk Hundreds. These parishes were called North and South *Sassafras*. The Rev. Lawrence Vanderbush was then officiating in North *Sassafras*, and had probably been there for some time, for it is a matter of record that he administered a baptism on the 2d of July previous, and during the year he baptized eighteen others. But little more is known of his history, only that he died in 1696, at which time he was also in charge of South *Sassafras* parish.

About this time Peter Sluyter seemed to think that the scepter he wielded as "Grand Mogul" of the Labadists was about to depart from his hand, and so he petitioned the governor for license or authority to perform the rite of marriage. No doubt he feared that the organization of these parishes and the settlement of other ministers near him would lessen his authority, which was already beginning to wane, and deprive him of influence over his followers. His petition was granted with the proviso that he was only to marry people of his own denomination.

The first vestrymen of North *Sassafras* parish were Casparus Hermen, William Ward, John Thompson, Edward Jones, Henry Rigg and Matthias Vanderhuyden. The taxables in 1693 were 321, which was the number of persons then assessed within the present limits of the county, and are supposed to have been equal to one-fourth of all the inhabitants in the county, which, by this estimate then contained a population of 1284. At a meeting of the vestry, the next year, it was ordered that the 12,440 pounds of tobacco collected that year should be disposed of as follows: To the minister, 8000 pounds; to the sheriff for receiving it, 620 pounds; to Thomas Pearce, clerk, 800 pounds; the residue, 3018 pounds, to be lodged in the hands of Edward Jones for the defraying of some necessary charges in fitting and repairing the present meeting-house "which we have procured for the present till God shall enable us to build a church."

In 1694 the Bishop of London sent over some books by Governor Nicholson for distribution in the colony, and the records of this parish contained a list of things which Casparus Hermen then had, a part or all of which are supposed to have been the distributive share assigned to this parish. The list was as follows: Two Bibles, two books called the Duties of Man, two books of Common Prayer, two books of Church Catechism, two books of Christian religion; also, two books of martial discipline, two books of the articles of war; one dark lantern, one prospective glass and one pocket compass. The five last-mentioned articles in the list were curious articles to be mixed up with the former; but the warlike Susquehannocks still infested the northwestern part of the county and the dark lantern and spy-glass were no doubt intended to be used in repelling their attacks.

The next minister mentioned in the records of the parish was the Rev. James Crawford, of whose history but little is known, only that he stopped for six weeks with Edward Larramore and that the vestry allowed Larramore 400 pounds of tobacco for boarding him. In 1712 he was incumbent of South Sassafras Parish, where he died in 1713.

In 1694 the number of taxables in the parish was 337, and the amount of tobacco raised for ecclesiastical purposes was 13,480 pounds.

Previous to this time the congregation worshiped in an *old* meeting house, the location and history of which is entirely lost; but in 1696 the vestry concluded that it was absolutely necessary to purchase some land in a more convenient location and build a church thereon. They accordingly purchased 100 acres of William Ward for 5,000 pounds of tobacco and agreed with Casparus Hermen to build a church of brick or stone 25x35 feet, the walls of which were to be two feet thick at the foundation and eighteen inches above; walls to be twelve feet high; to have four windows, a folding door, six feet wide, etc., for 18,000 pounds of tobacco. Still there was no minister in the parish, but in 1697 the

vestry ordered that Robert Cook be allowed 800 pounds of tobacco for the accommodation and funeral charges of one Mr. William Davis, a certain minister of the gospel, who, having newly come to tender his services to them, was taken sick and died.

In 1697 the taxables had increased to 346. A year had now passed away and still the church was not built, and the vestry questioned Casparus Hermen why he had not fulfilled his contract, to which he replied: First, that the building of the State-house took longer than he expected; secondly, that he was prevented by unseasonable weather and losing a sloop load of material; and thirdly, being a delegate to the General Assembly he had to attend to public concerns, by order of his Excellency the Governor. This year the vestry purchased two hundred acres of land as a glebe, for 7,000 pounds of tobacco, so that it now had three hundred acres of glebe land.

This year the Rev. Richard Sewell, who had been sent to Maryland by the Right Rev. Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London, was appointed or presented to the two parishes of North and South Sassafras by Thomas Nicholson, governor of the province. The last General Assembly had provided for paying the expenses of clergymen coming over to the province, and the treasurer of the Eastern Shore was ordered to pay Mr. Sewell £20 for that purpose.

In 1698 the taxables numbered 329, yielding 13,160 pounds of tobacco. At the March session of the General Assembly Mr. Sewell had preached before it, and it was customary for the General Assembly to make an appropriation to pay for such service, but on this occasion the lower house refused to do this, and when asked by the other house the cause of this refusal, they replied that Mr. Sewell did not give that satisfaction to the country that was expected of him. The other house, and his Excellency, the Governor, thought they were as good judges of the merits of the case as the lower house, and said that he ought to be paid.

There had been some talk of building a chapel of Ease a year or two before this time (1698), and the vestry this year agreed for the building of one by the Elk River, to be of wood, twenty feet square and ten feet in height, to have two windows, a pulpit and reading-desk, large door, etc., and were to pay for the building of it 2,600 pounds of tobacco. They purchased an acre of land on which to build it from Peter Clawson, for 400 pounds of tobacco. There is no doubt that this chapel, if it was ever built, was upon St. John's Manor, in Elk Neck, for the records of the county show that the next year Peter Clawson sold a hundred acres of land which is described as being part of St. John's Manor, on the west side of Elk River. The land is described as lying upon *Church Creek*, which no doubt was so called because the chapel was near to it. If the land that was bought upon which to build the chapel had been on the other side of the Elk River, the vestry must necessarily have bought it from Casparus Hermen, for no other person owned any land there. In 1698 Hermen having died without building the church, the vestry agreed with Matthias Hendrickson and James Smithson for the building of a church (about the same size of the one Hermen was to have built) for 18,000 pounds of tobacco. In 1699 the taxables of the parish amounted to 352.

In 1701 the inhabitants of North Elk and Bohemia Hundreds presented a petition to the upper house of Assembly, complaining that Mr. Sewell had neglected them, and the matter was referred to Col. John Thompson, but there is no record of his report. The parish at this time was quite large, embracing the territory included by the present boundaries of the county. The reverend gentleman had married the preceding year, so it is no wonder that he failed to visit the northern part of the county, which George Talbot twenty years before had called "that desert and frontier corner of the province," and which was probably but little improved at the time of which we write. In 1703 the church floor, gallery, etc., were agreed to be made for £20 sterling and

5,000 pounds of tobacco, being equal to about \$225. In 1704 it was ordered that eight gallons of rum be paid for, it having been used for drams in the morning while the workmen were building the church. The people of that day used rum, and for many years afterwards it was customary to allow in the levy for a gallon or two of rum and some sugar to sweeten it upon the occasion of a pauper's funeral, the expense of which was borne by the county.

On March 8th of this year Matthias Van Bibber was made a vestryman. The church was not dedicated until 1705. It was called St. Stephen's, which name it still bears, and which has also long been applied to the parish, the legal name of which is North Sassafras. In 1706 North Elk Parish was constituted. It embraced all that part of the county north of the Elk River, and lessened to that extent the size of North Sassafras Parish.

Shrewsbury, or South Sassafras Parish, which now is in Kent County, was erected, as before stated, in 1692. The names of the vestrymen in 1695 were William Pearce, William Harris, Edward Blay, William Elms, Edward Skiddimor, and George Shirton. The records of Cecil County show that this vestry obtained a deed from Charles James, in 1700, for 181 acres of land, for which they had paid 7,000 pounds of tobacco to Charles James, the father of the grantor, then deceased. This land is described as being near a valley at the head of a branch of Churn Creek.

In 1702 one Richard Lugg was indicted for disturbing public worship at Shrewsbury Parish Church, and found guilty and fined one hundred pounds of tobacco. In 1695 the taxables in Shrewsbury were 350, thirteen more than were assessed in all the other parts of the county. The total population of the county at this time was 2,852, that is, on the theory that the taxables were equal to one-fourth of the people. During the few years that this parish was under the jurisdiction of this county, it was under the care of the rectors of North Sassafras, except for a short time in 1702,

when the Rev. Stephen Boardley, the rector of St. Paul's Parish, adjoining it on the south, served it one-third of his time.

In 1714 the taxables in North Sassafras, which now embraced the country between the Elk and Sassafras rivers, had increased to 520; and in 1721 they numbered 726. In 1723 Dr. Sewell resigned the charge of North Sassafras, having had charge of it more than twenty-six years. In 1724 the parish was vacant, and Thomas Parsley was appointed reader by the vestry, and was to *put up the greens* in the church at the usual time. He was to have 2,000 pounds of tobacco for his compensation.

In 1723 the governor of the province inquired of the commissioners of the county how many parishes there were in it and the number of taxables in them, and they replied that there were two parishes, and that St. Stephen's (North Sassafras) was thirty miles long and sixteen miles in breadth, and contained 1,011 taxables; that North Elk was about twenty miles long and was about the same width, and contained 569 taxables; and that St. Stephen's Parish had a glebe of 310 acres.

In 1724 the Rev. John Urmston was inducted into the parish. He was an intemperate man, and the records of the parish show that, upon one occasion, he was "so overtaken with liquor in the church that he could not read the service, so that the people went out." So they complained of his bad conduct, and some of the neighboring rectors and other officials of the adjoining parishes tried him on a libel exhibited against him by the church wardens for many wicked and immoral actions, which were proved before the said commission. The crimes for which he was deposed were so glaring that the reverend gentlemen did not think fit to appeal from the decision of the commission that tried him, but being instigated by the Papists, as was alleged by the presiding officer, he sought legal advice, and was about to bring suit for the recovery of his salary and also to pros-

ecute the president of the commission that tried and deposed him for acting without a commission from his Majesty, the king, when he, in a drunken fit, as was supposed, fell into the fire and was burned to death. A sad but fitting end for one who had disgraced the holy office, and had probably assumed its duties in order to prostitute it to his own aggrandizement. The vestry considered the parish vacant and petitioned the governor to appoint another rector, and in response he sent them the Rev. Hugh Jones, who took charge of the parish in 1731. He was a graduate of the University of Oxford, and came to Maryland in 1696. He was then in the twenty-sixth year of his age. He had been engaged in the ministry in Calvert County, Maryland, and also in Virginia. He was a zealous churchman and was much annoyed by the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Jesuits and Quakers who were residents of the parish. In 1733, an act having been passed by the General Assembly for the purpose of raising the requisite funds, the vestry agreed with John Babenhime and James Bayard for the building of a new church at or near the place where the old church stood for 75,000 pounds of tobacco. The vestry also bought from Benjamin Sluyter two acres of land on the Manor upon which to build a chapel, and agreed with him for the building of one 30x50 feet, with a semi-circular chancel with a radius of ten feet. This was the old St. Augustine Church which was standing at St. Augustine when the Hessians, under Knyphausen, visited the Manor in 1777. It is worthy of remark that when the building of the church was contemplated four of the vestrymen voted for it to be built at Newtown, which probably was the name then given to Cecil-town, at the mouth of Scotchman's Creek, which had been laid out in 1730.

The following extract from a letter from Hugh Jones to the secretary of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, shows the character and zeal of the man in an admirable manner, and for that reason is inserted here :

"ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH,
in Cecil county, Md.,
July 30th, 1739. }

"*May it Please Your Reverence:*—To excuse the presumption of me and my vestry in making application to you for the donation of a library to this parish; for though this place belongs not to any of your missions, yet it may have as just a claim to partake of your pious favors as any, being the chief mark at which the virulent darts of the Pennsylvania deists, Quakers, Presbyterians, &c., are aimed, we being almost surrounded by them and having continual trade and intercourse with them. You are no stranger to the cunning and diligence of these people in perverting their neighbors, especially the licentious and the ignorant. So that I need only to mention that I am obliged to be continually on my guard to defend my weak but large flocks against their attacks in one quarter or other, in which, with God's help, I have hitherto well succeeded. But this being a populous and very growing place, 'tis feared that, without the aid of a competent number of books to be lent out on all occasions, their insinuating wiles will seduce many in a small time. Since the Jesuits in my parish with them they favored and settled in Philadelphia seem to combine our ruin by propagation of schism, popery and apostacy in this neighborhood, to prevent the danger of which impending tempest 'tis hoped you will be so good as to contribute your extensive charitable benevolence, by a set of such books of practical and polemical divinity and church history as you shall judge most suitable for the purpose, but especially the best answer to Barclay's apology, the independent Whig, and all the other favorite books of the Quakers, Deists, Presbyterians, Anabaptists and Papists, with books of piety and devotion and vindication of the doctrines and discipline of our Established Church against all sorts of adversaries."

In this letter Mr. Jones speaks of his ministrations at Appoquinimy, and states that many of the people there were his auditors when he was officiating in his other church.

The petition book for the year 1731, which is yet extant among the records of the county, contains a petition from Hugh Jones to the court, which is also characteristic of the

man, and shows the state of society at that time. "The petition of Hugh Jones, clerk, humbly sheweth that, Whereas, the road now running by your petitioner's door was formerly moved that way, before the minister's house was built, for the convenience of the marsh plantation (the marsh plantation was probably the free school land on the Bohemia, east of Scotchman's Creek), which very much incommodes the settlement at the glebe by rendering the habitation of the incumbent public, which ought to be private and retired, and turns the pasture into common, and exposes your petitioner and his family to the troublesome company and insults of many drunken, swearing fellows, and makes us unsafe in our beds, and gives opportunity for thievish negroes and ordinary people, who continually pass that way, to corrupt and hinder our servants, and to pilfer anything that is left out at night—nay even to break open doors that are locked, as I have already found by experience." Therefore he prayed that the road might be moved to its former track, at some distance from the house, which was granted.

In 1743 the taxables in this parish had increased to 1,443. The next year the northern part of the parish, including all of it between Elk River and Little Bohemia, was erected into a new parish, under the name of St. Augustine. In 1755 there was much fear of a Popish plot, as before intimated, and the manuscript history of Mr. Allen contains a letter from David Wetherspoon* to Major John Veazey, then commanding officer of the county, calling his attention to the French and Irish Papists, and begging him to bestir himself in behalf of the rights and liberties of the people and the interests of the Protestant religion. Mr. Jones this year preached a sermon called a protest against Popery, which was published in the *Maryland Gazette* at Annapolis.

* David Wetherspoon was a native of Londonderry County, Ireland. He was probably the founder of Middletown, and died April 7th, 1763, aged fifty-eight years. His grave may be seen at Middletown.

Mr. Jones was a firm friend of Lord Baltimore, and was accused by William Penn's lawyers of inducing him to refuse to carry out the agreement for the settlement of the boundary, for the reason, as they alleged, that he feared it would lessen the extent of his parish. Under his rectorship the parish reached the highest degree of prosperity that it ever attained as an Episcopal parish.

In 1757 Mr. Jones bought 480 acres of land in Middle Neck from Matthias and Henry Van Bibber, for which he paid £882, from which it is plain that he had found time to acquire some of this world's goods. The record of his deed shows that it was written upon stamped paper the duty upon which had been paid. He died September 8th, 1760, at the great age of ninety years. His will is recorded in this county. He left his beloved godson, Edward Pryce Wilmer, his lot in Charlestown, one silver half pint can, one silver soup spoon and four hunting pictures then hanging in his parlor. The residue of his estate he left to his nephew, Rev. William Barroll. His remains are interred at St. Stephen's, and a marble slab erected to his memory by his nephew, William Barroll, marks the site of his grave.

Mr. Jones had resigned the rectorship of St. Stephen's before his death; at least it is stated in his will that his nephew, William Barroll, was then rector of that parish. William Barroll was a native of Wales, or of Hereford, on its borders. He was ordained by the Bishop of London for Maryland, March 4th, 1760, and came to Maryland shortly afterwards. This year the small-pox prevailed in the vicinity of the church to such an extent that the vestry feared to meet on Easter Monday to transact the usual business of filling vacancies, choosing church wardens, etc. This disease appears to have been very prevalent about this time, and the records of the county show that in many cases allowances were made to people who had nursed poor persons who were afflicted with it. The rector and vestrymen of North Sassafras therefore petitioned the General Assembly

to confirm the action they took at a subsequent meeting. Owing to the increase of population in the county the General Assembly at the session of 1706 passed an act erecting the parish of North Elk, which embraced all that part of the county north of the Elk and east of Susquehanna River. Though the legal name of this parish is North Elk, it has been called St. Mary Ann's Parish since the erection of the church at North East, which is called by that name. The early history of this parish is involved in obscurity, from the fact that all the records previous to 1743 were many years ago destroyed by fire. It is stated, however, in Dr. Ethan Allen's manuscript history of this parish that some time during the first nine years after it was erected the vestry sent a petition to the Bishop of London, under whose care the Established Church in Maryland had been placed, praying for the services of a minister and a donation of books for the use of the parish. They state in the petition that they had erected a church and that the revenue of the parish was about £40 per annum; that the population was a mixed one, and all sorts of religion prevailed among the people. The petition was signed by Nicholas Hyland, Joseph Young, Samuel Vans, Samson, George, Francis Mauldin and John Curer. It was probably in response to this petition that Queen Anne presented the vestry with a large Bible, which is used in the church at this time (1881). The good bishop was unable to comply with their request, and it was not till 1722 that they obtained the regular service of a minister. In this year the vestry presented a petition to the court praying for a levy of tobacco "to finish the church and repair sundry things relating to it." This petition was signed on behalf of the vestry by William Howell, who was the first clerk of this parish that is alluded to in the records of the county. In 1724 the vestry, by Richard Dobson, who was register of the parish, petitioned the court for a levy of five pounds of tobacco per poll to enable them to finish an addition to the parish church.

There being no rector for a number of years after the organization of the parish, there was no legal method of obtaining the much-sought-for tobacco, only to levy it for the repair of the church; and year after year the same old petition appears upon the records, and the same old story of needed repairs is rehearsed, and never rehearsed in vain, for the tobacco was always granted.

The churchmen of that time seem to have been very zealous, for we find a petition of John Hamm to the court in 1721 stating that he had stood godfather to a child whose father had since died, and the child was then kept among Roman Catholics, "contrary to the Intention of his Baptism;" he therefore prayed that he might be removed to where he might be brought up in the "Church of England religion." The court ordered the child's mother to bring it into court, but the record tells nothing more of the case.

The Rev. Walter Ross appears to have been the first Episcopal minister that regularly labored in this parish. He was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,* and had been at New Castle some time previous to the year 1722, when he commenced his labors here, still continuing his work at New Castle. The Rev. Walter Hackett was inducted into this parish in 1733, though Mr. Ross still continued to serve it. It is probable that this anomalous condition was caused by the efforts of the proprietors of the respective provinces to extend their jurisdiction.

The controversy between the heirs of Penn and the proprietary of Maryland was raging at this time, and no doubt Lord Baltimore thought it both wise and politic to give the parishioners of North Elk a rector. At this time Rev. Hugh Jones was in charge of North Sassafra's Parish, and Mr. Hackett was probably quite as strong a partisan as he. It

* This Society was organized in London, and was under the control of the bishop of that city.

was probably owing to the efforts of Mr. Ross that the chapel near Port Deposit was erected. This chapel was east of that town and not far from Battle Swamp. It was built upon part of nine acres of land (which was no doubt a gift of the lord proprietary), near a fine spring of water, which was known as the Indian Spring. Every vestige of this chapel has long since disappeared, but the land is still in the possession of the vestry of the parish, and is now overgrown with briars and bushes. A very few ancient tombstones mark the site of the graveyard. One of them bears the date of 1742, which indicates that the chapel had not then fallen into the neglect that has since overtaken it. It is worthy of remark that Mr. Hackett stated in his first report to the Society "that his baptisms were numerous, one of which was an Indian and four others colored persons."

Mr. Hackett, who died in 1735, was succeeded by the Rev. William Wye, who took charge of the parish in 1736, and under whose administration the venerable old church now standing was built. The parish now seems to have been in a prosperous condition and contained 928 taxables.

The reader must remember that the eastern and northern boundaries of the county were still in dispute, and that Nottingham was claimed by Penn and the inhabitants of that township, and those of Welsh Tract were not included in the above number.

In 1742 an act was passed authorizing a levy of £800 to be made to enable the vestry to erect a church and vestry-house, and in 1743 they entered into articles of agreement with Henry Baker for that purpose. The names of the vestrymen were Captain Nicholas Hyland, Captain Zebulon Hollingsworth, Henry Baker, Edward Johnson, Thomas Ricketts, and John Curren.

The church stands on or near the site of the first one and is a well-constructed brick building, of the same style as the old Baptist church on Iron Hill, which was built four years afterwards. Very probably the brick used in its construction were brought from England.

The following inscription is distinctly legible on the corner-stone of the church:

RD WYE: HB: NH: DEI: ZH: TR: IC: 1743.

This inscription, as the reader will see, begins with the name of the rector. The initials, except the letters DEI, are those of the vestrymen of 1742.

There is reason to believe that Henry Baker employed Samuel Gilpin to do the carpenter work of the church and vestry-house; for the vestry-book shows that in 1751 Gilpin was ordered to have the vestry-house finished as soon as possible.

The church seems not to have been quite finished in that year, for Baker was ordered to deliver to the sexton a dozen bolts for the church windows.

In 1752 one Dominie Fanning was allowed to keep school in the vestry-house, Robert Cummings becoming surety that he would not injure it.

It was customary for many years after this church was built to *tar it*, that is, to apply tar to that portion of the wood-work and roof that was exposed to the weather. This custom was in vogue in 1763. In that year John Neal contracted with the vestry to make a ladder thirty feet long, and to tar the church and vestry-house.

In 1743 the vestry agreed to purchase a tract of land containing two hundred and fifty acres from Robert Cummings, then in possession of it, for £250. He to have the use of the *Pot House* and wood for the same for two years. This land was intended for a glebe; it was near the church.

It is supposed that the old church that stood in the graveyard, in the Ninth district, on the road from Kirk's Mills to Bay View, was built about this time. Tradition indicates that it was built by the Episcopalians, but its history is still more obscure than that of the old chapel near Battle Swamp. Mr. Wye died November 16th, 1744, and was buried, it is

said, at the Wye Chapel, in Queen Anne's County. The Wye River was most likely so called because his family resided near it. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Hugh Jones, then rector of North Sassafras Parish, who charged his estate two pounds and ten shillings for doing it. The following petition will speak for itself:

"The petition of the vestry, church-wardens and parishioners of St. Mary Ann's Parish, in Cecil County, most humbly sheweth, That whereas the Rev. Wm. Wye departed this life about *thirty-six hours past*, which makes a vacancy for a minister in said parish of which your petitioners are inhabitants, who humbly pray your excellency would please to allow us the liberty of choosing or making tryal of a minister to supply his place, that may be most agreeable to our inclination, before your excellency suffers one to come in, as on the death of Mr. George Hacket, formerly minister of the said parish, such a petition was referred to the Hon. Samuel Ogle, Esq., then governor of this province, who thought proper to grant it, we hope your excellency will show us the same indulgence and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c. The foregoing petition was sent to Thomas Bladen, Esq., His Excellency, Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the province of Maryland."

On the 4th of December following, the Rev. John Bradford appeared before the vestry and read his induction for this parish, dated the 20th of November, from which it is plain that notwithstanding the very humble petition which had been sent to the governor with such unseemly haste, he had appointed the reverend gentleman only four days after the death of his predecessor. At this meeting two of the residents of Charlestown were summoned to appear before the vestry to answer the charge of unlawfully cohabiting together. At a subsequent meeting of the vestry on the 7th of the following January, "the said *Elizabeth* appeared and declared that she and the aforesaid *John* will part and live assunder between this and next vestry day,"

which promise, though exceedingly vague and indefinite, seems to have been satisfactory to the vestry, for no further reference is made to the case. The records in the old volume from which these extracts are taken contain many references to cases of this kind, and disclose a remarkable degree of laxity in the morals of the people. Not only the lower classes of society, but in some cases those high in authority, were charged with this or similar offences. Generally the culprits made the *amende honorable*, and produced certificates of marriage given by clergymen of other denominations who resided out of the parish. Mr. Bradford died in 1746. His successor was the Rev. John Hamilton, who had charge of the parish from 1746 to 1773. Nothing remarkable occurred during his rectorship; but it may be mentioned as a matter of interest, that in 1754 the taxables had increased to 1,030, and the return for 1755 shows an increase of 97 during that year. For the ensuing five years the taxables in this parish varied, and in 1762 only amounted to 1113. It is worthy of note that during Mr. Hamilton's incumbency the church was robbed of the communion service, and that a destructive fire occurred in Boston, to the sufferers from which, at the request of the governor, the charitably disposed persons in the county contributed £79, of which the people of this parish contributed £37. It was also during the rectorship of Mr. Hamilton (1748) that the vestry purchased one hundred acres of land (part of "Clayfall") from John Curer, for £180, for a glebe. They continued to hold this land till 1784, when they sold it to Jeremiah Baker for £605.

CHAPTER XV.

William Dare—Bulls' Mountain—"Friendship"—Old Simon—Trans-town—Ye Swedestown—John Hans Stillman—Smith's mill at Head of Elk—The Jacobs family—Henry Hollingsworth—Quarrel about New-Munster road—Bridges over the head of Elk River—Road from head of Elk to New Castle—Sketch of Hollingsworth family—North East—First iron works—Roads leading to North East—Principio Iron Company—Samuel Gilpin settles at Gilpin's Rocks—William Black's account of North East—Immigration—Character of immigrants—Susquehanna ferry—Road from ferry to Philadelphia.

WILLIAM DARE, who the reader will recollect was one of the cotemporaries of George Talbot, was one of those who very early in the history of the county took up land at the head of Elk River. As early as 1681 he became the proprietor of a tract called the Grange, which extended for some distance in a southeast direction from that part of the Big Elk called the Half Moon, and contained about one hundred and fifty acres. He was also the proprietor of seven hundred acres in Elk Neck, called Rich Mountain, which he sold in 1702 to Francis Mauldin, the founder of the Mauldin family of this county. This land was adjoining the land of Thomas Bull. There can be no doubt that these tracts of land were afterwards called by their owners' names, and thus originated the names of Bull's and Mauldin's Mountain. Shortly after this time (1681) most of the land on the east and south side of the Big Elk between the Grange and Frenchtown was taken up and patented, as was also much of the land in Elk Neck and along the east side of the Susquehanna River for some distance north of the mouth of the Octoraro Creek. But many of the original grants, probably owing to the inability of the grantees to

comply with the condition under which they were made, reverted to the lord proprietary, and their bounds and the date of the patent were lost.

The land upon which Elkton was built is part of the tract of fourteen hundred acres which was patented to Nicholas Painter in 1681, under the name of Friendship. The south-east corner of the tract is marked by a stone which may be seen close by the roadside, between Mitchell's mill race and the *Far Creek*; it extended down the Big Elk to a point some distance below the bridge at the causeway, and north for the distance of a mile or more. This tract came into the possession of Philip Lynes, as did the large tract of Belleconnell, which, as before stated, was patented to George Talbot two years later. Philip Lynes devised these tracts to his wife Anne Lynes, his cousin Mary Contee, and his friend William Bladen, by his last will dated 1709, and they by a deed executed in 1711 conveyed it to John Smith, the son and heir of William Smith, to satisfy a claim which his father had against Philip Lynes for money loaned him by said William Smith in his lifetime. This deed is for three parcels of land, comprising about one thousand acres, parts of Friendship and Belleconnell. Reference is made in it to the "man's tenement, known and called by ye name of old Simon." This Simon was surnamed Johnson. He owned a tract of land that extended from what is now known as the "Hollow" (but was formerly called "Simon's Gut") as far down the river as the bridge at the causeway, and far enough north to include fifty acres of land. "Old Simon" is evidently the man whose name has been given to Simon's Tussock, which is a massive tussock situated on the north side of the river a short distance from where Ben's Gut empties into the river. "Ye tenement" in which he lived probably stood on or near the east end of the depot lot. The records of the court show that old Simon lived to be eighty years of age, and that this plantation was in the possession of his son Simon in 1742.

Friendship and Belleconnell are described in the deed from Lynes and others to Smith as "lying at ye Swedestown;" but inasmuch as those tracts contained three thousand four hundred acres, it is hard to fix the location of the town. In 1697 two Swedish missionaries on their way to the settlements on the Delaware, sailed up the Chesapeake Bay and Elk River and landed at a village which they said had been founded by their countrymen. It was called Transtown, and was probably located at Elk Landing. In 1698, a certain John Hans Stillman loaned the Rev. Ericus Biork, one of the missionaries before referred to, £100 of silver money for the use of the congregation in building the old Swedes church yet standing in Wilmington. Eight years afterwards he released Biork from the payment of the bond, and is described as John Hans Stillman, merchant of Elk River in Cecil County.* He is known to have owned land on Big Elk Creek just above Elk Landing, from which it seems almost certain that Transtown was at or very near the junction of the Big and Little Elk. Mr. Ferris, in his History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, locates Transtown on the site of Frenchtown, which has been done on the map accompanying this volume. Stillman was naturalized in 1695. In 1697 and probably for many years afterwards he was engaged in trading with the Indians at the mouth of the Susquehanna River. He is no doubt the person referred to in the colonial records of a subsequent period as *Captain Hans*, and appears to have had much influence with the Indians.

John Smith was the son of William Smith, who is supposed to have been the person who erected the first mill at the Head of Elk. This mill is known to have been there as early as 1706, and the next year one William Anderson petitioned the court for leave to retail strong liquors at the

* For an account of Transtown and Stillman, see Ferris's History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, pages 156 and 177.

Head of Elk, "he being a poor man and much incumbered with people passing and repassing to the said mill along the Queen's road," which then ran from the lower ferry at Perryville *via* North East and crossed the Big Elk Creek at or near where the bridge now stands at Mitchell's mill, and ran down the peninsula east of the heads of Back Creek, Bohemia and Sassafras rivers.

Three months after John Smith received the deed for the one thousand acres before referred to, he and his wife and father-in-law sold the mill and eight acres, on part of which it stood, to Thomas Jacobs, bolter, who is described as being of Middletown, Chester County, Pa. This land is that south of Main street and west of the road by the mill. Jacobs also bought another tract containing twenty-one acres on the west side of the creek and running a considerable distance up the stream above the breast of the dam. It was stipulated in the deed that Jacobs was to have the right to cut as much timber as would be required to build a dwelling-house and also to rebuild the said mill and no more upon the other land of Smith free of charge. It is worthy of remark, as showing the condition of the country and the customs of the people, that "the fishings, fishing places and fowling ways" are specified as being conveyed to Jacobs. This mill continued in possession of the Jacobs family till 1784, at which time it was in a very bad condition, and Thomas Jacobs, the grandson of the person who purchased it from Smith, entered into a copartnership with Zebulon and Levi Hollingsworth for the purpose of carrying on the milling business. It was at this time that the old mill now standing was built by the Messrs. Hollingsworth, who built the mill and furnished it with a pair of French burr millstones and put £700 into the business. The third story of the mill, which is frame, was subsequently added to it.

This man John Smith did business in a curious manner. His deed to Jacobs shows that he had previously bargained to sell the mill to Allen Robinet, for he mentions an agree-

ment between that person and himself in the deed, and Jacobs covenants to indemnify him for any breach of the said agreement. Reese Hinton lived at that time on the Grange. In 1711 Smith sold seventy acres north of the Grange and adjoining the land of Jacobs to Hinton, and the next year he sold ten acres of marsh (which is the marsh west of the gas works) to Henry Hollingsworth, who, in 1711, had bought fifty acres of land from William Sluby, of New Castle, for £28. This last tract is described in the deed as being south of and adjoining the land of Simon Johnson.

Hollingsworth also purchased some acres of marsh which was between Hollingsworth's Point and the mouth of Mill Creek. It is described as being near Glover's Hill, which is the hill near the west end of the causeway, across Little Elk, just above Elk Landing. In 1713 Smith, who had been absent from the county for some years, returned and took up one hundred and seventy-one acres of land, called Elk Plains, near the head of Elk River, on the south side of a path leading from head of Elk River to the town of New Castle.

In 1720 the inhabitants of New Munster and one Lewis Jones had a quarrel about a road from New Munster to the head of Elk. This road seems to have run some distance east of where the road is now located, and the quarrel appears to have been long and bitter. The petitions presented to the court in reference to it are interesting and curious. Jones owned a large quantity of land extending from Gilpin's bridge north of Elkton, to some distance north of Bellehill. The quarrel seems to have been caused by the desire of the people of New Munster to obtain a better fording of Big Elk Creek.

In 1721 many of the inhabitants of the upper part of the county presented a petition to the court, in which they state that "Whereas, the great and main King's road, leading through his lordship's province of Maryland, passing over the dangerous & swelling falls of the two heads of Elk River,

whereby many good people both inhabitants of this county & strangers are not only stopt & often disappointed in their journeys to their loss & damage, but likewise often in danger and perill of their lives, wherefore they pray that the court would order good & sufficient horse & foot bridges to be built over the said two falls of the two heads of Elk River at the public charge of the said county ;” which petition was granted, and John Thomas was given the contract for building the bridges which he constructed some time during that or the following year, for he presented a petition to the court at its session just a year afterwards, in which he states that “not well considering the value of building the said bridges at the time of agreeing for the building of the same, he finds a great deal more work than he expected, & humbly prays that the court would order two discreet persons to view the said bridges & make report of the same to the worshipful court of the value of building them,” with which report he promised to be *contented*. The court, after “maturely considering” the petition, ordered that he be paid 7,000 pounds of tobacco, in accordance with his agreement. These were the first bridges built at the expense of the county that are referred to in the records of the court.

It is a singular coincidence that forty-two years after this time George Catto, Tobias Rudolph and Joseph Gilpin, who were appointed by the court to rebuild the bridge over the Great Elk at the same place got into a similar difficulty. The court levied the sum of £125 for the building of this bridge, and the commissioners state in their petition that they had thought it most advantageous to the public to have the greater part of it built of stone, and had contracted for the building of it for £250, and pray for an additional allowance of £125.

In 1723 some of the influential citizens of the county petitioned for a road “from the head of Elk to New Castle and *Christine* Bridge,” and state in their petition that “the road to those places not having been laid out by order of court

was so stopped up and turned that carts were forced to go by the New Munster Road (which then ran near where Newark now stands), and that strange travelers often went by Frenchtown instead of the head of Elk River, the Welsh having cleared and marked a road as far as their supposed bounds." The petition, which was signed by Stephen Onion, Richard Dobson, and eighteen other citizens of the county, was granted, and William Bristow, overseer of Bohemia Hundred, and Thomas Jacobs, the proprietor of the mill, were ordered to make the road.

The Henry Hollingsworth who bought the land from John Smith came to Pennsylvania, as did also his brothers Valentine and Thomas, in the ship *Welcome*, with William Penn, in 1682. Their father, Valentine Hollingsworth, married the daughter of Henry Cornish, who was one of the sheriffs of London (London then had two sheriffs with co-equal power) in the troublesome times of James II., and who was executed in 1685 for alleged complicity with Monmouth in his efforts to usurp the royal authority. Cornish was believed to have been entirely innocent of the charges against him, and although he was executed with all the barbarity of the times, Parliament, a few years afterwards, in the reign of William and Mary, reversed the act of attainder, and did all in its power to atone for the wrong that it had brought upon an innocent family. Valentine Hollingsworth represented New Castle County in the legislature of Pennsylvania for several years. He was the cotemporary of George Talbot.

Henry, who was named after his maternal grandfather, was a man of much distinction, and assisted Thomas Holmes in laying out the city of Philadelphia, being at that time about eighteen years of age. After the death of Cornish his son-in-law, Valentine Hollingsworth, removed to Ireland, where his son Henry made the acquaintance of Lydia Atkinson, whom he married in 1688, having in that year returned to Ireland for that purpose. He represented

New Castle County in the Assembly in 1695, and was also sheriff of Chester County the same year; was deputy master of the rolls in 1700, and coroner of the last-named county in 1706. He removed to Elkton about 1712, in which year he was appointed surveyor of Cecil County. He was the founder of the Hollingsworth family in this county, and the grandfather of Colonel Henry Hollingsworth, who was so intimately identified with the cause of the colonies during their struggle for independence. He died in Elkton in 1721. Valentine Hollingsworth was a Quaker, and his son Henry is believed to have been brought up in that faith, but afterwards joined the Episcopal church. His life gave evidence that he never forgot the pacific principles of the faith in which he had been educated, for he would not suffer the life of any animal to be sacrificed for food, and lived for some years wholly upon a vegetable diet. Once, when returning from a fair at New Castle, he saw a rattlesnake coiled up by a log not far from his house, but passed on without killing it. Next day a peddler was found near the same spot stiff and dead from the bite of a snake. This gave Henry great pain, and he afterwards thought it right to kill snakes.

The Hollingsworth family were noted for their enterprise and industry and many of them were largely engaged in the manufacture of flour, they being the owners of a number of mills on both branches of the Elk. Zebulon Hollingsworth, the father of Henry, of Revolutionary fame, was presiding justice of the court of this county, and one of the commissioners appointed to lay out Charlestown, in 1742. He was a prominent member of St. Mary Ann's church, at North East, and was one of the vestrymen in 1743, when the present church was built. He died in 1763, aged 67 years, and is buried in the old graveyard, on the bank of the Elk, southwest of the Episcopal church in Elkton, and near the house in which he lived, a part of which is yet standing. He was the great-grandfather of Mrs. Dr. Mack-

all, Mrs. Dr. Jamar, Mr. John Partridge and his sisters, and Mrs. Pinkney Whyte, the wife of ex-Governor Whyte, of Baltimore. His son Jacob kept a hotel in the house now occupied by Col. George R. Howard, when the British were here in 1777. And very early in life his son Henry built the venerable old mansion now occupied by the Partridge family, and in which he resided at the time of the Revolutionary war. It is worthy of remark in this connection that the British carried away the theodolite which Henry Hollingsworth used for surveying when they left here previous to the battle of Brandywine. The earliest landholder in the immediate vicinity of North East of whom any information has been obtained from the records of the county, was a millwright, named Robert Jones, who had twenty acres of land condemned for a mill site at the junction of the east and main branches of North East Creek in 1711. This was probably the site of the Shannon mill, but may have been further down the stream, where the other iron works are located.

The next mill at North East of which we find any record, was owned by Robert Dutton, who is believed to have been the person referred to in the chapter upon Nottingham. Some time previous to 1716 he had a mill on or near the site of the iron works, which he sold, together with fifty acres of land upon part of which it stood, to Richard Bennett, of Queen Anne's County, in that year, for £100 silver money. This mill was near the "bottom of the main falls of North East," and there seems to have been a forge or furnace upon it, for iron works are among the many things mentioned as being conveyed by the deed. It is very likely that Dutton had the land upon which this mill was built condemned by a writ of *ad quod damnum*, as the legal process was called, for the early legislators of the colony were so sensible of the use of mills that they very soon passed an act providing for the condemnation and valuation of land for the use of those who were disposed to build them. This

process was much the same as that now in use for obtaining private property for public use. The party obtaining the site for a mill in this manner had the use of it for the term of eighty years at a given annual rent. Many of the mills in the county, in its early days, were built upon land obtained in this way.

Among the petitions presented to the court in 1719 was one from some of the citizens of Susquehanna Hundred, in which they state that they had "settled in a remote part of this county and were destitute of convenient roads both to *church* and *court* and also for rolling tobacco to any convenient landing;" they therefore prayed for a road to be laid out from the head of North East River to the plantation of Roger Kirk.* The petition was signed by Robert Dutton, the proprietor of the mill, and about twenty others.

In 1721 John Cousine, an orphan, thirteen years of age, was bound to John Pennington, of North East. Mr. Pennington was a cordwainer (which was the name given to shoemakers at that time), and he obligated himself to teach the orphan "to read, write and cast accounts and to get his catechism by *heart*, and to teach him the cordwainer's trade, and to give him, at the expiration of his time of service, a set of shoemakers' tools, two new suits of clothes and a young breeding mare."

In 1723 many of the inhabitants of Milford Hundred, which then embraced the northeastern part of the county, petitioned the court for a road from the New Munster Road, at David Alexander's, across the main fresh of Elk River at Stephen Hollingsworth's mill, (which was the mill on Big Elk, west of Cowantown) to the church at North East. A few months afterwards they presented another petition,

* Roger Kirk was the founder of the Kirk family, which is one of the most numerous in this county. His plantation was on the great North East, in Nottingham, and included the site of the mill on that stream, next above the road leading from the Brick Meeting-house to the Rising Sun.

stating that this "road was difficult, dangerous and troublesome to maintain by reason of crossing the east branch of North East twice, and that it was only intended for a bridle path, and that a cart road was much needed and might be made by a much nearer route," &c. This petition was granted and Stephen Hollingsworth was ordered to see the road laid out, so that it would not damnify any of the inhabitants of said Hundred.

In 1724 Daniel Davis presented a petition to the court, stating that he had settled on the main road, near the iron works at North East, and was often oppressed with strangers and travelers, and humbly prayed for a license to keep a public house of entertainment, which was granted.

These few references in the records of the county to North East show that it was a place of some importance as early as 1720, and most likely it was of much greater importance then than it was half a century afterwards. Charlestown was not then built; perhaps it was not even thought of, and the iron works which, as we have seen, were located here as early as 1716, added much to the importance of the place.

In 1722 Stephen Onion & Co. leased from Ebenezer Cook, (the agent of the lord proprietary) two tracts of land, called Vulcan's Rest and Vulcan's Trial. The former tract joined Dutton's mill-dam on the south, and probably extended down the river some distance below the present limits of the town. The annual rent for this tract, which contained one hundred and fifty acres, was 15s. 6d., sterling and two fat capons. The rent for Vulcan's Trial, which was still further down the river, was 4s. and two capons. The lease for this tract, which contained thirty-seven acres, contained a covenant obliging the company (which at that time consisted of Stephen Onion and Thomas and William Russell) to plant an orchard of forty apple trees. Two days after this, on the 31st of May, 1722, they leased a tract of two hundred acres in Susquehanna Manor, called "Diffidence." It was on the north side of the main branch of the North

East. On this tract they were to plant an orchard of two hundred apple trees. The annual rent was 20s. and two capons. This seems to indicate that the proprietors of the North East iron works were not a part of the Principio Company at this time, though Onion is mentioned as one of the latter company in the purchase of a mill on Back Creek (now Principio Creek) the same year, and Joshua Gee, Joseph Farmer, William Russell, and John Ruston are mentioned as the other members of the Principio Company. The large tract of Geoffarison, which was no doubt so called in honor of Mr. Gee, was purchased in 1722 by Onion & Co., it having been patented in 1721. The probability is that Onion was a member of each company, and that they were afterwards united. The Principio Company was one of the first companies organized in the county for the manufacture of iron. The father and brother of General Washington had an interest in this company, which some of the family retained till after the close of the Revolutionary war. At what time the Washingtons first became connected with the company is uncertain, but it was probably after the settlement of Samuel Gilpin at Gilpin's Rocks, which was in 1733. The Gilpin and Washington families had intermarried in England and were intimate at this time, which may serve to explain why the Washingtons became interested in an enterprise of this kind in Cecil County. For a long time after the erection of these works they were supplied with iron ore obtained in the neighborhood.

The forges used at that time, and till a comparatively recent period, were very rude affairs. The blast was made by means of a curious circular bellows, which was operated by means of a water-wheel, very little machinery or gearing being used. So rude were these forges that there was a water-wheel for each bellows and hammer, consequently one forge building often contained several water-wheels.

In 1744 William Black, who was secretary of the commissioners appointed by the Governor of Virginia to unite with those of Pennsylvania and Maryland in treating with the

Six Nations of Indians at Lancaster, visited this place in company with the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland. While on their way to Philadelphia to join the commissioners of that province, he says: "We sailed up the bay and landed at Turkey Point, and I never saw a country so overgrown with woods. About sundown we came to anchor before North East town, which is composed of two ordinaries, a grist mill, baker house & two or three dwellings. Notwithstanding we were lying before a town, the commissioners and all the rest of the company chose to be on board, as the place by its appearance did not promise the best of entertainment. The next morning we went on shore and breakfasted at the public house, where I drank the best cask cider for the season that ever I did in America." After visiting the Principio Company's iron works, which were then in charge of Mr. Baxter, which he says were thought to be as complete works of the kind as any on the continent, they started on horseback towards Philadelphia, and were met at the State line by the high sheriff, coroner, and undersheriff of New Castle County, with their white wands, who accompanied them to Chester, where they were met by the officials of Chester County. He does not mention Elkton, but speaks of dining at Ogletown, and says he drank some more good cider there.

So great was the desire of many persons in England and Ireland to emigrate to Maryland, that in the early days of the colony many of them entered into contracts with people in England, who owned plantations in Maryland, to serve them as servants or laborers in the new country for a term of years, in consideration of their transportation and maintenance. Many of the early settlers who afterwards became distinguished in the history of the State, reached the colony in its early days in this manner. Some time later in the history of the colony, the captains of vessels engaged in the transportation of passengers, would effect arrangements to transport them to America, for which service they would bind themselves to serve any person who would pay the

captain the price of their passage, until such time as the debt was liquidated. This custom prevailed until the time of the Revolutionary war. The emigrants imported in this way were called "Redemptioners." For some time before this system of emigration was discontinued, it was customary for the captains of the passenger vessels to dispose of large lots of the Redemptioners to a class of persons called "Soul-drivers," who marched them through the country and disposed of them to the farmers. As late as 1795 this practice prevailed in Chester County, and it no doubt prevailed in Cecil quite as long. An amusing story is recorded in the history of Chester County of a shrewd Irishman, who, by a little good management, contrived to be the last of the gang. His master, the Soul-driver, and he stopped all night at a tavern, and the next morning he arose early and sold his master to the landlord, pocketed the money and made his escape, telling the landlord that though clever in other respects, he was rather saucy and a little given to lying. That he had been presumptuous enough at times to endeavor to pass for master, and that he might possibly represent himself as such to him! Like most persons held in bondage, either voluntary or enforced, these servants, in many cases, gave their masters much trouble.

The minutes and records of the court that are yet extant show that much of its time was spent in hearing and settling disputes between masters and servants. The servants would run off and give their masters trouble in other ways; and the records of the court show that many of them were not as virtuous as they should have been, and that the morals of the people of the county were by no means well-developed. Matthias Van Bibber, who was at one time chief justice of the county, complained to the court in 1724 of his servant Garrett Bonn; that he was unruly; that he set him at defiance, and would do nothing but what he pleased. It appeared that Bonn came to the colony in 1722 without being indentured, and the cause of the quarrel appeared to be in regard to the time he should serve. The court sent

the constable, Daniel Huckle, after Bonn, and ordered that he should serve his master five years from the time the ship which brought him over landed in Virginia, and that the sheriff take him to the whipping-post and give him twenty-five lashes well laid on upon the bare back. In 1729 Nathan Phillips presented an account and petition to the court about his servant George Williams, who had ran away and was absent four times. His master had found him at Welsh Tract once, twice at New Castle, and once at Chester. He had absented himself twenty-nine days from his master's service and put him to an expense of £3 8s. 3d. The court ordered Williams to serve six months additional to reimburse his master. These servants were bought and sold somewhat after the manner of slaves, as shown by the petition of Ephraim Thompson, presented to the court as late as 1784. Ephraim had purchased one Timothy Rouck, a "four years servant." Timothy proved to be a bad investment, and he shipped him on board of a sloop, the property of Thomas Wirt, to be sent to Virginia and sold. Upon the return of the sloop he learned that he had not been sold, and he waited upon the skipper Isaac Vanlaman for the indentures of the said servant; when it appeared that sometime during the voyage to Virginia, Rouck had stolen the indentures, and the skipper, for want of them, was unable to dispose of him. Mr. Thompson prays the court to take the premises into consideration and grant him such relief as it thought right.

As early as 1695 there was a public ferry across the Susquehanna at or near Watson's Island. The great thoroughfare between the north and south then as now crossed the Susquehanna River at that place.

In 1715 the legislature of the colony took the matter of absconding debtors and runaway servants into consideration, and enacted a law obliging all persons who intended to leave the province to give three months' notice of their intention to do so by affixing a notice to that effect upon the door of the court-house in the county where they lived.

after which, if no persons objected, they were to be furnished with passes. The act recites the fact that "Whereas several ill-minded people, inhabiting and residing at the head of the bay, have commonly set persons over the head of the bay and *Susquehanna River*, being either felons, debtors or runaway servants from the more remote parts of this province, for some small advantage they have in buying or getting such money, goods or apparel, as such persons so absenting or flying from justice aforesaid have with them generally money, goods or apparel, by them feloniously purloined from their masters and other owners," therefore it is enacted "that no person shall be allowed to transport any one not having a pass over the said *Susquehanna River* or head of the bay north of the *Sassafras River* unless they have a certificate from two of the justices of the county where they formerly resided certifying that they were freemen." This is the first enactment in reference to the underground railroad that was made in the legislation of the colonies. The servants referred to were generally white servants, and it was not till many years after this, when slavery was abolished in the Northern States, that the slaves of Maryland and the Southern States availed themselves of its use.

It is probable that the ferry at the mouth of the *Susquehanna* was the only one on that stream at this time. A few years afterwards Thomas Cresap was proprietor of a ferry near where Port Deposit now stands; this for a long time afterwards, in contradistinction to the one at the mouth of the river, was called the Upper Ferry. In 1727 Richard Touchstone was proprietor of Mount Ararat; he states in a petition, presented to the court in that year, that he was then seventy years of age and had served the country forty-three years. He no doubt is the man whose wife, tradition says, supplied George Talbot with food when he took refuge in the cave, which was at the base of Mount Ararat. He certainly was in the county at the time that Talbot was in the cave, and the tradition is not improbable.

In 1731 the inhabitants of Susquehanna upper ferry petitioned for a road from the ferry toward Philadelphia. They say the ferry was much used by the lower inhabitants of this province, and there was nothing but small paths by which to reach it. They, therefore, prayed for this road to "extend towards Philadelphia as far as the jurisdiction of this court doth extend." The inhabitants of the county about this period became much interested in the subject of roads, and many of the most important ones in the county were laid out. This was especially the case with the people along the Susquehanna.

The same year some of the uppermost inhabitants of Cecil County on Susquehanna River presented a petition, which sheweth "that a ferry is kept at a place called the Upper Ferry and merchants' mill near by, at a place called *Rock Run*, which place being the nearest navigable water that any vessel of any considerable burden can come up to, to which place they were obliged to *roll* their tobacco, in order to be shipped off;" they therefore prayed for a road from Peach Bottom to the said Rock Run mill, and from there to the said ferry place. The petition was granted and Randall Death was appointed overseer of the road. Many of these people resided several miles north of where Mason and Dixon's line was afterwards located. Wagons and other wheeled conveyances were scarce in the early days of the colony; indeed, ox carts, which were quite common a few years ago, were very rare and scarce at the time of the Revolutionary war. For want of a better method the early settlers were in the habit of rigging their hogsheads in such a manner that they could hitch a horse to them and roll them to the landings on the navigable streams, from which they were transported to Europe. Many references are made to this custom in the petitions for roads which were presented about this time. In many cases they are called rolling roads. This method of transportation prevailed to some extent in North Carolina and Virginia until quite recently.

CHAPTER XVI.

Hundreds—Hotels—Charles Rumsey—Trials by jury—The Justices' court—Rules of the court—Removal of county seat from Jamestown to Court-house Point—Court-house and jail—Town at Court-house Point—Elk ferry traditions—Quarrel among the justices of the court—The lawyers.

CECIL COUNTY was at first divided into five hundreds; of these, South Sassafras, as its name implies, and Worten Creek were south of the Sassafras River. North Sassafras Hundred included that part of the county between the Sassafras and Bohemia rivers. Bohemia Hundred included the territory between the Elk and Bohemia rivers, while that part of the county north of the Elk River was called Elk Hundred. In the course of time, when most of the land in the county was taken up and the population had increased, it became necessary to divide these hundreds for the convenience of the inhabitants, for each hundred had its constable, who in addition to the business now done by officers of that name, had to make an annual return of the taxables in his hundred and to collect the tax. The constable also had to look after the negro slaves, and suppress any riotous or tumultuous assemblages of them that came under his notice. There is reason to believe that each constable received an annual allowance of tobacco in consideration of the services of this kind he might be called upon to perform, for there are several certificates to be found among the papers appertaining to the levy of 1763 and other years, certifying that certain gentlemen who held the office, "to the certain knowledge of the writers, had gone out of nights several times to negro quarters and other places, in order to hinder and suppress their tumultuous

meetings." The constables were appointed by the justices' court, and were commissioned by the county clerk for one year. The justices' court (or the court of many duties, as it might have been properly called) also appointed one or more overseers of roads in each hundred, whose duty it was, under an act of Assembly heretofore mentioned, to "make the heads of rivers, creeks, branches and swamps passable for horse and foot." The overseers were commissioned for one year; and their commissions, like those of the constables, contained a clause requiring the holder to return it to the justices at the next annual meeting, and stating that if they failed to do so, they would suffer the penalty of being continued in office another year. To the credit of most of the constables and overseers, their commissions show that they returned them with the names of some of their neighbors indorsed on them, with a recommendation that they be appointed as their successors. It has been aptly remarked by a modern statesman, when speaking of a certain class of officials, that none of them resigned and very few of them died, and probably nothing so well illustrates the difference between the officers of the present day and those of a century ago than the curious clause that we have just mentioned as being in their warrants. That which was a penalty then would now be considered by most officeholders as a fee simple deed or patent, and probably not one of ten thousand commissions like those issued a century ago would now be returned. No record of the bounds of the other hundreds in the county, or the time of their erection, has been found and probably none was ever kept, except in the minute books of the commissioners' court, very few of which are now to be found, and these are so dinamed by age that the writing in them is not legible. But it has been ascertained from papers in the county commissioners' office, that in 1770 the county was divided into thirteen hundreds, as follows: North Sassafras, West Sassafras, Bohemia Middle Neck, Bohemia Manor, Back Creek,

North Milford, South Milford, North Susquehanna, South Susquehanna, Elk, Charlestown and Octoraro.

The keeping of ordinaries, or hotels, as they are now called, was a business that seems to have possessed much attraction for many of the people of the county in the last century, and many of the most respectable families were engaged in it. The reasons given by many of them are curious and laughable. In 1710 Charles Rumsey* presented a petition to the court, "shewing that he was a LIVER at the head of Bohemia River and that he had a wife and several small children to maintain, which to him were very chargeable, and continual passengers coming to his house, travellers from this province for Pennsylvania and from Pennsylvania to this province, and to whom he in modesty gives entertainment and lodgings, victuals, &c., without pay, which in time may amount to considerable sums of money," therefore he prayed to be licensed to keep an ordinary. Howell James lived, a few years later, at Back Creek mill, and stated in his petition that "he was much oppressed by travellers and others, he being located on the road from Head of Elk to Bohemia Ferry." He, therefore, applied for license to keep an ordinary. The court in those days, and for a long time afterwards, not only licensed ordinary-keepers, but the law obliged them to require the persons so licensed to give bonds that they would keep well regulated houses. The law also obliged the court to fix annually the price of meals, lodging and liquors, a list of which was to be exposed to view in the public part of the licensed premises. The rates for liquor fixed by the court in 1717 are as follows: "Rum, per gallon, 10 shillings, or 120 lbs. of tobacco; punch, per gill, with three parts rum, 4 shillings, or 48 lbs. of tobacco; flipe, per gill, with three parts rum, 4 shillings, or 48 lbs. of tobacco; cider, per gallon, 1 shilling, or 12 lbs. of tobacco; quince drink, per gallon, 1 shilling, or 12 lbs. of tobacco; beer, per gallon, 1s. 4d., or 16 lbs. of tobacco."

* See sketch of Rumsey family in last chapter.

It was also the duty of the justices' court to appoint a proper person for ferryman at each of the public ferries in the county and to fix the rates to be charged for the passengers and stock and vehicles of all kinds. In addition to these regular rates, the county gave the keepers of the ferry a subsidy of tobacco, probably because the amount of business was not sufficiently large to properly remunerate the proprietors.

Parties who thought themselves aggrieved by the decisions of the justices' court had the right of appeal to the provincial court, which was held at the capital of the colony. One Thomas Hitchcock, who was convicted of stealing a horse from Owen Hughes in 1700, and was sentenced to pay him fourfold and stand two hours in the pillory, appealed to the higher court, which affirmed the judgment. The following order may be found among the minutes of the court for the year 1689: "Ordered by the court that all accounts arising upon issue be henceforward in this court tried by a jury, and that the attornies of this court are enjoined to take notice thereof." This is the first reference to trial by jury that has been found in the records of the court. It is probable that prior to that time all causes were tried before the court. A few of the old minutes of the court are yet extant, and contain much information in reference to the doings of the gentlemen who composed the courts. In 1688 two of the justices refused to sit with the others unless they would send for Matthew Pope, to answer the charge that James Wroth, who was one of the justices, had prepared against him. This the justices refused to do, and for want of a quorum the court was forced to adjourn.

The Wroths are one of the oldest families in the county. They came to Maryland somewhere between 1659-60. They were a distinguished family in England, John Wroth being high sheriff of London in 1351, and lord mayor of that city in 1361. Sir Thomas Wroth, another one of the same family, was "groome of the stole" to Edward VI. Elizabeth

Wroth was a woman of martial spirit and attended her husband in King William's campaign. She died in 1718. The Cecil branch of the family intermarried with the Walmsleys, Penningtons, Rothwells and Morgans of Sasfras Neck.

In 1720 the General Assembly passed an act empowering the county courts to make such rules and regulations for the government of the officers of the court and those having business to transact before it as they should think requisite, and under such sums as they should think fit, not exceeding one hundred pounds of tobacco. By virtue of the authority contained in this act the court, on the 7th day of September, 1701, promulgated the following "Rules of Court, *made to be observed* by all suitors and others that shall have any business at court:"

"*Firstly.* When the justices meet together at the court-house to hold a court one of them shall order the crier to stand at the court-house door and make three '*O yeses,*' and say all manner of persons that have any business this day at His Majesty's court draw near & give your attendance, for the court is now going to sit; God save the King, &c.

"*Secondly.* That the Sheriff and *Clarke* meet the court day in the morning, or sooner, before the sitting of the Court, and the Clark make out his Dockett, that the court may not be delayed, on the penalty of 100 lbs. of Tobacco for every default therein adjudged by the court.*

"*Fourthly.* That all declarations be filed with the Clark of the Court within twenty days after the return of the writ, and that all pleas be filed with the Clark within fifteen days after the days as aforesaid, and all *Demurrers, Replications, Rejoinders* & all other answers and issues made up to come to trial, the morning before the trial at farthest, except otherwise ordered by the court, on the penalty of 100 lbs. of Tobacco.

* *Thirdly* does not appear in the original.

Fifthly. All actions to come to trial the second Court of (after) the return of the writ except the laws direct otherwise and the Court order.

Sixthly. That the Clarke call the actions in course, as they are on the Docket entered, except the Court order it other ways, on the penalty of 100 lbs. of Tobacco.

Seventhly. That the plaintiff's Attorney standing up and Direct himself to the court & then to the jury if any, and open his client's case, after the Clark's reading the Declaration & other papers in course relating to it, & pleading to it, and when done he to sitt down and then the Defendent's Attorney to stand up and answer him as aforesaid & not to speak both together, in a confused manner or *undecently*, nor to interrupt one another in their pleadings, in the penalty of 100 lbs. of Tobacco, to be adjudged by the court then sitting.

Eighthly. That no man do presume to speak in court to another man's business, except leave of the Court first had, on the penalty of 100 lbs. of Tobacco adjudged by the court.

Ninthly. That no man presume to come into court with their hats on when the court is sitting, except any of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Honorable Councill, on the penalty of one shilling, his hat being taken off by the crier or under-sheriff and the said fine to be paid before the delivery of the hat, except the court order to the contrary.

Tenthly. That no one presume to smoke Tobacco in the Court House while the Court is sitting, without leave of the Court, on the penalty of one shilling to the crier for taking away his pipe from him, the penalty to be paid before he departs the court.

Eleventhly. That no man presume to use Ill Words or Indecent Language, or misbehaving words or discourse, in court sitting, on the penalty of 100 lbs. of Tobacco, and to be bound to the good behavior at the discretion of the court.

Twelfthly. These rules to be hanged up & affixed at the Court House as the law directs for the public view of all

persons—according to the law, and not to be taken down by any person without order of the court first had, on the penalty of 100 lbs of Tobacco.

“ WILLIAM WIVEL, Clerk.”

In a petition presented to the court in 1721, it is stated that these rules were transcribed and probably somewhat modified in that year. William Rumsey states in his petition “ that whereas he had by their worships’ orders transcribed certain rules of court, and had further by their orders attended at court *this* five days, on expense & charges in order to have the same rules settled and agreed on, which now are concluded on, and only remain again to be fairly transcribed in order to be affixed at the court house door, which your petitioner is ready to do, therefore desires your worships to allow him the sum of six hundred pounds of tobacco for his trouble aforesaid, which petition being read and heard and duly considered, ordered it was by the court that the same be presented & and he be allowed 300 lbs. of tobacco.” It may be inferred from this that the court did not act hastily and that those employed to serve the public, then as now, expected to be liberally paid.

The most remarkable part of these rules is the statement in the heading of them, that they were “ made to be observed ! ” For what other purpose they should have been made is beyond comprehension. The reference to the gentlemen of his Majesty’s Council shows the deference and respect that was accorded to royalty. At this time the governor and council were commissioned in the name of her Majesty Queen Anne, and represented the royal authority ; hence the exception in their favor.

The critical reader will observe the negative proof contained in them of the existence of a turbulent spirit, and the practice of much bad conduct, which they were intended to curb and reform.

On account of the organization of Kent County, which included that part of Cecil lying between the Sassafras and

Chester rivers, which was effected in 1706, it became necessary for the convenience of the inhabitants having business before the court to remove the seat of justice to a more central location. In order to accomplish this, at the August term of court, in 1717, Col. Ephraim Augustine Hermen was "allowed 300 pounds of tobacco for and in consideration of two acres of land lying and being on Long Point (now Court House Point), on Elk River, upon Bohemia Manor, for ye building of a court-house in said county."

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, he was ordered to lay out a road from Bohemia Ferry to the site of the new court-house, and to clear all convenient roads leading to the same. M. Van Bibber and John Jawert were appointed to see the road laid out. Of the size or character of this court-house but little is known, for the records of the county containing the contract cannot be found. There are many reasons, however, for believing that it was built of brick and floored with mortar. Tradition saith that it was torn down, and the brick of which its walls were constructed used in building the court-house in Elkton. The author, after much inquiry, has been unable to find any person who ever saw it. E. A. Hermen obtained the contract for building it, for which he was allowed 35,000 pounds of tobacco. The order for this allowance was passed at the November court, 1717. He was allowed 3,000 pounds more after the house was finished "for his extraordinary expenses defrayed about building it."

The court met in the new building for the first time on the 8th day of March, 1719. At this court it was ordered that "a clause be put into the warrant of the overseer of North Elk Hundred for clearing the *path* that leads out of Turkey Point main road to the directest and best way that goes to Elk River Ferry." Abel Van Burkaloo was allowed 300 pounds of tobacco for bringing the records and stocks from the old court-house on Sassafras River. He was then sheriff, and was probably the son of the Van Burkaloo whose name is now applied to a creek on Bohemia Manor.

The following order in reference to the jail at Court House Point is extant: "Ordered, that Col. E. A. Hermen be allowed 1,000 lbs. tobacco for building a 15-foot prison and ten feet wide at ye court-house, on Elk River, with hewed logs, and a substantial pillory and stocks near ye same. It is further agreed between ye said county and ye said Hermen, that if ye said Hermen should make it fully appear, by a just account, that he should be at more charge in ye building and finishing of ye said works than what he is out more than is already allowed him, he be allowed ye next year at ye laying the then levy—the said prison to be floored with good substantial hewed logs, lofted with ye same at least seven feet high between flore and flore." Old people who were familiar with the buildings on Court House Point in their childhood, state that the jail was standing there fifty or seventy-five years ago, and that it was about twenty feet square, one story high, and very strongly built of yellow pine logs.

The same year M. Van Bibber, Col. John Ward and John Jawert, were appointed by the court to sell the old court-house at Jamestown, on Sassafras River, which they did by public auction, on the 9th day of February, 1719, to Col. John Ward, for 5,700 pounds of tobacco, he being the highest and best bidder. There was some land belonging to the county sold at the same time, the quantity and location of which are not stated, nor is there any deed on record conveying the same to Ward.

Court House Point would now be considered a bad location for the seat of justice; but the reader must not forget that when it was selected for that purpose many of the residents of the county were in the habit of going to court by water. The first settlers located along the navigable streams, and when they wished to go to court, they got aboard their shallop or smack, hoisted sail, and if the wind was favorable soon reached their destination. There were few roads and still fewer vehicles in the county at this time, and the custom of

going to court by water had been common while it was held on the Sassafras, and the people were loth to abandon it. Considering the customs which prevailed and the geography of the county, Court House Point was admirably adapted for the purpose for which it was chosen, and was the best selection that could have been made. New Munster and the country along the Susquehanna and North East was rapidly being settled at this time, and no doubt the wishes and convenience of the people living in those parts of the county were consulted and respected.

In 1721 John Jawert was authorized by the court to lay out the court-house land at his discretion in lots, and "agree with those persons who were inclinable to build on the same for such lots as they shall take up not exceeding 100 lbs. of tobacco for each lot beside surveyor's fees." Shortly after this time Aaron Latham purchased two of these lots, upon one of which he erected a small wooden house. Subsequently he wished to exchange them for another lot near the river, upon which he proposed to erect a larger house. The reason he gave for wishing to be nearer the river was that he was afraid of a conflagration that might consume his house. The house, which now stands upon this point, is very old and was no doubt considered a fine specimen of architecture when it was built. The cornice is very elaborate and probably is entirely different from any other now extant in this county. The house is said to have been occupied by the sheriff of the county during the time that the court met there, and its appearance and architecture indicate that such may have been the fact.

After the removal of the court to Court House Point the ferry across the Elk River became one of the most important ones in the county. A brick house was erected on the north side of the river, which was used for a tavern for many years. Every trace of it has long since disappeared, but a part of the wall of the ferry house still remains. It is close by the river and partially covered by the vines of

several trumpet flowers which cling to the ruined old walls as if anxious to conceal the ravages which time has made upon them.

There are many traditions concerning the execution of criminals at Court House Point ; how they were drawn and quartered, as was the custom at that time, and how their ghastly remains were exposed to public view, different parts being placed upon different sides of the river. There is also a legend current among the old citizens of Elk Neck, which may properly be called the legend of the "Bloody Holly Bush," which originated from a murder committed on the ferry farm while it was occupied by Hans Rudolph, the proprietor of the ferry. Rudolph had a negro slave who, for some reason, was confined in the jail at the Point, and who made his escape and swam across the river and procured a gun and hid himself beside a log about a mile from the old ferry-house. His master, while hunting for him, approached his place of concealment and he shot him, his blood bespattering the green leaves of a holly bush near which he stood. The leaves of a holly bush still growing there are flecked with crimson spots, as is alleged, from some supernatural cause. There is no doubt of the truth of the red spots being on the leaves of the holly bush, but they are caused by some peculiarity of the soil in which it grows.

The legal machinery of the county seems to have been in a very bad condition for several years subsequent to 1719. At this time Matthias Van Bibber was presiding justice of the court, and his nephew, James Van Bibber, was sheriff of the county. For some reason they seem not to have been on good terms with each other, for in 1720 James presented a petition to the court alleging that he had bought a large tract of land from his uncle, who had caused the trees that marked the boundary lines of it to be cut down, and he prayed the court for a commission to re-establish the boundaries.

This was certainly bad conduct, and a very bad example to have been shown by the highest officer of the court; but shortly afterwards his nephew, the sheriff, was accused of a still worse crime, in a petition signed by fifty-three of the freeholders of the county, in which they allege that he "did exact levy and unlawfully take from the inhabitants of the county the sum of 8,601 lbs. of tobacco," for which he was indicted, but under color of friendship, relationship or otherwise, the said indictment was *stifled* and the culprit was not punished. They therefore prayed the court to bring the said Van Bibber before it and take measures to restore the said tobacco to those from whom it had been wrongfully taken. The petition was favorably received and James came into court and promised to refund the money to the county, whereupon the court ordered the same to be inserted in the levy for the current year.

On the 14th of June, 1720, John Jawert and Col. John Ward met at the court-house, but there not being a quorum present, they ordered that Gavin Hutchinson, one of the under-sheriffs, "go to the house of Matthias Vanderhuyden and desire him to give his attendance." The sheriff returned and stated that Vanderhuyden would not come. They then sent Hugh Watson for Francis Mauldin, who returned and reported that Mr. Mauldin was away from home. James Wood, one of the constables of the court, was then sent for Matthias Van Bibber, who was presiding justice of the court. Wood returned and said Van Bibber "wanted sooner notice in the day," besides he was indisposed and could not come. So the two justices, after waiting until 12 o'clock at night, departed to their homes, first causing this mournfully curious record to be made: "That the said court with all actions, pleas & causes depending in the same was *miscontinued & dropt, and the court fallen.*"

The trouble, whatever it may have been, seems to have continued until 1723, for on the 12th of April of that year Matthias Van Bibber, presiding justice, and Benjamin Pearce

and William Alexander, complained to the council at Annapolis "that they had been insulted and vilified in the execution of their office by one John Ward, and others, his associates, both by words in open court and libels dispersed all over the county; in so much as the county by their means is in danger of running into riots and unlawful tumults." They therefore asked the opinion of the council as to how they should act in the matter. The council referred the subject to the attorney-general and desired him to investigate it, and if necessary prosecute the offenders.

The lawyers of that period were probably as ignorant of the law and as unskillful in the practice of it as the courts were in the dispensation of justice. In 1717 the court passed an order in reference to John Sloan, who was one of the attorneys, in which it is stated that he had misbehaved himself in his office, "and finding him altogether unskilled in the law they discarded the said John Sloan from ever practicing in this court anymore."

The reasons given by some of the applicants for admission to the bar are quaint and curious. One of them states in his petition to the court that he had procured several law books and spent much time during the last year in studying them. Another aspirant for admission to the bar bases his claim upon the importunities of his friends, who had besought him to take charge of their cases. And Abel Van Burkaloo, who was ex-sheriff at the time, bases his claim upon his inability to secure the services of a competent attorney to attend to the business he had before the court, and thought if he was admitted he might transact his own business and in time be employed by others. The court admitted him, with the understanding that he would qualify himself.

CHAPTER XVII.

Efforts to establish towns—Ceciltown, at mouth of Scotchman's Creek—Fredericktown—Georgetown—The Acadians or French Neutrals—Account of them—They are sent to Louisiana and Canada—Reasons for building Charlestown—Its location—Public wharf and warehouse—Its exports—Fairs—Introduction of tea and coffee—History of Charlestown—Population by census of 1880.

THOUGH the early settlers along the James and Delaware rivers turned their attention to the erection of towns, and Jamestown and Newcastle early sprung into existence as the result of their efforts, the other early colonists appear to have been wholly absorbed in the culture of tobacco, and had no time to devote to the erection of towns. Except in the single case of St. Maries, there appears to have been no effort made, previous to the year 1683, to erect a town in the province. The necessity of having some protection against the Indians led the colonists at St. Maries to erect a town, or at least to place their dwelling-houses in close proximity to each other; but as the other colonists became better acquainted with the Indians, they had less cause to apprehend danger from them, and do not appear to have thought of building towns. But in 1683 the legislature appears to have become aware of the fact that there were no towns in the province, and they set themselves to work with much energy to supply a want the existence of which seems suddenly to have obtruded itself upon their attention. But their zeal defeated the object they had in view, and they made so many imaginary towns that not one of the number attained any magnitude or distinction as a town or city. Indeed, but few people, at present residing in the immediate neighborhood of some of the sites of these imaginary towns, ever heard of

their existence, though it is quite probable that each and every one of them were used for a time as a port of entry, the erection of which ports was probably the great object the legislators had in view when the law was passed that called them into existence. The act of 1682 provided for the erection of thirty-three towns or ports of entry in the province. At that time there were ten counties in the province, and the act provided for the erection of at least two towns or ports in each county, though some of the counties had as many as five of these imaginary towns erected within their limits. The places named in Cecil County were as follows: "At Captain John's Creek, William Price's plantation in Elk River; in Sassafras River; at William Frisby's plantation in Worten Creek; and by two supplementary acts passed in 1684 and 1686, at the plantation of John West, in Sassafras River, and in Elk River, at a place called Ceciltown, at the mouth of Bohemia River."

Commissioners in each county were named in the act to carry out the many curious provisions it contained, but their names do not appear in the abstract given in the ancient laws of that day. One hundred acres of land were to be purchased by the commissioners at each of the locations mentioned in the act, provided the owner was legally able and willing to dispose of it. In case he was legally incapacitated or unwilling to do so the commissioners were empowered to summons a jury and have the land condemned and valued. The commissioners were to cause these tracts "to be surveyed and staked out and divided into convenient streets, lanes and alleys, with open places to be left for erecting church, chapel, market-house or other public buildings, and the remaining part of the said one hundred acres to divide into one hundred equal lots, the owner of the land to have his first choice for one lot; no person to purchase more than one lot during four months after the 25th of March, 1684, and the lots to be purchased by inhabitants of the county only. But if not taken up by

them within the said four months, then to be free to any person whatsoever to take up the same, *paying the owner proportionately.*" Although the commissioners appointed by the act were *enjoined* to purchase the land from the owners, such does not seem to have been the practice of the times nor the meaning of the legislators; on the contrary, those who wished town lots were to pay the owner of the land for them, and they were to be holden of the lord proprietary and his heirs forever, under the yearly rent of one penny current money for each respective lot. Each person who became proprietor of a lot was to erect a "twenty foot square house on it before the last day of August, 1685;" and in case he did not erect the house he forfeited his right to the lot, and any other person might enter the same in the clerk's book upon the payment of eighty pounds of tobacco, which was the clerk's fee in cases of that kind.

The act provided "that the owner of any store-house within such towns, his said store-house not being full, and having no occasion thereof for his own proper tobacco, shall, on request, suffer the owner of any tobacco brought there in hogsheads to put in and secure it as if it were his own in such store-house, the owner of the tobacco paying the owner of the store-house ten pounds of tobacco per hogshead, which the store-house keeper shall secure for twelve months or less, casualties by fire only excepted."

The legislators were fearful that they had taken pains to erect too many towns, and in order to neutralize or remedy the bad effect which they apprehended might follow, they close the act with a proviso as follows: "Lest the great number of towns may in time become burdensome to the public by increasing the number of burgesses, no town shall hereafter be capable of sending a citizen or citizens to any Assembly till such time as the said town shall be actually inhabited by so many families as shall be sufficiently able to defray the expenses of such delegate without being chargeable to their respective county by reason thereof; but

the said charges to be defrayed by the respective inhabitants of the towns sending such delegates." The act provided "that from and after the 8th of August, 1685, the towns, ports and places therein mentioned shall be the ports and places where all ships and vessels trading into this province shall unload and put on shore, and sell, barter, and traffic away all goods, etc., imported into this province, and all tobacco, goods, etc., of the growth, production, or manufacture of this province intended to be sold here or exported, shall be for that intent brought to the said ports and places." Planters were, however, allowed to purchase provisions for themselves and workmen at their own plantations, and the citizens of the towns were allowed to traffic in goods in their respective towns if they purchased them from vessels arriving there. These towns, notwithstanding the pains taken to bring them into existence, did not flourish. The legislators appear to have had a mania for making and unmaking towns about this period in the history of the province, for in the year 1684 they made twelve more towns. The same act contained many other curious enactments to remedy supposed or imaginary defects and omissions in the original act. In 1686 they made thirteen more, and enacted that four of those that were then in existence should cease to be towns or be *untowned*, as they express it. Those places that were untowned were no doubt badly located and probably were unsuitable for the purpose for which they were designed, and probably the legislators of that day thought if they thinned them out, those that were left would flourish with more vigor. It appears to have been a favorite project of the early settlers of Cecil County to found a town to be called Ceciltown.

The following extract from the land records of the county of that date will show the method they pursued in those days, when they wished to try the experiment of building town:

"At a session of Assembly began and held at Annapolis, Thursday, the 21st day of May, 1730, among other laws, v

enacted, viz.: An act for the laying out of land and erecting a town at a place called Broxen's Point,* in Cecil County.

"August 6th, 1730. At a meeting of the commissioners empowered by the said act for laying out a town on Broxen's Point, in Cecil County, and on the south side of Bohemia River, were present, Col. Eph. Aug. Hermen, Col. Benjamin Pearce, Mr. Thos. Colvill, Mr. Stephen Knight, Mr. Nicholas Ridgely, Mr. Joshua George, Mr. Alphonso Cosden, Commissioners.

"And the Commissioners do order that the Clerk of the said county set up notes at the said Broxen's Point, John Segars, at the Church of this Parish and at Col. Benjamin Pearce's Mill, signifying to all persons whom it may relate to, that the said Commissioners will proceed according to the direction of an act of assembly for laying out the said town. Notes set up according to said direction. Then the said Commissioners adjourn until the 7th of September, 1730, at which time they met again and the Sheriff of said county being present makes return of a warrant directed to him to summon a jury."

The warrant recites the fact that the commissioners were unable to agree upon the price of the land, and that agreeable to the provision of the act in that case a jury was to be summoned for the purpose of valuing the land. A majority of the commissioners were of the number of those who afterwards took up lots in the town, but whether this had anything to do with their inability to agree upon the price of the land does not appear; at this age of the world it would probably have much to do with the matter.

The sheriff's name was John Baldwin, and the warrant for the summoning of the jury is dated the 24th of August. From this it would seem that they had a meeting upon that

* Broxen's Point was at the junction of Scotchman's Creek and the Bohemia River. Scotchman's Creek was then called Omealy Creek. The town was called Ceciltown.

day, but there is no record made of it. The following were the names of the jurors: Nathan Hynson, John Coppen, John Veasey, John Price, Philip Barret, Isaac Caulk, John Pennington, George Childs, Daniel Benson, John Roberts and John Bateman, who were said in the warrant "to be of the most substantial freeholders of the county." This jury assessed the value of the twenty acres of land at £47 10s. current money of Maryland, which was £2 7s. 6d. per acre.

The commissioners met again on the 16th and 17th days of September and they and William Rumsey, the deputy-surveyor of the county, completed the laying out of the town. Then follows the surveyor's certificate, which shows that the streets were sixty feet wide and that the principal one of them was called Baltimore street.

Following the surveyor's certificate in the ancient book is a record of the numbers of the lots and by whom they were taken up, from which it appears that seventeen of the twenty lots were taken up before the 26th day of September, which was only a week after the date of the certificate of survey; which shows that an enthusiasm then prevailed the projectors of the town that does not seem to have lasted long.

The record shows that two of these lots were retaken in 1731, five in 1732, and four in 1733. Those who had taken them at first had failed to comply with some of the provisions of the act of Assembly and had forfeited their right to them.

The name of John Ryland, Jr., stands at the head of the list of names of lotholders, which indicates that he was the owner of the land. The names of William and Edward Rumsey, Benjamin and Sarah Pearce, John and William Knight, Walter Scott, and Rev. Hugh Jones, who at that time was rector of St. Stephen's Parish, appear upon the list of lotholders.

In 1733, Edward Rumsey, carpenter, who had taken up lot No. 20 on the 19th day of September, 1730, sold it to

Robert Pennington, inn-holder, for £36, current money of Maryland, which was a reasonably good speculation, considering that it cost him, three years before, only £2 7s. 6d. and the clerk's fees for recording his title to the lot, whatever they may have been.

It is very likely that a desire to speculate in town lots had much to do with this effort to erect Ceciltown. However that may have been, the effort was as fruitless as the one to establish it at Town Point. The enterprise was probably a total failure, and it is not likely that a half-dozen houses were erected on the site of the town. Provision is made in an act passed in 1763 for the inspection of tobacco at Bohemia Ferry, and it is not probable that the ferry would have been named as the place at which the inspection was to be made if the town was at that time in existence.

On the 11th of December, 1736, Fredericktown, on the Sassafras River, was laid out. Previous to this time the place was called Pennington's Point, or Happy Harbor. Though this town still exists, the records relating to it are lost; all the information obtained concerning it is derived from a plat taken from a copy of the original one made by William Rumsey, the surveyor who laid it out many years ago, by Edward W. Lockwood. This plat shows that it contained about thirty acres, which was divided into sixty lots of about three-fifths of an acre each by six streets, which with a few small alleys contained six and a half acres. The river at Fredericktown runs in a southwest direction, and the streets run east and west, and north and south, crossing each other at right angles, which causes the town to be very irregular and ill-shaped. Ogle street, as did Frederick and Orange streets, which were next below it, extended north from the river. Baltimore, Prince William, and George streets extended west from the river.

Georgetown, which is opposite Fredericktown, on the other side of the Sassafras River, was laid out the same year. These towns were of very slow growth. In the early years

of their existence they seem to have derived some little advantage from travelers who were passing between the northern and southern parts of the country.

In 1759 the Rev. Andrew Barnaby, while traveling from Annapolis to Philadelphia, passed through Fredericktown, and in a journal which he soon afterwards published, speaks of them as follows: "Fredericktown is a small village on the western side of the Sassafras River, *built for the accommodation of strangers and travellers*; on the eastern side, exactly opposite to it, is another small village (Georgetown), erected for the same purpose."

Fredericktown was the residence of part of the Acadians or French Neutrals who were exiled from Acadia in 1755. Inasmuch as some thirty or forty of these unfortunate people resided in this county for several years, it is proper that some reference should be made to their history. In the ever changing fortunes of the several nations that contended with each other for the possession of different portions of the eastern seaboard of North America, Nova Scotia, originally settled by the French, had been transferred or ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the British government, with immunity of not bearing arms against their countrymen. They were a frugal, industrious and persevering people and, consequently, were prosperous and happy. But the French and Indian war broke out in 1754, and the Acadians were accused of furnishing arms and provisions to the French cruisers, in violation of their oaths of allegiance to Great Britain. Just previous to the departure of the unfortunate General Braddock upon his ill fated expedition to Fort Du Quesne, he and the colonial governors held a consultation at Alexandria, Va. The result of the conference was that a warlike expedition was sent against the Acadians, and, as is always the case when individuals or nations resolve to perpetrate an outrage, the commanders of this expedition readily found an excuse with which to palliate the infamous deeds

they had resolved to accomplish. It is worthy of remark that the disastrous and overwhelming defeat that Braddock shortly afterwards sustained seems like an act of retributive justice inflicted by Infinite Wisdom, in punishment of the cruelly unjust treatment of the innocent Acadians. The British fleet left Boston on the 20th of May, 1755, and on the 3d of the next month the British army landed upon the shores of Nova Scotia. Their advent was as startling to the Acadians as a clap of thunder from a clear sky.

The Acadians made comparatively no resistance at all, for the great mass of them were quite as loyal to the British government as the army that was sent against them. A few of them had been guilty of giving aid and comfort to the French cruisers, who, much against the wishes of the Acadians, occasionally visited them, and for this offence the whole of them were made to suffer. After their surrender their captors offered to condone their offence if they would take the oath of allegiance; but they were Catholics, and the oath was so framed that they, as consistent Catholics, could not take it. Indeed, the New Englanders, many of whom were probably the immediate descendants of the Puritans of Cromwell's army, and who composed in great part the army of the invaders, very probably were glad of the opportunity to do this, in order that they might have a pretext for the infliction of wrongs that they would not have dared to inflict without it. Yankee shrewdness was pretty much the same one hundred and ten years ago as now. After the Acadians were conquered, or rather after they were disarmed, for they never made any resistance that amounted to anything, their conquerors were for a little while perplexed to know what to do with them. However, English vindictiveness and Yankee ingenuity were equal to the emergency and it was resolved that they should be carried into exile, and this barbarous and infernal resolution was immediately carried into effect.

It is upon an incident connected with the banishment of the Acadians—the burning of the village of Grand Pre, a

peaceful hamlet on the shore of Acadia, the home of Gabriel and his brethren—that Longfellow has founded the beautiful and touching story of “*Evangeline*.” Before recounting the story of *Evangeline*’s wanderings he speaks of the total destruction of the settlement and banishment of the Acadians as an

“Exile without an end, and without an example in story.

Far asunder, on separate coasts the Acadians landed;

Scattered were they, like flakes of snow, when the wind from the northwest

Strikes aslant through the fogs that darken the banks of Newfoundland.

Friendless, homeless, hopeless, they wandered from city to city,

From the cold lakes of the North to sultry Southern savannas,—

From the bleak shores of the sea to the lands where the Father of Waters

Seizes the hills in his hands and drags them down to the ocean.”

Three thousand of these inoffensive farmers and artisans were scattered throughout the then thirteen colonies of Great Britain. To some extent, probably to a very great extent, this despotic exercise of power, this transcendent consummation of vindictiveness and cruelty, brought its own punishment with it. The unfortunate Acadians were reduced at once from a state of affluence to a state of beggary. Families were separated and friends forever parted. The climate of their place of exile was different from that of their native country, and being beggared, dispirited, and many of them heart-broken, they became a burden upon the people among whom they were forced to reside. Many of these poor people were brought to Maryland, and so miserable was their condition as to excite the pity of the legislature, which in 1756 passed an act authorizing the justices’ courts in the counties where they were quartered “to take care and provide for such of them as should be real objects of charity, and to bind out such of their children as they were unable to support; provided, the king

did not order their removal to some other colony." The constables of the hundreds where they resided were enjoined to return to the court an exact list of all of them annually, and they were not allowed to travel more than ten miles from their residences without a pass from a magistrate.

The following petition found among some old papers in possession of the county commissioners, in connection with several other papers, throw some light upon the history of those of them who lived in Cecil and Kent counties: "To the Worshipful, the Justices of the Peace for Cecil county: The humble Petition of the French Neutrals in Fredericktown sheweth that, Whereas, your Petitioners have now an opportunity of removing to the French Settlements on the River Mississippi, at their own expense & charge, which they, on account of their large number of small children and long captivity here, find themselves entirely unable to pay. They, therefore, Humbly request your worships to grant such timely assistance and Relief as may enable them to execute their purpose of removing. And your petitioners shall ever pray.

"Issabel Brassey, 8 in family; Eneas Auber, *alias* Huber, 6 in do.; Eneas Granger, 9 orphans, Joseph Auber.

"24th of March, 1767."

Other papers show that there were other families of the French Neutrals then living in Kent County; that one of these families consisted of the husband (Joseph Barban), his wife and eight children, and that they had originally been residents of Cecil County. The Barban family wished to migrate to Quebec, in Canada, and like the others, they wanted the wherewithal to defray their expenses.

The petition of the orphan children of John Baptist Granger, which was one of the papers before referred to, contained a touching narrative of their misfortunes and sufferings. This petition showed that other French Neutrals, living at Newtown, Kent County (Newtown was the name then applied to Chestertown), had received aid from the court of that

county, and expected to start for Canada in about a month; and that they (the Grangers) had been in captivity for twelve years, and were desirous to remove to Canada; and that several of them had had the small-pox. They also speak in terms of admiration of the government of his Gracious Majesty, George III., King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. There is great room to doubt the sincerity of their professions of loyalty; but they, no doubt, thought this was the readiest way to obtain the relief they needed, and probably they were not to blame for the falsity of their professions, if false they were. They conclude their petition by asserting that they are the most necessitous of the French people in the county, and beseech the worshipful council for the love of God Almighty to hear their petition and promise ever to pray for the *conservation* of the worshipful council.

But little more is known of these unfortunate people, except that they received the relief they sought and were sent to their friends in Lousiana and Canada at the public expense.

The first settlers in the northeast part of the county, as well as those in Nottingham, were in the habit of disposing of their surplus produce at Christiana Bridge and New Castle, both of which were then places of commercial importance. Ceciltown, on the Bohemia, had been a failure, for the land upon the Manor and in Sassafra Neck, though naturally the best in the county, had been impoverished by the continual cultivation of tobacco, which at the time it was laid out was beginning to decline, and there was not commerce enough to give the new town vitality. The cultivation of tobacco, was now confined to that part of the county south of the Elk River and Back Creek, and Bohemia Ferry and Fredericktown were the only places provided for its inspection at this time. The Quakers at Nottingham no doubt were as industrious and thrifty then as they are now, and the Hollingsworths and others were largely interested in the milling business on the Elks, and shipped their flour to Philadelphia *via* Christiana Bridge.

At this time Annapolis was the centre of refinement and fashion, the Paris of America. Baltimore had only been founded thirteen years, and was in its infancy; and beside this, the Principio Company's forges and furnaces at Principio and North East were in the full tide of successful operation, and the company was shipping the iron it manufactured to England. No doubt the enterprising citizens of the county felt the want of a town, and thought they might as well have one of their own. So they obtained the necessary legislation in 1742 and founded Charlestown: The enterprise was rather more plausible than the erection of Ceciltown, but the hopes of those who inaugurated it were never realized. But it was owing to no fault of its founders that it failed, for they used every exertion to make it a success, and only succumbed to the force of circumstances when convinced that it was impossible to divert the trade of the northern part of the county from the towns along the Delaware.

The act of incorporation of Charlestown was passed in the fall of 1742, and Thomas Colvill, Nicholas Hyland, Benjamin Pearce, William Alexander, Henry Baker, Zebulon Hollingsworth and John Reed were appointed commissioners to carry out its provisions. The town was to be laid out at a place called Long Point, on the west side of North East River. Twenty-five years before, the county seat had been moved from the Sassafras River to "Long Point," on the Elk River, and the people of the county had made some effort to have a town built there, but the enterprise did not succeed. No doubt those who obtained the passage of the act for the erection of Charlestown hoped and expected to derive much benefit from the town. The reasons for building the town are set forth in the preamble to the act as follows:

"WHEREAS, The Encouragement of trade & navigation is the surest means of promoting the happiness & increasing

the riches of every country, and that such trade is with the greatest ease and advantage carried on, when the same is drawn into & fixed in one or more convenient places; whereby it appears that erecting towns, & granting Immunities & Privileges for the encouragement of people to inhabit therein, most greatly contributes to so desirable an end, & there being as yet no such place settled at or near the Head of Chesapeake Bay, although from the great extent of the country round, & the want of navigable water above it, the same seems altogether necessary."

These were certainly good and sufficient reasons for building a town, and the aforesaid commissioners met on the site of Charlestown on the 10th of February, 1742, accompanied by John Vesey, who was county surveyor, and William Knight, who was at that time county clerk. At this meeting, Mr. Colvill produced a letter from Benjamin Tasker, the agent of the lord proprietary, in which he expressed the opinion that the five hundred acres which they were authorized to include in the said town were very well worth £250, in which opinion the commissioners acquiesced. The commissioners, after a few meetings for consultation, left the matter in charge of the surveyor, and adjourned to meet on the 13th of April, 1743, at which time the surveyor had completed a plat of the town. This plat has long since disappeared, but the proceedings of the commissioners, a part of which are recorded in the county clerk's office, show that they laid out two hundred of the five hundred acres which they had condemned for the purpose, into two hundred lots, and that the town contained seven streets that ran at right angles with the river and were crossed at right angles by five other streets. Tasker's lane, which was the name given to the most westerly street, was no doubt so called in honor of the lord proprietary's agent, Benjamin Tasker, while his lordship was trebly honored by the name of Cecil, Calvert, and Baltimore being applied to three of the principal streets. The fact that one of the streets was called Cones-

toga is indicative of a desire to cultivate the best of feeling with the people of Lancaster County, some of whom afterward became the owners of lots in the new town. The remaining three hundred acres were reserved, agreeably to the provisions of the act, for the common use of the citizens of the town, for the purpose of furnishing them with firewood and pasture for their cattle. Some part of this common is yet held by the town, but it is doubtful if its possession was ever of any material advantage to the citizens. Certain parts of the town were reserved for the purpose of erecting a public wharf and warehouse "for the more commodious carrying on of trade," and for the erection of a market house, court-house, and other public buildings.

The 10th of May, 1743, was the day designated for balloting for the town lots, no record of which is now extant, consequently the names of the original proprietors are unknown. But the deeds for lots which were sold a few years afterwards show that some persons from Lancaster, Chester, Anne Arundel, Kent, and Baltimore counties, and Philadelphia city, were among the original proprietors. The Rev. William Wye, who was rector of North Elk Parish at that time, was one of the original proprietors of lots; and it is worthy of remark, as showing the power of the clergy at that time, that he waived his right to collect the forty pounds per poll of tobacco (which was assessed upon each taxable in the parish) from the citizens of Charlestown. His object in doing this was to encourage the enterprise by lessening taxation, and to induce immigration. Rev. Hugh Jones, who was then rector of North Sassafras Parish, is believed to have been one of the original lotholders. He certainly owned one of the town lots at the time of his death and devised it in his will.

The new town thrived well at first and the lots were all taken up during the first year of its existence, and such was the popularity of the enterprise and the desire to acquire building lots in it, that many of the original lots were

divided and subdivided in order to supply the demand. The lots commanded a good price. In 1745 one of them, 22 by 45 feet, sold for £22. At the session of the General Assembly in 1744 the original act of incorporation, which was as long as Lord Baltimore's charter for the province, was supplemented the first time by an additional one, which empowered the commissioners to take charge of and disburse £200, which the lotholders had raised by voluntary contributions for the purpose of building a wharf and warehouse.

The principal articles of exportation from the new town in the first years of its existence seem to have been grain of all kinds and flour and flaxseed. Tobacco is not mentioned in the act nor in the records of the town, a few of which are yet extant. The commissioners were also authorized to appoint a wharfinger and warehouse-keeper and an inspector of flour; and the act specified that after the appointment of an inspector no flour was to be shipped from North East River from any other place than Charlestown. Flour that was not merchantable was branded with a broad arrow, and its shipment was forbidden under a penalty of 5s. per barrel. The act contained many provisions in reference to the exportation of bread, which was no doubt similar to what is now used on ship-board, and is known as "hard-tack." The commissioners were also empowered to purchase or have condemned two acres of land at Seneca Point, which is a short distance further down the river, for a ship-yard, and to lay out a cart-road from the town to that place.

The supplementary act shows that the inhabitants of the town "had already, of their own accord, *published a fair*, which was held at the said town on the 10th of May, 1744, whereat great numbers of people did meet;" therefore the General Assembly authorized them to hold two fairs thereafter, to begin on the 23d day of April and the 18th day of October annually, provided these days were not Sundays;

if so, the fairs were to commence the next day and to continue not more than three days. These fairs soon became very popular, and were attended by people from the large cities as far east, it is said, as Boston. They continued to be held till a time within the memory of persons now living, and probably added much to the prosperity of the town; they certainly added much to its notoriety. Tea and coffee are said to have been first introduced into this county by means of the facilities afforded by these fairs. The merchants from the cities brought those commodities there and disposed of them to the country people, at the same time furnishing them with printed directions showing how to manufacture the new beverages. It is said that tea was not generally liked, and many of the first purchasers gave it to their negroes. The Rev. John McCrery, who was pastor of Head of Christiana Church, it is said carried a supply of tea with him when he was away from home engaged in missionary labor, and upon one occasion gave some of it to the lady of the house where he was stopping and requested her to prepare it for his supper. She boiled it and served him the boiled leaves on a plate, when he quietly remarked that he would much rather have had the *broth*.

Besides the merchants and milliners from Baltimore, Philadelphia and other large cities, who came to Charlestown in vessels and bought large cargoes of goods, the fairs were attended by many who came from distant parts of Chester and Lancaster counties on horseback to see the sights and have a frolic, and sometimes to settle the feuds and quarrels that had existed in the neighborhood where they lived. Many of the citizens of the town, as well as many of those who attended the fair, were natives of the Emerald Isle, who thought it incumbent upon them to sustain the reputation of an institution that for centuries had been, and yet is, exceedingly popular in their native country. The state of society and the morals of the people were not as good then as they are now, and the archives of the county show

that, during one of the fairs, the body of a murdered man was found near where the road crosses a creek east of the town. He was a peddler and had been at the fair, and his body was found by some persons who stopped to water their horses at the creek. While they were drinking, the water became crimsoned by the blood of the murdered man. They at once instituted a search for the cause, and found the murderer, who had taken refuge in a tree near which his victim lay, in the stream. The records of the trial cannot be found, but the stream is yet known by the name of Peddler's Run. Many of those who attended the fair indulged in fiddling and dancing, as well as in frolicking and fighting, and rude and temporary buildings were put up, which were rented for the former purpose, and in which the sturdy Irishman and his sweetheart, upon the payment of a small fee, could enjoy the pleasure that they had walked barefooted many weary miles to obtain. For it was customary for the females who traveled to the fair on foot to carry their shoes and stockings in their hands, and when they arrived at the outskirts of the town to wash their feet in a convenient stream, after which they put on their shoes and stockings and entered the town.

The spring fair was afterwards held some time in May, at the close of the fishing season, and the fishermen resorted to it to have a general jollification, during which many of them were in the habit of spending the hard earnings of many weary weeks of toil. They were also the resort of the fair sex, who frequented them in order to obtain the finery that could be purchased nowhere else except in the large cities. The fairs were held on the public square of the town, which it was customary to rent to the highest bidder for a term of years. The proprietor erected drinking booths and stalls upon the fair ground, which he rented to those who wished to occupy them. These booths were rude structures made of bushes, and would be great curiosities now. In 1795 the commissioners ordered that the booths should be ten feet

square, and the stalls for selling goods should be seven feet wide and eight feet long, all to be made of good, sufficient forks and poles, with plank seats around each side and back of the booths, and shelving in the stalls. They were to be rented for not more than seven shillings and six pence each for each fair.

The legislators of the province had had so little experience in municipal legislation, and the habits of the citizens of the new town appear to have been so slovenly, that in 1750 they added another supplement to the act of incorporation, in which they state that, "Whereas, many persons have built, and are now building, in said town, and clear no more ground than where their houses stand, whereby the rest of their lot becomes a thicket, unserviceable for pasturage, also inconvenient and unwholesome to all the inhabitants," etc. Therefore, they enacted that the owners or inhabitants of the town should grub and clear their respective lots from all underwood grubs and bushes, under a penalty of thirty shillings. It was further enacted that any inhabitant permitting his chimney to take fire so as to blaze out at the top, or who should fail to keep a ladder long enough to reach the top of the roof of his house, should be fined ten shillings. Another strange enactment, that seems to indicate a want of faith in the success of the enterprise, enjoined the commissioners to meet upon the site of the town on the 20th of May, annually, in order to perpetuate its boundaries.

The records of Charlestown, which are yet extant, commence with the year 1755, but they are very incomplete, and afford but little information. The rates for storage in the public warehouse for that year were as follows: for every bushel of grain, $\frac{1}{2}d.$, for every bushel of salt, $1d.$; for every hogshead of cyder, $9d.$; for every hogshead of flaxseed, $2d.$; for every barrel of flaxseed, $1d.$; for every 100 pounds of iron, $3s. 4d.$; for every ton of hemp, $2s. 6d.$ This year the wharfinger and storehouse keeper agreed to pay £18 currency for the privilege, which indicates that the

business of the town must have been quite considerable. The rates of wharfage this year were as follows: For every *sea vessel* of 100 tons and upwards lying at the wharf, per day, 6*d.*; for every sea vessel of less tonnage, per day 4*d.*; all other boats 2*d.*

At a meeting of the commissioners in 1757, it was ordered that a number of chests, then in the warehouse (supposed to be the property of some officers killed at the defeat of General Braddock), be broken open and an inventory of their contents be sent to the governor, in order to ascertain what disposition should be made of them. Two years afterwards the contents of these chests were sold at public sale. This is all the records contain about the chests or their owners. Whether they were young men in the strength and prime of manhood, or of more mature years, is not known, for, like a vessel that was built at or near the town and sailed out from it some years afterwards upon the broad bosom of the ocean, they never returned. What bitter tears were shed for the adventurous mariners, and what homes made desolate by the absence of the warriors, we shall never know, for their names and their sorrows are alike forgotten. Save this slight allusion to the soldiers and a tradition about the vessel, nothing more is known of either.

In 1758 a vacancy occurred in the board of commissioners, which was filled by the election of Rev. John Hamilton, who was at that time rector of North Elk Parish. There is reason to believe that many of the early commissioners of the town did not reside in it, though they were probably the owners of town lots. This year John Smith was sued for rent of the fair ground, which he rented two years before. In 1760 the commissioners contracted with Philip Neilson to repair the public wharf. They were to pay him 10 shillings currency per day, he finding two good workmen beside himself and to *vichial* them (which Haris Rudulph engaged to do at 1*s.* per day each), and allow them a half pint of rum a day. A return made by the constable this

year, which is to be found among the papers in possession of the county commissioners, shows that there were three two-wheeled carriages in Charlestown at this time, one of which belonged to Rev. John Hamilton. These old-fashioned two-wheeled carriages were sometimes called "chairs." The whole number of these carriages returned in the county in 1757 was thirty-four. Five years afterwards they had increased to forty-five. In 1761 the commissioners ordered that the rent of each peddler's stall and drinking booth, when rented by citizens of the town should not exceed 5s. The records of the commissioners show that the keeper of the storehouse, during the years from 1749 to 1754, had failed to account for two hundred and fifty hogsheads that had been stored in it. In other words, he was a defaulter to the extent of £12½.

The levy list for 1768 shows that the taxables, as returned by the constable for that year, numbered eighty-nine, of whom twelve were negro slaves. The whole population of the town at this time was probably about three hundred and fifty. In 1771 the taxables numbered one hundred and two, of whom seventeen were slaves. In 1774 they numbered ninety-two, of whom eleven were slaves. In each of these years, the Rev. John Hamilton is returned as one of the taxables and the owner of one of the slaves.

Charlestown and Baltimore are nearly of the same age, and for a long time after the former was laid out they were rivals, and continued to be such until about the time of the Revolutionary war, when the latter, owing to the trade with the western part of the State and the superior facilities for foreign commerce, outstripped the former, and it gradually sank into obscurity and neglect. Many of the inhabitants who had erected substantial houses in Charlestown tore them down and shipped the material to Baltimore, where it was used in the construction of other buildings; thus the successful rival gained what the unsuccessful one lost, and as the one diminished, the other increased in size.

It seems proper in this connection to notice an error or two into which Mr. Scharf has inadvertently fallen in his History of Maryland, when writing of Charlestown, "of which," he says, "no vestige now remains, unless possibly a chimney or two, but of which the story is told that about 1750 a British merchant having some money to invest and full of faith in the Maryland province, came over in person to select the place to put his money where it would turn over most rapidly. He examined Annapolis, Baltimore, Charlestown, Elkridge and Oxford, and after mature deliberation, put his money in town lots in Charlestown, as the most promising site of all the great cities of the future."* Unfortunately for the truth of this scrap of history Charlestown, by the census of 1881, contains 235 inhabitants, 48 dwelling-houses, a church and school-house, and a number of shops.

A diligent search among the records of the town, which have always been kept in books separate from the other land records of the county, reveals no evidence that the English merchant, nor any other person, ever held more than two or three town lots at one and the same time.

*Scharf's History of Maryland, Vol. II., page 63.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Presbyterian Church at Bethel—Visit of Rev. George Whitefield—Preaches at Elkton and on Bohemia Manor—Presbyterian Church at Elkton—Disruption of Nottingham Presbyterian Church—Rev. Samuel Finley—Nottingham Academy—The Free School on Bohemia River—Rev. John Beard—The present church buildings—Name changed to Ephesus—Rev. James Magraw—Revival of Nottingham Academy—The Rock Presbyterian Church—Disruption—Rev. James Finley—Murder of Hugh Mahaffey—Rev. James Finley goes West—Present church buildings—Rev. John Burton—Rev. Francis Hindman—Lotteries for church purposes—Manners, customs and character of the early Presbyterians—The Alexanders, and other emigrants to South Carolina.

THE Presbyterian church at the head of Broad Creek, near Bethel, there is reason to believe, was founded by the Lawsons and Alexanders from Society and New Munster, a few of whom had settled in that neighborhood. The meeting-house stood near the old graveyard, the site of which is marked by some old tombstones which stand in the field a few yards from the State Line and a short distance east of Bethel church, at what is known as the Pivot Bridge. The creek, the name of which was applied to this church, has been nearly obliterated by the construction of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, the channel of which is identical with the channel of the creek.

This church is notable on account of its failure. Of its early history but very little is known, except that in 1723 Richard Thompson leased an acre of land to Samuel Alexander and Peter Bouchell for twenty-one years, for the use of the Presbyterian congregation at that place, for an annual rent of one ear of Indian corn. The first pastor was the Rev. Alexander Hutchinson, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, who was installed in 1723. It appears to have always

been feeble, for during the most of his pastorate he was directed by the Presbytery to supply the Presbyterian church on Elk River, as the Rock congregation was then called. Peter Bouchell was one of the first elders, as was probably Samuel Alexander, and certainly also John Brevard. This church seems to have been almost, if not quite, extinct in 1740, when Rev. George Whitefield visited Bohemia Manor. Most of its members probably joined the Forest Church in Delaware, when that church was organized in 1750. Whitefield first visited this section of country in 1739, as is stated in his journal, a copy of which, containing his autograph, may be seen in the library of Pennsylvania Historical Society. On the 3d of December of that year he preached at North East; but little notice having been given, there were only about 1,500 persons present. On the 14th of May, 1740, he addressed a large meeting at Nottingham, after which he went south, visiting Georgia and the Carolinas, and returned the following autumn and preached at Nottingham again to an audience of 8,000 persons. After this he visited Bohemia Manor, and on the 24th of November preached at the house of Mrs. Bayard to an audience of 2,000 persons. He does not mention the Broad Creek church in his journal, from which it is inferred that the church had ceased to exist at that time, or was so very feeble that it did not exist much longer.

It was no doubt during this interval, when journeying from Nottingham to Bohemia, that Whitefield stopped at Elkton, or the Head of Elk, as the place was then called; for the town, if there was one then, was so small that it had no name. Tradition says that he preached to a large audience at this place, which was assembled under the shade of an oak tree that stood a short distance west of Bow street, and probably about a hundred yards north from the river. While he was preaching here, some of his audience for some reason are said to have started away from the crowd he was

addressing, and he is said to have cried out, in stentorian tones, "The devil's at your heels!" It was owing to the preaching of this great evangelist that the first Presbyterian church was organized in Elkton, for the next year (1741) William Alexander and Araminta, his wife, deeded an acre of land, the same whereon Whitefield had preached the year before, to "Robert Lucas, Zebulon Hollingsworth, Thomas Ricketts and Robert Evans, of Cecil County, and David Barr, of New Castle County, upon which to build a meeting-house convenient for people assembling to worship God and hear His Word preached, and for the use of such ministers of the Protestant persuasion or religion, and particularly the Presbyterian ministers, as shall from time to time attend there to preach and officiate in the service and worship of Almighty God." This deed contained a stipulation that if the meeting-house ceased to be occupied as a place of worship for three consecutive years, the land was to revert to the grantor. It was owing to this stipulation, and the fact that the Presbyterian congregation at Elkton afterward became quite small and feeble, so much so that most of the members joined the church at Glasgow, that this land reverted to the heirs of the persons who gave it to the congregation.

The preaching of Whitefield was productive of much good to many individuals, inasmuch as many were converted by it; but it certainly did more harm than good to the Presbyterian congregations in this and the adjoining counties, many of which were rent in twain by the dissensions that it engendered. This was the case with Nottingham and Rock churches. But little of interest to the general reader occurred in the history of the Nottingham church till the arrival of Whitefield, at which time the meeting-house stood on the brow of the hill a short distance northwest of the village of Rising Sun. After this disruption of the church (1741), the new side (as those who adhered to the doctrine of Whitefield were called) erected another meeting-house in

the meadow across the brook, a short distance west of the other one, and in 1744, presented a call to the Rev. Samuel Finley,* who, in that year, became their pastor. Such was the bitterness of feeling engendered by the schism that rent this church in twain that each party kept its church organization intact till about 1792, when most of those who had taken an active part in the controversy having died and time having somewhat mellowed the feelings of their descendants, the two congregations were reunited. Mr. Finley was a native of the county Armaugh, in Ireland, and one of the most distinguished scholars and divines of the eighteenth century. He was pastor of the New Side Nottingham Church for seventeen years and founder of Nottingham Academy, at which some of the most eminent physicians, statesmen and divines of the eighteenth century received their early education. Mr. Finley remained in charge of this church, till 1761, when he was chosen President of the College of New Jersey, now called Princeton College, and shortly afterwards removed there.

Among the many distinguished men that received their early education at Mr. Finley's Nottingham school, the names of Dr. Benjamin Rush, so well known by his connection with the University of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. John Ewing, who was one of the commissioners that assisted in adjusting the boundary lines between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and who was born in the Eighth district of this county, not far from Porter's Bridge, are the most eminent.

The location of the site of the building in which Mr. Finley taught school is involved in obscurity, but there are some reasons that indicate that it may have been a short

* Rev. Samuel Finley was a brother of Rev. James Finley, who was pastor of the churches of the Rock and Head of Elk. C. B. Finley, one of the elders of the Elkton Presbyterian church, is a great-grand nephew, and Miss Martha Finley, the distinguished authoress, is a great-grand niece of these distinguished men.

distance southwest of the centre of the village of Rising Sun, and near the brook west of which the New Side Church was built. It was no doubt a log building, for there were few of any other kind at that time. Though the place where it stood is forgotten, it matters little, for the reputation of the master and many of his pupils is so illustrious that it will endure while sound theology, brilliant scientific acquirements and pure statesmanship are respected and appreciated. This academy was one of the most celebrated of its time, and its history is in striking contrast with that of the free school of this county, that probably was cotemporary with it, and proves the superiority of the voluntary over the involuntary system of education quite as well as the success of the Presbyterian church proves its superiority over the Established one.

As early as 1723 the colonial legislature passed an act to encourage education and also named a board of visitors in each county, who were to hold office during life, and who were authorized to perpetuate the board by filling vacancies as they might occur, by death or otherwise, from the "principal and better sort of inhabitants." The board of visitors for this county were Colonel John Ward, Major John Dowdall, Colonel Benjamin Pearce, Mr. Stephen Knight, Mr. Edward Jackson, Mr. Richard Thompson, and Mr. Thomas Johnson, Jr. These gentlemen were authorized to purchase one hundred acres of land for school purposes, and were invested with full power and authority to employ teachers and attend to all things that in their judgment were necessary and proper to successfully inaugurate and carry on the enterprise. They accordingly purchased a hundred acres of land on the south side of the Bohemia River, in Sassafras Neck, which included the point next above the Bohemia Bridge, which was long known as Free School Point. It is believed that they started a school there; how long it lasted, who taught it, and who were taught in it, after diligent investigation has not been ascertained. So little attention

was paid to the land that a commission was appointed by the court in 1784 to ascertain and mark its boundaries, which at that time had become so obscure that they were found with much difficulty. The school visitors at this time were Peter Lawson, John D. Thompson, Rev. William Thompson, John Ward, Sidney George, and William Mathews. Rev. William Thompson was at that time rector of St. Stephen's Parish, and Sidney George was a lawyer who resided in Middle Neck. John Dockery Thompson was one of the justices of the court, and was no doubt a descendant of the Thompson who married the daughter of Augustine Hermen, from which it would seem that the vacancies in the board of visitors had been filled from time to time as they occurred by selections from the "principal and better sort of inhabitants."

After Mr. Finley's removal to Princeton the new church rapidly declined and never had another settled pastor, though it existed for many years as a separate church organization.

In 1745 Rev. James Steel became pastor of the Old Side Church. The length of his pastorate cannot now be ascertained with certainty, but he probably remained in charge of the church till 1753, when he emigrated to the Cumberland Valley, which was then the western frontier of Pennsylvania.

In 1762 the congregation called the Rev. John Beard. He is believed to have been a native of Ireland. His relations with the congregation were not harmonious, notwithstanding which he ministered to them till 1771, when he was deposed from the ministry. His will was proved in 1802. He resided at "College Green," which he devised to his sons, James, Hugh and George.

In 1786 the two congregations, both of which had for some years been depending upon supplies, united in a call to Rev. James Munro, which he accepted, and was installed in August of that year. His pastorate, like that of his prede-

cessor, was inharmonious, and in June, 1789, some of his congregation preferred charges against him for "irregular, imprudent and indecent conduct," and after a trial which occupied the presbytery three days, he was found guilty and suspended till the next October. Having in the meantime expressed much sorrow and penitence he was restored, and subsequently dismissed from the care of the presbytery. During this time the congregations maintained their separate organizations: the First, or Old Side, worshiping in the church near the road northwest of the village of Rising Sun, and the New Side, in the meeting-house which stood in the graveyard on the north side of the road west of the creek

In 1796 the congregations having been reunited resolved to build a new meeting-house, but they disagreed about its location, and it was not until 1800—presbytery, at their request, having in the meantime sent a committee there to endeavor to unite the congregations upon the choice of a site—that the location of the present house, which some years ago was enlarged and improved, was begun. The work of erecting the new church on account of the poverty of the congregation was an herculean task, and in 1803 they obtained an act of the legislature authorizing them to institute a lottery for the purpose of obtaining the requisite funds to complete it. Samuel Miller, Robert Evans, Thomas Williams, David Patton, James Cummings, James Sims, John Porter and Jonathan Hartshorn are the names of the commissioners designated in the act for the purpose of putting the lottery in operation. Their bond for \$3,000, conditioned for the faithful performance of their duties, may be seen among the land records of the county. On the 26th of September, 1801, Andrew Ramsay conveyed two acres of land to James Evans, Robert Evans, David Edmiston and James Cummings, who were then trustees, and who purchased it from him for the use of the church for £15. On the same day Captain William Johnson also conveyed two acres to the same persons, which had been purchased for the same

purpose for the same price. Each of these tracts are described as being part of a larger tract called Ephesus, and the church is designated in the act authorizing the lottery as the Presbyterian Church at Ephesus, though it was known upon the records of presbytery at that time as West Nottingham.

Rev. James Magraw was installed pastor of this church April 3d, 1804, and continued to minister to the congregation until the time of his death, which occurred in 1835. With the exception of Rev. Hugh Jones, who ministered so long to North Sassafras Parish, Dr. Magraw was probably the most influential and successful minister that ever exercised the pastoral office in this county.

The Upper West Nottingham church was organized in 1810, out of a part of this congregation that was too far distant to attend after the removal of the church from Rising Sun. Mr. Magraw became pastor of the new organization, and gave it one-third of his time until 1821, when he resigned. In 1822 he became pastor of the Presbyterian church in Charlestown, which had recently been organized mainly through his efforts and those of Rev. Mr. Graham then pastor of the Rock church. Mr. Magraw also preached sometimes during the summer season to the raftsmen at Port Deposit, who at that time were probably as much in need of the gospel as any other class of people in the world.

He was a fine looking, athletic man, and had a stentorian voice; and is said by those who have heard him, to have been an eloquent and powerful preacher. He cared so little for the conventionalities of society that if the weather was very warm he would take off his coat and preach in his shirt-sleeves; or if the church was not properly warmed, as was too often the case in winter time, he would preach with his cloak on. He took an active part in the erection of the fort at Port Deposit just previous to the burning of Havre de Grace; and was at the fort and harangued the soldiers when the British were burning and pillaging the village of

Lapidum. It was during his pastorate, and mainly by his exertions, that the Nottingham Academy, which had become extinct after the departure of Mr. Finley, was revived.

In 1812 the legislature of the State made an appropriation for an academy in each county. Through the agency of Dr. Magraw, the people of West Nottingham and vicinity had a board of trustees elected and a building, which was intended to be part of a larger edifice, erected, and secured the State appropriation of eight hundred dollars. Dr. Magraw was the first president of the board of trustees.

Reuben H. Davis was the first principal. He had charge of the academy for two or three years, and was succeeded by William McCrimmen. He was principal one year, and was succeeded by Mr. Isaac Bird, and he by Samuel Turney, each of whom acted as principal for one year.

In 1820 Dr. Magraw was chosen principal, and remained in charge until the time of his death. Dr. Magraw was succeeded by his son, Samuel M. Magraw, who continued in charge until 1840. He was followed by Rev. George Burrows, who had charge of the institution for ten years. George K. Bechtel, A. M., the present (1881) principal, was elected in 1862. This academy has sustained quite as good a reputation as its predecessor, which was established by Rev. Samuel Finley. At least twenty-four ministers of the gospel, and a large number of other distinguished men who have added lustre to the bench and the bar, and many others who have graced the medical profession, have also received a part or all of their education at this institution.

The Rock congregation, like that at Nottingham, was divided by the controversy that arose from Whitefield's preaching. The new church was organized in 1741, and this led to the erection of the meeting-house at Sharp's graveyard, which is about a mile north of Fair Hill. Very little is known of this church, except that it was a frame building covered with clapboards. Tradition says that it was removed to a farm in the neighborhood, and converted

into a barn. When the Old and New Sides united, in 1761, they worshiped in this house for a short time.

The New Side congregation was without a pastor for eleven years, when they obtained the services of Rev. James Finley, who was a younger brother of the Rev. Samuel Finley, and who was installed pastor of this church in 1752. Mr. Finley also had charge of the Presbyterian church in Elkton for a few years after he became pastor of the Rock Church, but in 1760 the pastoral relation was dissolved, probably on account of the reunion of the old and new sides of the original Rock congregation, which took place the following year. During part of the time of the division of this church the Rev. James McDowell had charge of the Old Side branch, which continued to worship in the old church at the stone graveyard* near Lewisville, Pa. During his

* A tombstone in this graveyard contains this inscription: "In memory of Hugh Mahaffey, who was murdered November 18th, 1747." He lived in New Munster, on the west side of Big Elk Creek, about a mile south of where the road from Fair Hill to Newark crosses that stream, and was a blacksmith. Tradition saith that a person who lived with him became enamored of his wife, and that he and she entered into a plot to kill him, which they executed in this wise: While Mahaffey and wife were seated near the fire, early in the evening, the cowardly murderer, who had been momentarily absent from the room, stealthily entered it and struck Mahaffey with an axe. The blow knocked him senseless to the floor, but did not kill him. An apprentice boy, who was in bed in the loft of the house, heard the noise, and coming down stairs, the guilty pair compelled him to dispatch his master, threatening, if he refused, to do it themselves and charge him with it and have him hanged. The body was then buried in the smith shop, where, after the lapse of some weeks, it was found, in this way: Some of the friends of the murdered man, who resided at some distance, hearing of his disappearance, came to assist his neighbors in removing the mystery that enshrouded it, and hitched one of their horses in the shop near where the corpse of the murdered man was buried. The horse, knowing by instinct that something was buried there, or being impatient of restraint and wishing to get loose, pawed the earth away from the corpse, which of course was discovered. No record of the trial is now extant, but tradition says that the guilty man escaped, that the equally guilty woman and boy were tried for the murder, and that the boy was hanged. Another one of the tombstones in this graveyard contains an image of a panther chiseled upon it in bass-relief. Another one contains the figure of a man's hand, the thumb and forefinger of which are represented as holding, in order to exhibit to view, the FOUR OF DIAMONDS. Why these curious devices were placed on tombstones is a mystery that will probably never be unraveled, for the inscriptions on them shed no light upon it.

pastorate he taught the classical school which had been founded at New London some years before by the Synod of Philadelphia, but which was removed to his residence, about a mile southwest of Lewisville, in 1752. This school was removed to Newark, Delaware, in 1767, and was chartered by the Penns two years afterwards. It was the germ from which Delaware College sprang. Mr. Finley's pastoral connection with this congregation extended over a period of thirty years, and so much was he endeared to his congregation, that it successfully resisted his efforts to obtain a dissolution of the pastoral relation and his dismissal from the Presbytery of New Castle for some years. He finally appealed to the synod, which set aside the action of the presbytery, and he removed to western Pennsylvania, in 1783. Eighteen years before that time he had visited the western frontier, accompanied by Philip Tanner, one of the elders of his church, who lived in Nottingham, near Mount Rocky. Mr. Finley is said to have been the first preacher (except those who had been there as chaplains of the army) that preached west of the Alleghany Mountains. Some years after this the synod of Philadelphia sent him to western Pennsylvania as a missionary. While there upon one of these visits, he purchased a farm in Fayette County, Pa., and in 1772, placed his son Ebenezer, then a youth of fourteen years of age, in charge of it. Mr. Finley was twice married. His second wife was a daughter of Robert Evans, a sister of Captain John Evans, who owned the rolling-mill west of Cowantown. He resided, during part of his pastorate, on the White Hall Farm near Andora, or Poplar Hill, as it was formerly called.

It was during Mr. Finley's pastorate that the present church, which a few years ago was remodeled, was erected, as is shown by the petition of Robert Macky and George Lawson, which they presented to the court in 1766, stating that the congregation had purchased *a piece* of land in 1762 from Michael Wallace and David Elder, near where the westernmost branch of Elk River crossed the road leading

from Nottingham to Christiana Bridge, and had erected a meeting-house thereon for public worship, and praying that the said house might be registered. This was in accordance with the act of Parliament requiring all places of public worship to be registered by the civil authorities.

Though the first meeting-house at Louisville had been erected previous to 1725, it was not till fifty-one years afterwards that they obtained a deed for the land upon which it stood. This land was donated to the congregation, which was then called "Upper Elk Erection," by David Wallace, but for some reason it was not deeded to them. Wallace disposed of his property in 1736, but reserved two acres which he had given to the church, and subsequently removed to Kent County, Delaware, where he died. On the 21st of May, 1776, Solomon Wallace, his son and heir, "in order to make good and confirm the generous and pious intentions of his father," deeded the land to the trustees of the church, who were as follows: Philip Tanner, of Chester County; David Macky, John Lawson and Thomas Maffit of Cecil County.

After Mr. Finley removed to the West, the congregation was without a stated pastor for twenty-six years, during which they depended upon supplies; often they had no preaching for months at a time. Mr. Finley was succeeded by Rev. John Burton. He was a Scotchman and joined the Presbytery of New Castle in 1775, and in the fall of that year was called as pastor of the Rock Church, being at that time serving it, as stated supply by the appointment of presbytery. He remained about a year, when he declined the call they had given him, and accepted one from the congregation of St. George's, Delaware. Rev. Mr. Johns states in his history of this church that he had a little farm advertised for sale, and when a certain party went to buy it he told them it was a wet, sorry soil and they would starve on it. He is said to have been so absent-minded as often to drive home from church in

other peoples conveyances, and that his parishoners had to see him safely away from church.

Mr. Burton was succeeded by Rev. Francis Hindman. He was a native of this county and spent his boyhood a mile or so southwest of Cecil Paper Mill. He was a cooper in early life, but subsequently studied for the ministry, and was called by this church and the church at New London in 1790. Owing to the fact that he was accused of conduct unbecoming a minister of the gospel he was never installed. He resided for some time in a large, old-fashioned stone house that stood until recently about three-fourths of a mile northwest of Centre school-house. While there he taught a classical school, which he subsequently removed to Newark, Delaware, where he continued to teach for many years.

Rev. John E. Latta, who is remarkable for being one of four brothers all of whom were ministers of the gospel, succeeded Mr. Hindman and remained till 1800, when he accepted a call from the congregation at New Castle. He was never installed as pastor of the Rock Church.

Mr. Latta was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Leacock, who ministered to the congregation as stated supply from 1800 to 1804. He was followed by Rev. John Waugh, who at that time was principal of Newark Academy, and who officiated as stated supply from 1804 to 1806.

After being without a pastor for twenty-six years the congregation, in connection with New London, gave a call to Rev. Robert Graham, on the 12th of September, 1808. He was to give the Rock congregation one-third of his time. He was installed pastor December 13th, 1809. He resided at New London and had charge of the united congregations until the time of his death, on the 5th of November, 1835. During his long pastorate he frequently preached at Charles-town and was instrumental in starting the first Sunday-school at that place. In 1803 the church needed a new roof and other repairs, and such was the poverty of the congregation that they obtained an act of the legislature

authorizing them to raise the money for those purposes by means of a lottery. No persons are named in the act to carry it into effect, and no bond for the performance of that duty can be found among the records of the county. It therefore seems probable that the scheme was never put into operation.

This method of raising money for church purposes may seem highly reprehensible at this time, but it was not considered to be so then. As early as 1791 the vestry of North Sassafras Parish had resorted to the same method, and for a long time subsequently whenever money was needed for any purpose of public utility, such as the digging of a public well, or the founding of a village library, this method of raising money was resorted to. Those who are disposed to find fault with our forefathers for indulging in this practice, should remember that they acted under the *sanction of law*, and that many professing Christians of the present time find means to *evade it*, by resorting to cunningly devised schemes which are quite as demoralizing and uncertain as lotteries.

The church at the head of Christiana was not divided by the schism that resulted from Whitefield's preaching, but its pastor, the Rev. George Gillespie, for a short time favored the New Side, for the reason that he thought those who adhered to it had been treated with too much severity by the other side. Mr. Gillespie died in 1760. He was pastor of Head of Christiana church for forty-seven years, and was succeeded by Rev. John McCreary, who, in 1769, was installed pastor of the united churches of Head of Christiana and White Clay creek. Mr. McCreary was a zealous and popular preacher, and well worthy to be the successor of Charles Tennent, who preceded him as pastor of White Clay Creek church.

Having thus briefly glanced at the ecclesiastical history of these ancient churches, a few words respecting the manners and customs of those who worshiped in them will not be inappropriate.

The first Presbyterian meeting-houses were generally built of logs and had no fire-places in them. The churches were far apart, and the congregations that worshiped in them were scattered over large districts of country; some of these people probably traveled a distance of twelve or fifteen miles in order to attend meeting. Many of the original members of the Head of Christiana Church were members of the church at New Castle, and no doubt worshiped there before the organization of the former church. It is said that some pious young men who lived near Deer Creek, in Harford County, were in the habit of crossing the Susquehanna River in a boat which they used for that purpose and kept moored to the river bank, near the mouth of that stream, and then walking the remainder of the way in order to attend the Nottingham Church. As the first meeting-houses had no fire-places in them they must have been cold, and being poorly lighted by windows must have necessarily been somewhat cheerless and gloomy. But the ancestors of many of the people who worshiped in them had been hunted like wild beasts by Claverhouse and his dragoons among the highlands of Scotland, and many of them were afterward judicially murdered by the infamous Jeffries. They had worshiped upon their native heaths and in the seclusion of their native glens at the silent hour of midnight, with sentries posted to give notice of the approach of the hired soldiery, who, if they had found them, would, with merciless fury, have shot them down like dogs, or consigned them to the keeping of the gibbet or the prison. It meant something to be a Christian then, and the stories of these wrongs and persecutions were yet fresh in the minds of the founders of these old churches. No wonder they made no provision for warming the interior of the houses in which they worshiped. The ardor and fervor of their religious convictions made it unnecessary, and if it had not been the case, they were a stern, uncompromising people who were ever ready to endure any hardship or any sacrifice in order to

enjoy the privilege of worshipping God as they pleased. So it was only after the erection of the meeting-houses that superseded the original ones, that any provision was made for the comfort of the congregations in the winter time. Then a small house in which the session met, which was called the session-house, was usually erected near the churches. A rousing fire would be made in it on Sabbath morning, and those who wished to do so had an opportunity of warming themselves before they entered the meeting-house. Foot-stoves were introduced in the latter part of the last century. They were simply tin boxes with lids, and were filled with live coals from the session-house fire, and placed on the floor underneath the feet of the worshippers. The pastors of these churches in the early days preached twice every Sabbath to the same congregation, there being an interval of an hour or so between the morning and afternoon services, during which the congregation partook of a slight repast, which they generally carried with them to church to satisfy their hunger. The members of these churches nearly all lived in rude log-cabins, which were generally built in a valley near a spring. They were a frugal, industrious and pious people, different in many respects from those who had settled in the southern part of the county and in Elk Neck. They raised their own wool and flax, from which they manufactured their wearing apparel. They planted large apple and peach orchards, from the fruit of which they distilled their own liquor. Those of them who lived in Nottingham and New Munster disposed of their surplus wheat at Christiana Bridge, which was then a place of much importance, and contained a population of probably about four hundred. Their method of transporting their wheat to this place may seem odd to those who live in this age of railroads and steamboats. When they wished to send their wheat to market they put it into bags or sacks, which were large enough to hold two or three bushels each. These sacks were placed on pack-saddles on the backs of

horses, upon one of which a lad was mounted, who led two or three of the animals beside the one on which he rode, and thus the curious cavalcade journeyed to the place of its destination.

Another custom that has long since fallen into disuse was much in vogue among these people, namely, the irrigation of the meadows along the streams, which were so fertilized by this means that they produced a reasonably good crop of natural grasses, which were cut for hay, where otherwise not a blade would have grown. Timothy and clover were not introduced at this time, and it was very desirable to have as much natural meadow as possible upon each plantation; this no doubt led to the ill-shape of some of the early grants of land. The method of irrigating a piece of land was to construct a dam across a stream and turn the water into an artificial channel, constructed in such a location that by letting the water out of it, through openings a short distance apart, the land between the original and artificial channels could readily be covered with it. This was practiced for many years by the first settlers in the upper part of the county wherever there was a stream large enough to admit of it. Many of the races that were constructed for this purpose are yet to be seen. Lime was hard to obtain, and liming was not resorted to as a means of enriching the soil; indeed, it is probable that its use as a fertilizer was unknown to many of the people of that day. Owing to what would now be considered a very bad system of farming, but which was the best their circumstances allowed them to pursue, the soil on their farms became impoverished and many of them emigrated to the fertile valleys of the Carolinas and Virginia.

This was the case with many of the Alexanders and others of New Munster, who, about the year 1746, emigrated to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. Those of them who first settled there were joined from time to time by others of the same family until, it is said, they were at the

time of the commencement of the Revolutionary war the most numerous people of one name in that county. Among the other families that emigrated from this county to North Carolina, where many of them and their descendants afterwards distinguished themselves by the active part they took in the affairs of the Presbyterian Church and the Revolutionary struggle, were the Polks, Brevards, and very probably the Pattons and others, members of whose families were active participants in the convention that promulgated the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, in 1775. Abraham Alexander was president of that convention, and John McKnitt Alexander was its secretary. Doctor Ephraim Brevard was chairman of the committee which drafted the Declaration. He was probably a son of the John Brevard who was one of the elders of the Broad Creek Church in this county. John McKnitt Alexander was born in Cecil County, and went to North Carolina in 1754, when he was 21 years of age. He was a tailor by trade, but became a surveyor, and was one of the leading patriots in his adopted State in the trying times of the Revolutionary war, when it was overrun by the British Army and many professed patriots became traitors. Three others of the Alexander family were signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration, as was also Col. Thomas Polk, a granduncle of ex-President James K. Polk, whose father is believed to have emigrated from this county and settled in North Carolina.

There is some reason to believe that the father of ex-President Andrew Jackson was among the number of those who emigrated to North Carolina. Tradition says that he lived in an old log-house that stood near the head of Persimmon Run, just east of Cowantown, in the fourth district, and that he went with a large number of other emigrants from this county a few years anterior to the Revolutionary war. The old house in which he lived, owing to the fact that its walls were not perpendicular, was called the "Bendy House." The place where it stood was

long remembered and venerated by the old residents of the neighborhood, on account of tradition connecting it with the parents of the hero of New Orleans.

The emigrants from this county were the founders of the seven Presbyterian churches that existed in Mecklenburg County, in 1755, and so great was the interest taken by the Presbytery of New Castle in the spiritual welfare of these churches and others in that part of the State, that they frequently sent their ministers there to preach the gospel to them, the other members of the Presbytery supplying the pulpits of the missionaries during their absence. Rev. John McCrery, during the latter part of his pastorate at Head of Christiana, is said to have been absent from his charge, in the latter part of his life, engaged in missionary labor of this kind one-fourth of his time. Once, when on a visit to his old parishioners in North Carolina, he was taken sick and remained there nine months.

It is worthy of mention in this connection as an interesting historical fact, that Doctor David Ramsay, the author of a history of the American Revolution, though not a native of this county, at one time practiced medicine at the head of Bohemia River, and was one of the large number of eminent men who emigrated from Cecil County to South Carolina.

A few years after the emigration to North Carolina began, a similar one commenced from this region to the country west of the Alleghany mountains. Many of the emigrants settled along the Ohio River and its tributaries in southwestern Pennsylvania and northwestern Virginia. The existence of the strong Presbyterian element that has always pervaded society in that section of country, is readily traceable to the early Presbyterian churches, whose history is so closely blended with the early history of this county. These emigrants and others of the same class from the southern parts of Chester, Lancaster, and York counties, were the first permanent settlers west of the Alleghany mountains.

The emigration from these districts continued for many years. During a period of twenty years, which probably commenced about the time of Rev. James Finley's first visit to the West, it is said that as many as thirty-four families, members of the Rock congregation, chiefly young married persons, emigrated to the valley of the Youghiogheny, and settled along that stream and in the valleys along the other tributaries of the Ohio River. These families all settled within the bounds of the old Redstone Presbytery, and twenty-two of the heads of them became ruling elders in the churches of which it was composed. These Presbyterians made an indelible impression upon society in the region where they settled, which is yet plainly discernible there, and which while society lasts will remain as a witness of the untiring energy and unflagging zeal of those who planted the standard of Presbyterianism in the Western wilderness.

But the emigration from this county to western Pennsylvania was not confined to New Munster, and many of the inhabitants, generally Presbyterians, emigrated there from Nottingham. Among the latter were members of another family of Alexanders, whose ancestors settled in Nottingham in the early part of the last century; and who is supposed to have belonged to the same clan in Scotland to which the ancestors of the Alexanders of New Munster belonged. Hugh Alexander, a member of this family, married Margaret Edmisson, and migrated to western Pennsylvania as early as 1740. The Edmisson family owned a tract of land, containing 980 acres, at the mouth of Stony Run at this time. This land included the site of the mill near the junction of that stream with the Octoraro Creek.

These emigrants, having descended from a hardy and restless race, transmitted their peculiar characteristics to their offspring, who, when civilization encroached upon them and was about to circumscribe their accustomed liberties and subject them somewhat to the conventionalities and restraints of refined society, emigrated to Kentucky, as did

the same class that had emigrated to Virginia and the Carolinas. In this way Kentucky and Tennessee received the influence of Presbyterianism that has made an indelible impression upon the character of their citizens.

During this period of the history of the county, the state of society was not very good, and a few of the old records of the court that are now extant show that licentiousness and drunkenness prevailed to a considerable extent among the lower classes, most of whom were indentured servants or redemptioners. The records of New Castle Presbytery contain but very few references to matters of this kind, which, inasmuch as the Presbyterians were very austere and also rigid disciplinarians, leads us to believe that few breaches of decorum were committed by their membership.

Slavery prevailed to some extent throughout the county, but the slaves were not numerous in that part of it north of the Elk River. Rev. James Finley had a few of them, in whose religious welfare he is said to have been much interested, always having them present at family worship and catechising them with his own children. This was probably the case with the members of his and the other Presbyterian churches.

CHAPTER XIX.

Border war—Davy Evans dispossesses Adam Short—Petition of Samuel Brice—Arrest of Isaac Taylor and others—Agreement between the heirs of William Penn and Lord Baltimore respecting the settlement of the boundaries—Proceedings in chancery—Renewal of border war—Thomas Cresap—Order of the King in Council—The temporary boundary line—Decree of Chancellor Hardwich—Diary of John Watson—Cape Henlopen—The trans-peninsular line—Death of Charles Calvert—Another agreement—Location of due north line—Difficulty of the work—Mason and Dixon—They land in Philadelphia—Latitude of that city—Account of their labors for the next five years—Re-location of the north-east corner of Maryland.

AFTER William Penn took possession of his territories on the Delaware several interviews took place between him and the lord proprietary of Maryland in reference to the adjustment of the boundaries of their respective provinces, but inasmuch as they had no particular bearing on the history of this county and were as futile as the efforts that had preceded them, it is not important that they should be noticed here.

From about the time of the disappearance of George Talbot in 1687, to the time of the death of William Penn, which took place in 1718, the good understanding between the two provinces had been maintained by a variety of temporary expedients, which were every now and then frustrated by some act of border aggression.

This was notably the case with the people living on the borders of this county. At this time there were very few settlements in Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna River, and the people living in the lower part of the peninsula seem to have been more peacefully disposed than those on the borders of this county.

In 1721 Adam Short, who lived upon a tract of land called Green Meadows, which was somewhere on the borders of Welsh Tract, complained to the council of Maryland that shortly before he had been waited on by Davy Evans of the Welsh Tract, who was accompanied by eight or ten men, and had two horses harnessed to a log *sledge*, who demanded possession of his premises, which he refused to give them. Apprehending trouble he went to see a Maryland magistrate, and found when he returned that his visitors had been so expeditious in building a log-house that they had raised it all round three logs high during his absence. He protested against their action, but they finished the house and gave possession to one Rice Jenkins. To avoid trouble Short removed to another plantation which he had on Christiana Creek, where he then resided, first securely fastening the doors of his dwelling and out-house. Returning some time afterwards to the house in which he formerly resided he found the dwelling occupied and the out-house used for a tailor shop.

On the 2d of June, 1722, Samuel Brice presented a petition to the court of this county, stating that he "had been an inhabitant of this county, on New Connaught Manor, for about nine years past, and had always quietly and peaceably paid all taxes and dutys to this county, since an inhabitant within the jurisdiction of this court. But so it is, may it please your worships, that on the 11th of this instant (May) Isaac Taylor the surveyor for the county of Chester of the Province of Pennsylvania, with others* assisting him came and surveyed close to your petitioner's fence, so as to render your petitioner's settlement altogether inconvenient for the use of your petitioner and greatly to his prejudice, and further that your petitioner is very credibly informed that Daniel Smith, George Sleyter, James Bond, John Bond, Edward

*The other persons were Elish Gatchell, William Brown, John Churchman, Richard Brown, Roger Kirk, and Isaac Taylor's son, as stated in the records of the council.

Long, John Allen, Charles Allen, and several others, *are upon complying with a Pennsylvania survey and title*, although they have considerable time since complied with and allowed themselves inhabitants of this county, all which your petitioner conceives is not only an agrievance to your petitioner but to the public interest of this government, and his Lordships good rule, and loudly calls for redress."

This petition was favorably received, and the court ordered that a *precept* be made out and directed to the sheriff ordering him to arrest Taylor and the others for committing a breach of the peace; whereupon, William Howell, the sheriff, called out the *posse comitatus* and arrested Taylor, who, it is stated in Penn's breviat, was imprisoned probably in the jail at Court-House Point, but possibly at Annapolis. While he was confined in prison, Gatchell visited him, whereupon the authorities of Maryland also arrested and imprisoned him.

This outrageous conduct of Evans and Taylor and their friends was the more reprehensible from the fact that it was in violation of a compact or agreement between the governors of the two provinces made in 1718, at a meeting held at the house of Colonel Hinson. At this meeting Governor Hart of Maryland, alleged that Nottingham was in that province, and that the people thereof had often petitioned to be taken under the government of Maryland. Governor Keith replied, that New Munster belonged to Pennsylvania, and the people living there had asked to be taken under the protection of that province. It was thereupon agreed that the inhabitants of these tracts, and all others, should be left in possession of their land, and all other grants should be respected until the dispute was settled.

The arrest of Taylor and Gatchell coming to the knowledge of the Governor of Pennsylvania, he at the instance of the council, remonstrated with the authorities of Maryland, who referred the matter to Daniel Delaney, then attorney-general, who gave an elaborate opinion on the sub-

ject, in which he took the ground that the offenders were amenable to the provincial court for conspiracy to commit a riot, they having dispossessed Edward Long, before-mentioned, of his house and taken possession of it and part of his wheat field. The council thereupon ordered the court of this county to bind them, and all witnesses against them, to appear at the provincial court, where they were subsequently tried and acquitted.

This energetic action on the part of the authorities of Maryland seems to have had a good effect, and to have overawed the people on the Pennsylvania border, who refrained from making any more surveys in the disputed territory for some years afterwards.

Although more than half a century had elapsed since Cecil County had been invested with a legal existence, its boundaries, owing to the dispute between the proprietaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania, were still undetermined. And inasmuch as the settlement of the boundaries of the county was dependent upon the settlement of those of the province of which it formed a part, it is important that the reader's attention should now be directed to the efforts which at this time were made to adjust the long pending controversy, and which resulted many years afterwards in the establishment of Mason and Dixons line. Although this line occupied a very important position in the politics of the United States for many years, its history is very imperfectly understood, except by statesmen and politicians. Should the reader belong to that large class of citizens who have not made politics the object of special consideration, he will be more ready than otherwise to pardon this unavoidable digression.

In 1732 John, Richard, and Thomas Penn, who by the will of their father had become joint proprietors of Pennsylvania, entered into a written agreement with Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore, for the adjustment of the boundaries of the two provinces. It was stipulated by the parties to this agreement that the boundaries should be as

follows: First, a circle of twelve miles radius should be described around the town of New Castle. Second, a due east and west line was then to be drawn across the peninsula from the easternmost part of Cape Henlopen to the Chesapeake Bay, from the middle of which a straight line was to be run in a northerly direction so as to form a tangent to the circular line. Third, that from the tangent point a due north line should be run until a point, fifteen English statute miles south of the most southerly part of Philadelphia, should be reached. Fourth, that a due east and west line should be run from the last-named point as far west as the two provinces extended.* It was also stipulated that, if the due north line, beginning at the tangent point, should cut a segment from the twelve-mile circle, that the said segment should belong to New Castle County. It was also agreed that each of the contracting parties should appoint within two months thereafter, not less than seven commissioners, under whose supervision the lines were to be located. Commissioners were accordingly appointed, who met for the purpose designated, but owing to the indefiniteness of the agreement, the conference soon terminated, and with it ended all practical efforts to settle the dispute at that time. Shortly after this abortive attempt by the commissioners, Lord Baltimore applied to King George II. for a confirmation of his charter; but it was too late, and by an order of the king in council, in 1735, the Penns were directed to institute proceedings in chancery for the purpose of testing the validity of the agreement, and if it was found valid, of enforcing its provisions.

Previous to this time the partisans of the proprietors of the two provinces seem to have made use of the legal machinery of the counties along the borders in their efforts to

* The west line was to begin at the tangent point, if that point was found to be fifteen statute miles south of Philadelphia; otherwise the due north line was to be continued until a point fifteen miles south of Philadelphia was reached.

further their own interest and that of their superiors. But when the matter in dispute was referred to the Court of Chancery, they having had little hope of a speedy settlement, inaugurated a border warfare in real earnest, which prevailed for a few years on the borders of what are now Harford and York counties.

Thomas Cresap, who has been mentioned as the proprietor of a ferry from Port Deposit to Lapidum, and who had moved further up and settled on the west side of the Susquehanna River, acted a very conspicuous part in this warfare. Many Germans had settled on the disputed territory in what is now York County, under Pennsylvania titles; but in order to avoid the payment of taxes in that province, they accepted titles from Maryland and acknowledged the authority of Lord Baltimore. But becoming apprehensive that adhesion to him might ultimately prejudice their interest, they formally renounced their allegiance and sought protection from Pennsylvania. This irritated the authorities of Maryland, and the sheriff of Baltimore County with three hundred men marched to eject them. The sheriff of Lancaster County, with a large posse, came to their assistance, and induced the Marylanders to return without molesting the Germans, on a pledge that they would consult together and give an answer to Lord Baltimore's requisition to acknowledge his authority.

Shortly after this an association consisting of three hundred and fifty men, headed by Cresap, was formed for the purpose of driving out the Germans and dividing their lands among the associators, two hundred acres being promised to each of them.

During one of the many raids that were made at this period, an attack was made in the night time upon Cresap's house, and he shot and wounded one of the assailants, from the effect of which he died. Sometime after this happened the sheriff of Lancaster County, accompanied by twenty-four armed men, crossed over the Susquehanna River

in the night, with the intention of taking Cresap by surprise and capturing him the next morning. But they were discovered, and Cresap, after making a spirited resistance and defending himself, until his house which had been set on fire by his assailants, was nearly burned down, was captured and taken in triumph to Philadelphia, where he taunted the crowd that assembled to see the "Maryland Monster," by exclaiming half in earnest half in derision, "Why, this is the finest city in the province of Maryland." The Governor of Maryland immediately ordered reprisals to be made, and four German settlers were seized and carried to Baltimore County.

During this period of the border war, hostilities prevailed to some though not to so great an extent on the eastern border of the county, and two persons named Rothwell were arrested at the instigation of James Heath, some distance east of where Warwick now stands. These persons were confined for some days in a jail* which stood upon Ward's Hill, a short distance southeast of Cecilton, on the farm of John W. Davis, Esq., one of Ward's descendants.

In 1736 the authorities of Maryland presented an address to the king in council, in which they gave a comprehensive account of the troubles on the border, and prayed him to grant them such relief as to his royal wisdom should seem meet. This address had a good effect, and on the 18th of August, 1737, the king in council issued an order commanding the governors of the two provinces to prevent the recurrence of all riotous proceedings in the future, and enjoined them to make no more grants of land in the disputed territory, nor even permit any person to settle thereon, until his majesty's pleasure should be further signified. This order had the happy effect of ending the border trou-

* Very little is known of this jail, but it was probably used in connection with the slave trade. John Ward, who owned it, was one of the first settlers in Sassafras Neck, where he patented a large tract of land as early as 1665.

bles, and in May, 1738, the governors of the two provinces entered into an agreement for running a temporary line, which his majesty allowed them to carry into effect. This line was not to interfere with the actual possession of the settlers, but merely to suspend all grants on the disputed territory until the final adjustment of the boundaries. This line was run in the spring of 1739 by Colonel Levin Gale and Samuel Chamberlaine, commissioners on the part of Maryland, and Richard Peters and Lawrence Growden on the part of Pennsylvania. It commenced at or near the eastern boundary of the county as determined by Messrs. Mason and Dixon. East of the Susquehanna River it was about a quarter of a mile south of the present state line, and the same distance north of that line on the west side of that river.

The chancery suit, before referred to, was not decided until 1750, when the decree was promulgated by Chancellor Hardwick, who reserved the power to adjust any difficulties that might arise in its execution. In conformity with the decree, commissioners were appointed by the respective parties to the suit, who met at New Castle in November, 1750, for the purpose of carrying it into effect.

The diary of John Watson, one of the surveyors appointed by the commissioners of Pennsylvania to assist in making the survey in 1750, is yet extant and in a good state of preservation in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to which it was presented by the late William D. Gilpin, of Philadelphia, who found it among some old papers at his paper-mill. This diary shows that the commissioners had a long controversy about the manner in which the twelve-mile radius should be measured. The commissioners of Maryland contended that it should be measured upon the surface of the earth, and those from Pennsylvania that it should be made by horizontal measurement, and not by following the inequalities of the earth's surface. The latter method was the one enforced by the

court when the matter was referred to it. They also had trouble in fixing the point from which to begin the measurement of the radius, and Watson states in his diary that he noticed a puncture in the paper on which a map in the possession of the Maryland commissioners was made, which they stated was intended to represent the beginning of the radius at New Castle. Its location, he afterwards learned, had been determined on in this wise: "The commissioners of Maryland had constructed an exact plan of the town of New Castle upon a piece of paper, and then carefully pared away the edges of the draught until no more than the draught was left, when, sticking a pin through it, they suspended it thereby in different places until they found a place whereby it might be suspended horizontally, which point or place they accepted as the centre of gravity," which they alleged was the centre of the town, and maintained that that was the right and proper place from which to commence the measurement of the radius. The commissioners of Pennsylvania objected to this curious method of determining the centre of the town; and the court, when the matter was referred to it, decided that the radius should be measured from the Court House. The commissioners, after spending some time in New Castle, adjourned to meet in the April following, having first agreed that the surveyors should meet on the 20th of December, at Cape Henlopen, and proceed to run the line across the peninsula.

By the terms of the agreement of 1732, the trans-peninsular line was to begin at Cape Henlopen, and a controversy now arose about the true location of that place. This controversy originated in the different methods of spelling the name of the cape. The early Swedish settlers called the present Cape Henlopen, Cape *Inlopen*, and the exterior or false cape at Fenwick's Island, Cape Henlopen or *Hinlopen*, the latter of which is said to be a Swedish word signifying entering in; from which it appears that the aspirate letter H, in the Swedish language prefixed to the word *Inlopen* altered the

sense of it from the interior to the exterior cape. The matter in dispute was referred to the lord chancellor, who decided that the respective parties should abide by the agreement which fixed the beginning of the line at the exterior cape on Fenwick's Island.

Watson soon after the meeting at New Castle, started for Cape Henlopen on horseback. He had occasion to spend a night at a hotel in St. George's, and notes in his diary that the mill-dam at that place, was the resort of large flocks of water fowl. Watson gives an account of the difficulties and inconveniences the surveyors experienced in the prosecution of their work, from which it appears that they were in imminent danger of being drowned by the tide overflowing Phenix Island* upon one occasion, when they were stopping upon it. The cabin in which they were lodging, upon another occasion, took fire and they had a narrow escape from death, one of them losing his shoes, which were burned to a crisp, from which it may be inferred that their loss was a more serious affair than it would be at the present time. However, after much discussion and wrangling, they commenced the survey of the line, which they traced for a few miles, but on the 8th of January, 1750, were obliged to quit on account of the swamps and low lands being covered with ice, which made it impracticable to continue the work. Watson states that their horses were continually getting mired in the swamps, into which they sank up to the middle of their legs, and that it was in his opinion only practicable to complete the work in the summer months when the swamps were drier than at other times.

The work of locating the trans-peninsular line was resumed the next Spring, under the auspices of Edward Jennings, Robert Jenkins Henry, George Plater, John Ross, William Allen, Richard Peters, and Robert Holt, commissioners appointed to superintend the work. The names of

* Now called Fenwick's Island.

the surveyors employed by them were as follows: John Emory, Thomas Jones, William Parsons, William Shankland, and William Killen. The surveyors commenced work near Fenwick's Island, on the 29th of April, 1751, and met with nothing unusual until they had completed the thirteenth mile of the line, when they enter in their journal on the 8th of May, that the men who were assisting them, had struck for higher wages. This caused some delay, but the surveyors being unable to procure any other assistance, were obliged to make the best terms they could with their men, all of whom agreed to continue to serve them. They lived in tents, and were often at a loss to find a suitable place to locate them, on account of the swampy condition of the country. They completed the line on the 15th of June, 1751, having traced it to the Chesapeake Bay, a distance of sixty-nine miles and two hundred and ninety-eight perches from the place of beginning on Fenwick's Island.

The commissioners would probably have completed the other portions of the work had their labors not been suddenly brought to an end by the death of Charles Calvert, the proprietor of Maryland, between whom and the heirs of Penn the agreement of 1732 had been made. Frederick, Lord Baltimore, the heir and successor of Charles, was a minor, and his guardians resisted the execution of the decree; but in 1754 the Penns took measures to revive the Chancery suit, with a view of carrying out and enforcing the original agreement. But probably owing to the proverbial delay that always prevails in that court, the parties, after waiting until 1760, entered into another agreement, which, so far as it related to the boundary lines, was a re-affirmation of the former one, from which it only differed by containing certain stipulations in reference to the grants of land already made by the proprietors of the two provinces. This agreement provided for the appointment of not less than three, nor more than seven commissioners by the respective parties who were to carry its provisions into

effect. These commissioners met at New Castle on the 19th of November, 1760, and on the 10th of the December following delivered their instructions to the surveyors, Messrs. John Frederick, Augustus Briggs, Thomas Garnett, Arthur Emory, John Watson, John Stapler, and William Shankland, who were employed by them to locate and measure the radius of the twelve mile circle and a due north line from the middle point in the line across the peninsula until it reached the outer end of the radius. The commissioners seem to have had some doubt of their ability to run all the lines, for they only instructed the surveyors to run the two before named.

The minute book of the surveyors, which contains their instructions and an account of each day's work, may be seen in the land office at Annapolis. They were directed to measure the lines with the greatest accuracy with a two, or if more convenient, a four-perch chain, the length of which they were frequently to verify by a two-foot brass sector, furnished them for the purpose; and were frequently to verify the direction of the line by the transit of the pole star. They were to keep two minute books, in which each day's work was to be entered; and in case of failure to trace a true meridian they were to return these books to the governors of the two provinces, who were then to call the commissioners together in order to give the surveyors further instructions. They were also to note the most remarkable buildings, waters, bridges and roads near the line or through which it might pass.

The surveyors began to run the due north line from the middle point on the 12th of December, 1760, but after tracing it a few miles were obliged to quit on account of the severity of the weather. They resumed work on the 5th of May, 1761, and continued the line northward, but found by observations made on the 12th of June that the line was one minute and sixteen seconds east of the true meridian. They then returned their minute books to the

governors, as they had been directed to do, and received from the commissioners instructions to go back to the ninth mile post and begin again to retrace the line. The instructions of the commissioners are both instructive and curious, but are too long to be inserted here.

On the 17th of July, Jonathan Hall was appointed a surveyor on the part of Maryland and John Lukens and Archibald McClean on the part of Pennsylvania. One of the two last-named was appointed to fill the place of John Watson, who died about this time. The surveyors met with many difficulties and their minute book is full of entries about the swamps and mill-dams that obstructed their operations. However, they completed the due north line on the 24th of October. It terminated near the road leading from Head of Elk to New Castle. The commissioners soon afterwards met at New Castle and gave them instructions about running the radius from that place toward the terminus of the due north line, which they proceeded to locate and measure immediately afterwards and finished in the early part of the winter of 1761. At this time the connection of Messrs. John Lukens, Archibald McClean, Thomas Garnett, and Jonathan Hall, appears to have terminated with this line and nothing more of a practical nature was done toward settling the dispute until the 15th of November, 1763, at which time Messrs. Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, having been employed by the commissioners at the instance of the proprietors of the respective provinces, landed at Philadelphia and immediately commenced work.

Messrs. Mason and Dixon were eminent mathematicians and astronomers. The former had been sent to India by the British Government to observe the transit of Venus, which occurred in 1763, but the vessel in which he sailed having been captured by a French cruiser, he was put on shore at the Cape of Good Hope, at which place he performed the work he otherwise would have done in India. These men appear to have been eminently qualified for the work

they were employed to perform, the best evidence of which is the accurate manner in which it was done.

They landed at Philadelphia on November 15th, 1763, and at once went to work to ascertain the latitude of the southern part of that city, in order to determine the location of the due east and west line, which was to divide the two provinces, and which by the terms of the agreement, was to be run at the distance of fifteen English statute miles south of the southern part of that city. They followed the instructions which the commissioners had given to their predecessors, and kept two copies of a daily journal, one of which is in the Land Office at Annapolis, the other is in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The copy belonging to the Historical Society was found some years ago in Nova Scotia, and was purchased for the sum of five hundred dollars.

These journals were kept upon the ordinary foolscap paper in use at that time. Each page has a column upon the left hand side of it, in which is entered the date of each day of the years they were at work running the lines. Opposite the date is entered a short account of each day's work, which was signed by each of them. The first entries in their journal are as follows: "1763, November 15th, arrived in Philadelphia; 16th, attended a meeting of the commissioners appointed to settle the bounds of Pennsylvania; 17th, wrote to his Excellency Horatio Sharp, Esq., Governor of Maryland, signifying our arrival at Philadelphia."

The two astronomers had a building erected in Philadelphia which they used as an observatory. It was no doubt a rude and temporary structure, for it cost but little, and was completed and in use in nine days after they landed. But rude and fragile as it was, it was probably the first structure of the kind erected in the United States. In this building they set up their sector on the 25th, and their transit instrument on the 28th, and found that they had

received no damage while being transported across the Atlantic Ocean.

The point determined upon as the most southern part of Philadelphia was an old house on the north side of South street, then called Cedar street. They were engaged in determining the latitude of this point until the early part of January, 1764, and ascertained it to be $39^{\circ} 56' 29.1''$ north, which varies but little from the latitude of the same place as determined by modern astronomers. Having completed their work in Philadelphia, they took down the observatory and placed it and some of their equipments in three wagons, and having packed the telescope and some other fragile articles in their beds and placed them on the springs of an old fashioned two-wheeled chair, they started westward to the forks of Brandywine, for the purpose of ascertaining by means of astronomical observations, a point in the same parallel of latitude as the old house on South street. They reached their destination in due time, and having re-erected their observatory, proceeded to ascertain the location of the required point, which occupied them until the 1st of the ensuing March.* They then employed ax-men and proceeded to clear a *vista*, in order to trace and measure the line fifteen miles south, which they completed on the 12th of the following April. This line terminated in Mill Creek Hundred, near Muddy Run, in what is now New Castle County, Delaware. After verifying their work and making the necessary preparations they repaired to New Castle, from which place they set out on the 18th of June, 1764, for the middle point in the line across the peninsula. They traveled in wagons, and were four days in reaching their destination.

The middle point in the peninsular line, as well as the northwest end of the radius having been already located

* A stone which they placed in this parallel to mark the beginning of the fifteen-mile line is now standing in the forks of Brandywine, and is known by the people of the neighborhood as the "Star-gazers' Stone."

by their predecessors, they at once proceeded to run an experimental line, with a view of ultimately locating the tangent line. This occupied them until the 25th of August, when they had produced the line eighty-one miles, which they supposed reached north of the tangent point. This line was afterwards proved to be too far west to strike the twelve-mile circle, and they at once proceeded to make the calculation preparatory to measuring the offsets and re-tracing the line, which they did with such accuracy, that when they reached the trans-peninsular line, they were only two feet two inches west of the middle point. This was their second effort to locate the tangent line, and though it was a failure, the two astronomers, without manifesting any symptoms of discouragement, at once proceeded to trace another line. This line ran sixteen feet and nine inches too far east of the tangent point, which they reached on the 10th of November, 1764. They at once computed the difference between the two lines they had run, so that when the stones, which were to mark the line, were set, they could be accurately placed in it.

The boundary stones in this line were afterward set under the supervision of the Rev. John Ewing, one of the commissioners of Pennsylvania, and a relative of the Ewings, who were formerly so numerous in the northwestern part of this county. These stones, except a few of them on the due north and circular line, were set at the distance of one mile from each other. They have on them, in accordance with the agreement, the letter "M" on the side facing Maryland, and the letter "P" on the side facing Pennsylvania, except those at the end of every fifth mile, which were marked with the arms of the respective proprietors. These stones were procured in England, and are of the formation known as *oolite*, which probably has a greater capacity to resist the action of the weather than any other stone that it would have been practicable to have obtained. Though they have been exposed to the action of the elements for more than a century, they have not been injured in the least.

On the 21st of November, 1764, the commissioners met at Christiana Bridge, and a few days afterwards the surveyors discharged their assistants and left off work for the winter season. Early in March, 1765, they repaired to the south end of the fifteen mile line, near Muddy Run, and attempted to ascertain the direction of the parallel of north latitude west from that point, but were prevented by cloudy weather from doing so for seven days, when, on the 21st of that month, a snow storm began which lasted three days; and they note in their journal that at nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th of March the snow was three feet deep. However, the snow did not remain long, and they commenced on the 5th of April to run the due west line that still bears their names, and continued it until, at the distance of about twelve miles, they crossed the road leading from Octoraro to Christiana Bridge; they then returned to Newark for their instruments, in order to verify the accuracy of their work, and found that they were one hundred and twenty-nine feet north of the true parallel. They, however, produced the line to the Susquehanna River, and found by observation that they were more than five chains north of the true parallel. The distance from the northeast corner of the county to the east side of the Susquehanna, as determined by them, is about twenty-three and one-quarter miles; and the width of the river, which they obtained by triangulation at that time, where the line crossed it, was sixty-seven chains, four perches, and sixty-eight links.

The surveyors then proceeded to retrace and correct the line, and having finished that part of the work went to the tangent point, and on June the 1st, 1765, "found a direction for running a north line per time of the pole * transiting the meridian; also proved the same by the passage of four other *s, and found it good." They then produced the north line until it intersected the west one, and thus determined the location of the northeast corner of the State. But the boundaries of Cecil County were not yet fully deter-

mined, for it was stipulated in the agreement, as before mentioned, that if the due north line from the tangent point should cut a segment off the twelve-mile circle it should belong to New Castle County. That line having done this it became necessary, by the terms of the agreement, to locate that part of the arc between the tangent point and the northern extremity of the segment. The surveyors then proceeded to locate this part of the circular line, and found that it intersected the north line at the distance of one mile, thirty-six chains, and five links from the tangent point, which is the place where the three States join each other.

The surveyors, on the 18th of June, 1765, in the presence of the commissioners of the two provinces, set up and erected the stones to perpetuate this part of the boundary. These stones were quite different from those used to mark the other lines, being a kind of bastard marble or limestone. One of them was placed at the tangent point, where it yet remains. The arms of the Penns are legible on the east side of it, but the action of the elements has entirely obliterated the arms of Lord Baltimore from the other side. Four other stones were set in the periphery of the circle, and one at the point where the north line intersected it. One of the *oolite* stones was also set in the due west line at the northeast corner of the county. This last stone, which was lettered differently from the others, was prepared in England especially for this place. It had been accidentally broken in two and was mended by drilling holes in it, and inserting iron clamps into them and then filling the holes with molten lead. Thus, after the lapse of one hundred and thirty-three years after Cecilius Calvert received the charter of Maryland and ninety-one years after Cecil County had been organized, was the question of its boundaries determined. During nearly all this long period the controversy between the different proprietors of the two provinces had been handed down from generation to generation, and sev-

eral times had the otherwise peaceable settlers, owing to the ill feeling engendered by this controversy, imbued their hands in each other's blood. These troubles had not afflicted the settlers to any great extent in any other part of the province, and although quarreling and bloodshed are always to be deprecated and avoided, they, or the causes that produced them, were not in this case devoid of good results.

To the efforts of the respective proprietaries to extend their jurisdiction and the extraordinary inducements they offered to the settlers for this purpose, we are indebted for the early settlement of the county, and the sterling qualities of its citizens which, in many cases, have been transmitted from their ancestors, who were induced to settle here when the country was a wilderness. The vistas that the surveyors were obliged to have made through the woods for the purpose of tracing the lines were about eight yards wide and were distinctly visible in the growth of the timber until quite recently. The surveyors and those in their employ are said to have been a jolly set, and to have lingered long at the northeast corner of the county, near which may yet be found some fine springs of cool water, to enjoy the pleasure of drinking the apple-jack and peach brandy for which that part of the county was famous. Tradition says they had a pet bear which they always took with them, and that the curiosity and apprehension of the simple country people, who called them "the star gazers," were much excited by the habit they had of viewing the heavenly bodies at all hours of the night. Many of the country people viewed them with holy horror as necromancers or soothsayers whom it was not safe to meddle with.

After finishing the part of the work already described, the surveyors commenced operations on the line west of the Susquehanna River, and were employed in producing that line westward until the 4th of January, 1766, when they left off work for the winter, but resumed work again on the 1st.

of April of the same year, and on the 9th of June had reached a distance of about a hundred and sixty-two miles from the northeast corner of Maryland, where they learned from the Indians, whom the authorities of the two provinces had previously been at much trouble to conciliate, that it was their pleasure that they should not continue the line any further. So the surveyors set up their astronomical instruments and ascertained that the line at this point was north of the true parallel, and after making the necessary calculation, they began to retrace and correct it and finished their work on the boundary lines of the respective provinces on the 25th of September, 1766. The commissioners of the two provinces held a meeting shortly after this at Christiana Bridge, at which it was determined that the line running due west from the northeast corner of Maryland should be continued eastward from the point at the south end of the fifteen-mile line until it reached the Delaware River. The surveyors accordingly located and measured this line, and marked its termination at that river, the distance from which to the stone at the northeast corner of Cecil County, as determined by them, was fourteen miles, twenty chains and fifteen links. The line that forms the boundary between the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and that which was continued, as we have described, to the Delaware River, is the line known in the history and politics of the United States as Mason and Dixons line.

A few years after the stone at the northeast corner of the county had been set, the Revolutionary war commenced, and the lead used in mending it, as stated by old residents in that vicinity to the author in his boyhood, was picked out and used for making bullets by the patriots of the Continental army. This stone stood in a small ravine in a meadow, and when the lead was taken away from around the clamps, they fell out and the upper part of the stone fell off, and in a few years the lower part became covered with the earth, which the rains washed into the ravine. Thus

the location of the northeast corner of the State of Maryland was involved in obscurity, and the theory that the three States joined each other there, instead of at the northern extremity of the segment which was cut off by the due north line as before stated, was adopted and generally believed by the residents in those parts of the three States contiguous to the missing corner-stone. This being the case, in 1849, H. G. S. Key, of Maryland, Joshua P. Eyre, of Pennsylvania, and George R. Riddle, of Delaware, were appointed by the governors of the respective States, in accordance with acts of the legislatures of those States, to determine the place of the missing corner-stone. These commissioners obtained the assistance of lieutenant-colonel, J. D. Graham, of the U. S. Topographical engineers, and by his aid soon succeeded in finding the site of the missing corner-stone. And, notwithstanding the great improvement in scientific and astronomical instruments that had been made during the eighty-four years since the missing stone had been placed in position, the lower portion of it was found by the commissioners when digging the hole in which to set the new stone they planted in its stead. These commissioners found a few slight inaccuracies in the location of the tangent point and the point of intersection of the due north and circular lines, which, owing to the want of care on the part of Messrs. Mason and Dixon in measuring the angle formed by the radius and tangent lines, had caused them to set the tangent stone 157.6 feet too far to the north, and the stone at the point of intersection of the three States, 143.7 feet too far south, in consequence of which the curved line between these two points was incorrect. The commissioners, however, concluded that inasmuch as the stones that marked the circular part of the boundary between Maryland and Delaware had never been moved, and both States had acknowledged them as boundary stones for more than three-fourths of a century, to let them remain in the places where they found them; and lest they in time should be destroyed

by the action of the elements, they erected a substantial granite monument alongside of the original stone at the tangent point and replaced the stone at the point of intersection of the three States with a triangular monument of the same material and buried the original stone near it. They also marked the middle of the arc by erecting a granite monument at the perpendicular distance of 118.4 feet west from the middle of the chord as determined by themselves, and erected a substantial granite monument at the northeast corner of the State in the place of the missing corner-stone. The circular line, as traced by the commissioners in 1849, would, had it been adopted, have added a trifle less than two acres to the area of Cecil County. It may not be improper to remark that that part of Pennsylvania lying south of the prolongation of Mason and Dixons line eastward toward the Delaware River and between it and the point of intersection of the three States has always been under the jurisdiction of New Castle County, and the inhabitants living upon it have always paid taxes to the authorities of Delaware and exercised all the rights of citizens of that State.

CHAPTER XX.

The Revolutionary War—The Quakers—Convention of 1774—Committee of Safety—Delegates to convention of 1775—First military organization in the county—Henry Dobson—Military organizations in the county—Henry Hollingsworth makes musket barrels and bayonets for the army—Edward Parker makes linen and woolen goods for the use of the soldiers—Invasion of the county by the British—They land at Court-house Point—Sir William Howe's proclamation—Part of British' army march to Head of Elk—Another part overrun Bohemia Manor—Account of the invasion—Court-house not burned—Doings of the American army—Skirmishing on Iron Hill—Robert Alexander—Disloyalty of the citizens of Newark—Tories trade with the British—The Quakers refuse to perform military duty, and are court-martialed—Brick Meeting-house used for a hospital—Burglary at Head of Elk—Interesting correspondence—Lafayette's expedition to Yorktown passes through Head of Elk—His route through Cecil County—Journal of Claude Blanchard—Forteen Stodder, the negro soldier—Confiscated property—The Elk Forge Company—John Roberts hanged for treason—The Principio Iron Company—Susquehanna Manor—Lots in Charlestown—Property of Rev. William Edmisson.

THE people of Cecil County were among the most patriotic in the State, and the heroic part they took in the long and bloody struggle of the Revolutionary war fully attests their bravery. They shunned no danger, and shrank from no duty, however unpleasant it may have been, that the exigencies of the times imposed upon them. There were a few tories* in the county, but they were very few, and such was the alacrity with which the others embraced the cause of their country that the tories found it best to seek safety by joining the royal army upon the first favorable opportunity. The Quakers of Nottingham, refused to perform military duty; but there were many reasons that impelled them

* A term of opprobrium applied to those who adhered to the royal cause.

to do so. Their ancestors had obtained that township from William Penn, and had considered themselves as being residents of Pennsylvania until the location of Mason and Dixons line had demonstrated that the Nottingham lots were in the province of Maryland. The colonial legislature of Maryland seems to have been so much occupied with the consideration of the hostile legislation of the British parliament and the other causes that led to the war, that it had neglected to take any steps towards conciliating these people by providing the means for them to obtain titles to their land from the lord proprietary of Maryland. In consequence of this neglect, the land owners of Nottingham presented the singular anomaly of being citizens of Maryland and holding their farms by virtue of the patents their ancestors had obtained three-quarters of a century before, from the proprietor of Pennsylvania. Probably the question of allegiance had little to do with their refusal to join the army, for most of them were too rigid adherents to the pacific principles and tenets of their society to have taken any part in the war.

It is not within the scope of this work to recount the history of the various battles in which the gallant soldiers from this county participated, nor is it necessary to do so. Their history may be found in that of the old Maryland line, of which it forms a conspicuous part. It suffices to say, that they won imperishable fame and have left a record of noble achievements, the lustre of which the lapse of a century has not dimmed, and that as the circling ages pass away is only made brighter by their flight.

The aggressions of the mother country had aroused the spirit of opposition in the breasts of the people of Maryland long before the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence, and the freemen of the State met in the counties and appointed committees to represent them in a convention that met in Annapolis, on the 22d of June, 1774. Cecil County was represented in this convention by John Veazey,

Jr., William Ward, and Stephen Hyland, all of whom were members of families which both prior and subsequent to this time took an active part in public affairs. At this time very few of the Americans had conceived the idea of armed resistance against the enforcement of the obnoxious measures the mother country was trying to impose upon them; hence this convention did nothing more than pass a series of resolutions denouncing the Boston Port Bill, and protesting against the passage of certain other obnoxious laws then pending before the British Parliament. The next convention that the exigencies of the times called forth, the members of which were called Deputies, met in the December following, and went much further in their opposition to the encroachments of the mother country. This convention recommended to the farmers to increase the number of sheep in the province, and to engage more extensively in the cultivation of flax and hemp, and recommended to the people of the province to organize themselves into military companies and provide themselves with arms and equipments and to learn how to use them. They also recommended that the committees of observation in the several counties should raise by voluntary subscription or in other ways more agreeable to them, the sum of £10,000 for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Of this sum Cecil County was to raise £400. This convention held two other sessions in Annapolis in the months of May and July, 1775, but owing to the mutilation of the manuscript copy of their proceedings, the names of the members from this county cannot be ascertained. It is probable that the manuscript book was mutilated in order to conceal their names, owing to the peril in which the members were placed. A diligent search among the newspapers published at that time has added nothing to the scanty stock of information upon this subject.

The committees that represented the counties in the first conventions, also took charge of the affairs of the colony in the respective counties, and looked after the interests of the

inchoate State, and kept an eye upon those who were in any wise opposed to their revolutionary principles. It is stated in the American Archives for 1775, that the case of Charles Gordon, an attorney, who resided in the lower part of the county, was brought before the committee on the 17th of May. Gordon was charged with treating the Continental Congress with great disrespect, and with maliciously aspersing it and the provincial convention and the committee of the county itself, and at divers times and in sundry ways vilifying their proceedings.

The committee, which was then in session at Elk Ferry, had sent William Savin, sheriff of the county, with a summons to Gordon, to appear before the committee to answer the charges. Savin had served the summons upon him, as appears from his affidavit taken before David Smith, at that time a justice of the peace, and afterwards for a long time register of wills: but Gordon refused to attend, and sent word to the committee that if they wished to see him they could come to his place; that it was large enough to hold them, and that they had better not come inside his yard gate or there would be lives lost; all of which message, and much more was couched in strong language intermixed with profanity. Whereupon the committee resolved that he should be under the imputation of being an enemy to this country, and as such they would have no dealings or communications with him or suffer him to transact any business with them until he should satisfy them respecting the truth of the charges preferred against him.

The counties were represented in the first convention by committees, and each county had one vote only, and all questions were determined by a majority of counties. In the conventions subsequently called together previous to December, 1775, the members were styled deputies. John Veazey, Jr., Joseph Gilpin, John D. Thompson, Nathaniel Ramsay, and Patrick Ewing, represented the county in the convention of 1775. Of this number, Messrs. Veazey, Thompson,

and Ramsay, were signers of the Declaration of the Freemen of Maryland, a document somewhat similar in character to the Declaration of Independence. It seems proper to state in this connection that Peter Lawson, William Currier, and Charles Rumsey, of this county, also signed the Declaration.

In the convention that met August 14th, 1776, this county was represented by Joseph Gilpin, Patrick Ewing, David Smith, and Benjamin Brevard.

The first military organization in the county at this time of which any account has come down to us was an independent company, of which Samuel Evans was commissioned captain September 28th, 1776. Of this company Henry Dobson was first lieutenant, Thomas Rumsey was second lieutenant, and William Stewart was ensign. They were all commissioned on the same day. There is reason to believe that Dobson took a very active part in the organization of this company. On the day he received his commission he seems to have been in Annapolis, for the council ordered the treasurer of the Western Shore to pay him £500 for the use of Charles Rumsey, Henry Hollingsworth, and Edward Parker, on account of the flying camp. The council the same day ordered that Parker furnish sufficient linen to supply the company with tents, and that the commissary furnish Dobson twelve camp kettles, seventy-six *cartouch* boxes, and also a like number of priming wires and brushes, etc., which he probably brought home with him. Henry Dobson was captain of this or another company at the time of his death, as shown by a part of the pay-roll, now in possession of his relatives. We learn from this scrap of paper, which only contains eight names, that Robert Allan was sergeant of the company, William Phillips, corporal, Andrew Hegarty, fifer, and that John Jackson had been drummer, but was reduced to the ranks. From a list of articles belonging to Henry Dobson at the time of his death it may be inferred that the uniform of his company was very bril-

liant. A scarlet coat, gold-laced, with epaulets, and four black feathers, are mentioned as being part of his effects, as were also a testament and prayer-book.

Henry Dobson was the grandson of Richard Dobson, who for many years was register of North Elk Parish, and Abigail, the daughter of Henry Hollingsworth, the first of that name who settled at the Head of Elk, in 1710. The Dobson family owned and lived on the plantation bordering on the west side of Little Elk Creek, and on the road leading from Elkton to North East. Cecil County produced no braver man or better soldier than Henry Dobson. At the time he was commissioned he was not yet twenty-two years of age. He was the maternal uncle of the late Henry Dobson Miller, who was register of wills of this county for twenty-eight years. He was wounded at the battle of Brandywine and killed at the battle of Eutaw Springs, in 1781, in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

On the 6th of January, 1776, the convention balloted for officers of the militia with the following result: *Bohemia Battalion*—John Veazey, Jr., colonel; John D. Thompson, lieutenant-colonel; William Rumsey, first major; Dr. Joshua Clayton, second; Samuel Young, quarter-master. *Elk Battalion*—Charles Rumsey, colonel; Henry Hollingsworth, lieutenant-colonel; Edward Parker, first major; John Strawbridge, second; Thomas Huggins, quarter-master. *Susquehanna Battalion*—George Johnson, colonel; Thomas Hughs, lieutenant-colonel; John Hartshorn,* first major; Elihu Hall, second; John Hambleton, quarter-master. There is reason to believe that these battalions were intended for home protection and defence, and existed as distinct organizations but a short time, when those of whom they were composed entered the Continental army.

At this time Colonel Henry Hollingsworth was in the prime of life, and resided in the old brick mansion in Elkton, now

* See sketch of Hartshorn and Hall families, in Chapter XXVIII.

occupied by his grandchildren, the Partridges. He was an eminently patriotic man, and judging from the letters he received and the important positions he filled, did more than any other citizen of the county for the advancement of the interest of the colonists. The Head of Elk being directly upon the route between the northern and southern colonies, he was often called upon, in discharge of his duty as commissary, to furnish supplies for the troops when their line of march lead through that village, which then was a place of so much importance that the Legislature passed an act in the spring of 1777, authorizing the governor to purchase land and contract for the erection of a good, substantial stone or brick building to be used for the accommodation of new recruits or soldiers passing through it. The governor was also requested to solicit the aid of Congress in prosecuting the work. Probably for the want of means, the building was not erected. Mr. Hollingsworth was as enterprising as he was patriotic; and with a view of aiding the cause of his country, he made a proposition to the convention to manufacture gun-barrels and bayonets for the use of the troops. The convention took action upon this proposition on the 22d of May, 1776, and resolved that the sum of £500 should be advanced to him. "He was to give bond for the payment of that sum in good substantial gun barrels, well bored and ground, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in the bore and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the barrel, at twenty shillings per barrel, and good substantial steel bayonets, at eight shillings per bayonet." These barrels were stocked by Mr. William Winters, who had a manufactory for that purpose at Chestertown. Mr. Hollingsworth was the first person that engaged in the manufacture of warlike munitions in this State for the use of its soldiers.

The January before this took place, Edward Parker, who then resided near the Brick Meeting-house, had memorialized the convention in regard to the manufacture of linen and woolen goods, and had received a subsidy of £300 to enable

him to start business. He stated that he had erected a house,* provided himself with all manner of implements, and had five looms constantly employed in manufacturing.

In this connection the following letter, copied from the original, now in possession of Mr. Hollingsworth's grandchildren, will be interesting. It was written only eight days after the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence, and shows the promptness with which the people of that time acted :

“ IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY,
“ 12th July, 1776.

“ *Sir* :—We are in immediate want of about 400 bayonets of different sized sockets for the army of the Eastern Shore militia, who are to compose part of the flying camp, and have sent an order on you to Mr. Winters† for them, and we request you will supply him with that number as soon as possible. The greatest exertions are necessary upon this occasion, and we doubt not your warmest efforts to enable us to carry into execution the resolves of convention with that dispatch the exigency of the times require.

“ For and on behalf of the Council,
“ I am sir, your obedient servant,

“ CHARLES CARROLL, V. P.

“ Col. Henry Hollingsworth.”

The iron used in the construction of these munitions of war was purchased in Philadelphia.

*This house is believed to be now standing. It is on the south side of the road leading from the Brick Meeting-house to Port Deposit, and a short distance west of where that road crosses the North East Creek. Mr. Parker at one time owned a fulling-mill, which was on or near the site of the grist-mill on the other side of the creek, at which no doubt the woolen cloth was finished.

† Mr. Winters had a shop in Charlestown, and was employed by the State to stock the gun-barrels, which were probably made at the gun factory on a branch of Little North East creek, which rises near the Brick Meeting house. The factory was in the midst of a dense forest, a short distance north of the road leading from Kirk's mill to Bay View

The correspondence between Colonel Hollingsworth and the colonial and continental authorities is interesting and instructive; and shows the difficulties under which the patriotic people of that time labored. Skillful laborers were hard to procure, and many of the bayonets made by Colonel Hollingsworth were useless, either because they were not properly tempered, or because the steel of which they were made was worthless. They were easily bent, and consequently were good for nothing; so the colonial authorities censured him and threw them on his hands, which was a source of quite as much annoyance to him as the want of the weapons was to them. In addition to ordinary muskets barrels and bayonets he also manufactured a few barrels for larger pieces, which are mentioned in his correspondence under the name of wall pieces.

Little is known of the other officers of the battalions before-mentioned. Colonel John Veazey descended from an old Norman family, one of whom settled on Veazey Neck previous to 1670. As before stated, he represented the county in the convention of 1774-5. He was a nephew of Captain Edward Veazey, who was killed at the battle of Long Island in 1776. Charles and William Rumsey were descendants of Charles Rumsey, who lived at the head of Bohemia River in 1710. Dr. Joshua Clayton participated in the battle of Brandywine, at which time he was aid to General Washington, who had it is said, commissioned him Colonel and placed him on his staff, in order to make a good appearance when receiving the sword of General Howe, whom he expected to capture at that place. Colonel Clayton was afterwards Governor of Delaware and United State Senator from that State. George Johnson is believed to have been aid to General Washington during the campaign in New Jersey in 1777-8. Elihu Hall was of the Hall family, one of whom many years before, settled near the mouth of the Octoraro. This family for a long time, was one of the most numerous and distinguished in the county.

The campaign of 1776 was disastrous to the Continental army, no portion of which had acted with greater bravery and distinction than the Maryland line. Washington had done what he could to retrieve the fortunes of the Continental cause at Princeton and Trenton, and in the Spring of 1777, his army occupied northern New Jersey, and having been largely reinforced was so formidable that General Howe resolved to accomplish by stratagem what he had failed to do by force, namely, the capture of Philadelphia, then the capitol of the infant Republic. To this end he embarked his army on board his brother's fleet, intending to reach Philadelphia by sailing up the Delaware. But learning that this was impracticable on account of the obstructions in that river, he abandoned his original plan and entered the Chesapeake Bay.

On the way up the Chesapeake, the British fleet, consisting of three hundred sail of men-of-war, stopped at the mouth of the Patapsco river and threatened to destroy Baltimore.

It is stated in the Maryland Gazette, a newspaper published in Baltimore, that the British fleet left Bodkin Point, at the mouth of the Patapsco, on the 24th of August, and sailed to the mouth of Elk River and *came to*, off Turkey Point. The writer then proceeds as follows: "It has been reported they landed some of their troops, but it proceeded from their sending a number of boats to *Pursusa* (*Spesutia*) Island, lying between Harford and Kent county, on which was a large stock of cattle and sheep, some of which they have taken off." This erroneous account of the landing of the British troops at Turkey Point was adopted by Rumsey and published in his history of the Revolutionary war, and his account has been generally followed by all subsequent American writers. The fact is correctly stated by British historians, who say that Howe's army landed some distance above the mouth of the Elk River. From Turkey Point the British sailed on up the Elk River and landed on

Elk Neck, nearly opposite Court-house Point, at which place they were encamped on the 27th. The weather at this time was very rainy, which may have prevented them from landing sooner.

On the 27th the British General issued the following proclamation :

“ By His Excellency Sir William Howe, &c, &c. A declaration to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, the lower counties on Delaware and the counties on the Eastern Shore of Maryland: Sir William Howe, regretting the calamities to which many of His Majesty’s faithful subjects are still exposed by the continuance of the rebellion; and no less desirous of protecting the innocent than determining to pursue with the rigors of war all those whom His Majesty’s forces in the course of their progress may find in arms against the King, doth hereby assure the peaceable inhabitants of the province of Pennsylvania, the lower counties on Delaware and the counties of Maryland on the eastern shore of Chesapeake bay that in order to remove any groundless apprehensions which may have been raised of their suffering by depredations of the army under his command: He hath issued the strictest orders to the troops for the preservation of regularity and good discipline; and has signified that the most exemplary punishment shall be inflicted upon those who shall dare to plunder their property or molest the persons of any of His Majesty’s well disposed subjects.

“ Security and protection are likewise extended to all persons, inhabitants of the province and counties aforesaid, who (not guilty of having assumed legislative or judicial authority) may have acted illegally in subordinate stations and conscious of their misconduct been induced to leave their dwellings; Provided such persons do forthwith return and remain peaceably in their usual places of abode. Considering, moreover, that many officers and private men, now actually in arms against His Majesty, may be willing to relinquish the part they have taken in this rebellion and return to their due allegiance. Sir William Howe doth therefore promise a free and general pardon to all such officers and private men as shall voluntarily come and surrender themselves to any detachment of his Majesty’s forces

before the day on which it shall be notified, that the said indulgence shall be discontinued.

“ Given under my hand at Head Quarters of the Army, the 27th of August, 1777, by His Excellency's command.

“ ROBERT MCKENZIE,
“ Secretary.”

In a letter dated at Mr. Russle's, at the head of North East, on the 27th of August, and addressed to Governor Johnson, by Benjamin Rumsey, he states that there were about one hundred men under arms, of which number about sixty-two were at North East and Charlestown. He complains of the want of arms, and speaks of two Hessian deserters, who had come to North East that morning.

The two days after the British landed were stormy, which probably prevented them from advancing sooner; but on the morning of the 27th of August, two brigades of light infantry under Howe marched by the old road, traces of which may be seen at this time, that led from Elk Ferry to the Head of Elk, leaving a large division of the heavier troops, under command of Generals Knyphausen and Agnew, at Elk Ferry, with instructions to cross the Elk River to Bohemia Manor. The British did not confine themselves to the road after crossing Little Elk Creek, but spread over the fields on each side of it, their pioneers or vanguard tearing down the fences and other obstructions to make way for the others. It was said to have been a beautiful sight to see them as they came in sight on the level slope west of the town, their scarlet coats and bright guns and bayonets gleaming in the rays of an early August sun. After reaching the Head of Elk (now Elkton) the British encamped on the plain, northwest of the town, where they remained for several days.

While the British were at Elkton they destroyed a large quantity of grain that was stored in a warehouse that stood in the hollow near where Prices hotel now stands. The warehouse was a frame building, and stood on the east side

of a canal or ditch that had been dug for the purpose of bringing vessels close to it, to facilitate the loading of grain. The British tore the weather-boarding off this warehouse and filled the ditch full of grain. The British General appears to have left a part of his force here for some time, probably a small garrison, to hold the town and keep open his line of communication with the fleet in the river.

The Americans had a small body of troops at Elk Forge, which was a place of much importance at that time, and had been in operation for about sixteen years. They also had a line of posts or stations by way of Kennet Square to Philadelphia, and kept up communication by means of couriers on horseback, who changed horses at each station.

While the British held the town they were in the habit of sending out foraging parties, and the Americans at the forge had their scouts on the alert, in order to be informed of their operations. It was while doing duty as a scout that a grand-uncle of the author fell in with a squad of these British officers near the site of the bridge across Big Elk, north of the town, known as Gilpin's bridge. He was on the north side of the creek and they were on the opposite bank, near where the house now stands. The creek was skirted on each side with bushes and trees, and the old gentleman fired at them before they saw him, and to use his own words, "One of them settled down on his horse's neck." The old soldier did not think it safe to stay longer at that time, but returned a short time after the evacuation of Elkton by the British and found a fresh grave in the flat between the bluff and the creek. The grave is in the garden belonging to the house that stands near the south end of the bridge. The place was pointed out to the author many years ago by his uncle, to whom it had been shown by the person who fired the shot.*

* This man's name was Samuel Johnston. He served in the army under Washington, in New Jersey, and was in the battle of Monmouth. His brother, Thomas Johnston, was killed on board of an American privateer, near one of the British West India Islands during the war of the Revolution.

He had no doubt that the grave was that of the man at whom he fired. There may be those who will be disposed to think harshly of this action of an American soldier, but they should remember that the provocation of the Americans had been great and their sufferings severe; that they had borne them long and patiently when they had a reasonable right to have expected better treatment.

During the time that the British were in Elkton and vicinity they sent a detachment of troops to Elk Forge, who committed many depredations there and destroyed much of the property that they found. Most of the stock had been removed and concealed in anticipation of the raid. The people, for a distance of twelve or fifteen miles around Elkton, in Delaware, and Pennsylvania, took pains to conceal their horses and cattle by driving them to secluded places in the woods. Many of them had taken the more valuable portions of their portable property and fled to places of safety, where they remained until the danger was past. It was at the time of the raid upon Elk Forge that they took James Ramage prisoner and carried him to Philadelphia, where they detained him on board a prison ship for some months. His wife went with him, and probably owing to her solicitations and exertions, he was released. This man Ramage was the maternal grandfather of Mrs. Agatha Scott, the wife of David Scott, Esq., of the fourth district. He was a Scotchman and had not been long in America.

At this time there lived somewhere in the vicinity of Chestnut Hill a gentleman and his wife, who had the honor of lodging Gen. Washington. This man's name was Seth James. He lived to be quite old and taught school in the latter part of his life. The general was accompanied by his servant and asked the favor of lodging with them. The old lady fixed up the best feather bed she had in the best style. The servant, however, was of the opinion that something

might be concealed in the bed and he subjected it to a minute inspection, after which he rearranged it and the General then retired. They arose early the next morning and departed.

That part of the British army, under Gen. Knyphausen and Agnew, probably crossed the Elk River shortly after the departure of the light troops under Gen. Howe, for they were encamped near Court-house Point on the 31st of August. This division was composed of Hessians and Scotch Highlanders. They appear to have spread over the greater part of Sodom,* and were encamped for a short time near St. Augustine Church, the windows of which they destroyed.

One of the British generals is said to have occupied the house on the Wirt farm, near St. Augustine Church, and some one drew a picture of soldiers drawn up in military order, on one of the wooden partitions of that house. This picture is said by those who saw it to have been executed in a beautiful and artistic manner. The house is now standing, but the picture has been obliterated by the partition being white-washed.

There is a tradition that nineteen of the Hessians deserted, but were captured and shot at Welsh Point, and buried there in one common grave. Some indications of a grave of that kind are to be seen at the Point at this time. The depression in the earth that is said to be their grave is called "The Hessian's Hole."

A detachment of the British army also crossed the Elk River, and landed at Welsh Point. It is probable that it was this detachment that afterwards joined that part of the army that was commanded by General Howe, at Grays Hill. For it is not probable, as stated by several writers of

* Sodom was bounded by Back Creek on the north, and included all the country between that creek and the road leading from Court-house Point to Cayotts Corner, and the road leading from the latter place *via* St. Augustine to Back Creek Mills.

that period, that the division under Knyphausen and Agnew, that is known to have been at St. Augustine church, and to have been encamped near the Summit Bridge, on the Chesapeake and Delaware canal, took a retrograde course and came back to Grays Hill.

It is generally believed that the British burned the court-house on Court-house Point, when they were there this year, but such was not the case. Nor is there any reason to believe that they injured it in the least. At the August term of court, 1776, one Joseph Watson (hatter), was presented by the grand jury for "entering the court-house of Cecil County with force and arms, on Tuesday, the twenty-third of July last, and then and there with force and arms, breaking and pulling down the window-sashes, glass, and window-shutters of said court-house." The records of the court show that some time after the British were at Court-house Point, the damages referred to in this presentment were repaired. The presentment was found among the court papers of that year, but the records of the county contain no reference to the trial.

Watson was a Tory and may have been one of the few in this county that joined the British army. The fact that the British carried away with them all the public records except a few that had been removed to the Head of Elk for safety, probably gave rise to the erroneous story that they burned the court-house. Some of the records were found in New York and brought back to the county after the close of the war. These were transcribed, but many of the original records were never recovered, which accounts for the imperfect condition of the land records previous to the beginning of this century.

The Americans, as before intimated, had large quantities of grain, salt, and other stores at the Head of Elk, and owing to the fact that salt was scarce and difficult to obtain, they were very anxious to remove it to a place of safety. In order to do this, as well as to be in a position to watch

the movements of the British, Washington left Philadelphia on the 24th of August, and on the 25th, encamped on Red Clay Creek, with his headquarters at Wilmington. His army consisted of about 11,000 men. The Pennsylvania and Delaware militia, under Generals Armstrong and Rodney, were ordered to press forward to Head of Elk, and secure the stores deposited there; but they failed to do so, and most of the stores fell into the hands of the enemy. Generals Green and Weeden reconnoitered the country between Wilmington and Head of Elk, and Washington himself rode through heavy rains to the latter place on the 25th, to make a personal reconnoissance. It was upon this occasion that Washington passed the night in the old brick house just west of the Episcopal church, then occupied by Jacob Hollingsworth as a hotel. General Howe occupied the same room on the night of the 27th of August, and was waited upon by the same negro servant that had served Washington the night before.* The British seem to have proceeded slowly and cautiously. For a time they were encamped on the plain north of the town. Afterwards they occupied a strong position on the summit of Grays Hill. On the third of September their lines extended from Glasgow, then called Aikens or Aikentown,† to a point some distance northwest of the Baptist church on Iron Hill. On that day severe skirmishing took place between them and the Maryland and Delaware militia, near Coochs Bridge and the Baptist church on Iron Hill. In these skirmishes the Americans lost about forty men, the British somewhat less.

Just after this fight the British burned Coochs mill, and indulged in many other acts of wanton destruction of prop-

* This servant's name was Richard Mills. He lived to be quite old, and was so large and powerful that Colonel George R. Howard, who knew him well, told the author he had no doubt that his arms above the elbow were as large as the thigh of an ordinary man.

† So called from the fact that a man called Aiken kept a hotel there.

erty. The shutters on the old Baptist church showed that a ball had been fired through one of them and passed diagonally across the building and out through another one.

There was an old and eccentric surveyor, called by the name of Humphries, who was a fifer in the American army at the battle of Coochs Bridge. He was accused of cowardice, inasmuch as he hid his fife just before the fight at the bridge, in order to keep out of danger. This man Humphries left a son Edward Humphries, better known in the northeast part of the county as "Old Neddy." He was well educated, but very eccentric; rather too fond of whisky, and had a habit of muttering and talking to himself. A friend of the author once asked him about the accusation against his father. "Oh, yes," replied Neddy, "he hid the fife and hid the fifer too."

The people of Cecil County, as before remarked, were generally loyal to the cause of their country. There were, however, a few exceptions; but no person of good standing in society, except Robert Alexander, is believed to have joined the enemy. He belonged to an aristocratic family that formerly owned a large tract of land at Elkton, lying between the hollow and the Far Creek, which he inherited from William Alexander, the third husband of Ariminta Alexander, who afterwards married George Catto, and who was one of the most aristocratic ladies that ever lived in the county. This man Alexander joined the British fleet when it was in Elk River, and went away with it and never returned. He left a wife and several children, who then and for many years afterwards resided in Elkton. His son, William Alexander, studied law, and was for some time State's attorney. He is spoken of by those who knew him as being both amiable and eloquent. Robert Alexander, who lived in the house now occupied by Daniel Bratton, is said to have prepared a fine entertainment for the British officers, and to have gone down the river to welcome them to the town, but

while he was away upon that errand the Americans came to Elkton and the feast fell into their hands.*

With the exception of the removal of the records of the county and the capture of the public stores at the Head of Elk, the British did little damage in this county. They seem to have taken pains to conciliate those who were opposed to them, and not to have hesitated to plunder their friends. Many of the people of the neighboring village of Newark and vicinity, as well as some of the people of Chester County, were tainted with treason. A writer of the period says that the British captured all the records and public papers of New Castle County and every shilling of the public money, together with the fund belonging to the trustees of Newark Academy. In consequence of the reverses sustained by the Americans at the battle of Brandywine, says a writer of that period, the people of New Castle County were dispirited and dispersed, and the less virtuous part that remained were daily employed in supplying the British troops in Wilmington and at New Castle with all kinds of provisions. Thomas McKean, a distinguished citizen of Pennsylvania, in a letter written to Gen. Washington from Newark, Delaware, on the 8th of the following October, says the only remedy he can suggest for this lamentable state of affairs is to have a regiment of continental troops stationed at Newark. At the time this letter was written, he had just heard of the battle of Germantown from some Quakers who were returning to Nottingham from their yearly meeting in Philadelphia. They at first refused to

* Robert Alexander resided in Baltimore for some time before the Revolutionary war, and represented Baltimore County in the provincial convention, from June, 1774, to June, 1776, and was chosen to represent the State in the Continental Congress, in 1776, but never took his seat in that body, for this reason, that, though he opposed the aggressions of the mother country, he was not in favor of independence. He acted as agent for the Tories from the State of Maryland, who, in 1788, claimed compensation from the British Government for their confiscated property. See Sharf's History of Maryland, Vol. II., page 297.

tell him anything of the battle; but he compelled them to stop, and says he was of the opinion that their account was derived from the Tories and English in Philadelphia. The pacific principles of the Friends prevented them from taking an active part in military operations in the field, but most of them were loyal to the cause of their country, and did all they were able without sacrificing their religious conviction to aid its cause.

The winter after the battle of Brandywine, the British occupied Philadelphia, and it is a well-established fact that some of the disaffected and mercenary citizens of the county, some of whom were indicted for the offense, were in the habit of smuggling provisions to them. Notable among these was one Michael Trump, who resided near Colora. This man Trump lived to a great age. He trapped several wagon loads of wild pigeons, which were very numerous that winter, and sold them to the British army in Philadelphia. They were very glad to get them, and paid him for them in gold coin. The invasion of the county greatly demoralized the people. The new government was, at this time, only an experiment, and its ultimate success was doubtful; consequently the ill-disposed and lawless part of the citizens took advantage of the weakness of the civil authorities and did pretty much as they pleased. Thirty persons were indicted for selling liquor without license, at the November term of court, in 1777. At this term of court the sheriff was ordered to deliver the prisoners then in his custody, charged with being traitors, to Colonel John D. Thompson, who was requested to send them under guard of his battalion to the lieutenant of Kent County, with directions to him to have them put in the State prison.

It has already been mentioned that the Friends in Nottingham did not consider themselves as being under the jurisdiction of the State of Maryland. For this reason, and also because they were opposed to fighting, many of them refused to enter the service of the State when called upon to

do so. In order that they might be tried and punished for this, a court-martial was convened at the Head of Elk, on the 7th of December, 1778, at which were present, Colonel Stephen Hyland, lieutenant-colonel Elihu Hall (of Elisha), and Major Baruch Williams, the latter gentleman being at that time clerk of the county court. The records of this court-martial show that fifty-five persons were convicted of refusing to attend at the Head of Elk on the 23d of the preceding May, at which time they had been called into actual service by Charles Rumsey, the lieutenant of the county, at the request of the governor. The court imposed fines upon them, ranging from £20 to £35 each, and sentenced each of them to two months' imprisonment. Five persons were also found guilty of desertion. They were sentenced to fine and imprisonment. Baruch Williams was ordered to issue writs against the parties, most of whom contested the matter in the county court, with what success is not known, the records of the court not being extant.

Though the pacific principles of the Friends forbade them to engage in hostilities, they had no objections to taking care of the sick and wounded soldiers, and with the view of affording them an opportunity of doing so, a detachment of General Smallroad's division of the American army took possession of the Brick Meeting-house, in April, 1778, and converted it into a hospital for the use of the sick and wounded soldiers who were disabled in the campaign of that year in northern New Jersey. The meeting-house was used for a hospital for about three months, the Friends meanwhile worshipping in a Friend's barn. The Friends treated the soldiers in the hospital with much kindness, and furnished them with blankets and other things that contributed to their comfort, and washed and mended their clothes. During the time the meeting-house was used for a hospital, many of the inmates died and were buried in the graveyard that surrounds it. A well-defined depression in the earth's surface is all that marks the site of their sepulcher.

Except the hardships incident to a state of war, which were greatly aggravated by the depreciation of the currency, which had become of such little value, that, in 1780, the price fixed by the county commissioners for a good hot dinner, was *six pounds fifteen shillings*, there is little of interest to record in the history of the county in the interval between the years 1777 and 1781. During this period the inhabitants were often put to great inconvenience for want of salt and sugar, but were able to supply themselves with the fabrics used for clothing from their own manufactories, the old-fashioned spinning wheels and hand looms that were to be found in every thrifty farm-house, and had a surplus left to dispose of outside of the county. In July, 1780, the captain of a small bay craft came to Head of Elk and lay in the river for several days till a favorable opportunity occurred, one night during a heavy thunder storm, when he entered the warehouse of Zebulon Hollingsworth, which stood on the wharf in the "Hollow," and stole therefrom about forty pieces of *check*, which he took to Baltimore and sold, except three pieces which he gave to one of his crew, who sold them for five hundred dollars each. This person, whose name was Green Jimmet, became dissatisfied with his share of the plunder and informed the officers of the law, who arrested him and sent a copy of his confession to the authorities of this county. Nothing more is known of the case, but it serves to show that there were some thieves in those days and that checks were very high-priced.

Colonel Hollingsworth, who took an active part in the campaign under Washington, previous to and after the battle of Brandywine, thinking he could serve his country better by doing so, returned home some time previous to March, 1778, and from that time to the close of the war acted as general agent for the authorities of Maryland and the Continental Congress. He not only purchased supplies of all kinds for the use of the army when in the field, but

was frequently called upon to provide supplies for large detachments of troops that passed through the county. The great thoroughfare between the North and South at that time led from Christiana Bridge to Elkton, and when it was practicable, this route was followed. At other times the armies were obliged to march, in which case they crossed the Susquehanna River, and upon one occasion at least, a requisition was made upon him for all the boats he could procure, in order to ferry a large detachment over that river from Perryville to Havre de Grace. Such was the exigency of the case, and the scarcity of boats, that he was instructed to procure boards with which rafts were to be constructed and attached to the gunwales of the boats he was able to procure, in order that a speedy passage of the river might be safely effected. Owing to the scarcity of money, the Legislature enacted that taxes might be paid in wheat, beef, cattle, and other things needed by the army. Colonel Hollingsworth had charge of the manufacture of much of this wheat, and supervised a large extent of country, including much of the northern part of the Peninsula and Harford County. The bran and other offal derived from the wheat was fed to the beef cattle. Patrick Ewing was one of the receivers of public wheat in the county, and much of it was ground at his mill, on Conowingo Creek, in the northwestern part of the county. The following letters illustrate the multiform duties imposed upon the gentleman to whom they were addressed:

“WILLIAMSBURG, April 15th, 1779.

“*Sir*:—I send fifteen highlanders, prisoners of war, taken here three years ago, to your care, requesting you to forward them on to Congress, whom I have apprised of it.

“I am, sir, your most humble servant,

“P. HENRY.

“*Colonel Hollingsworth.*”

“ PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 16th, 1779.

“ MR. HENRY HOLLINGSWORTH—*Sir* :—I am much obliged by your expedition in sending forward my letter from Mr. Smith, of Portsmouth, and by the return of the express I transmit herewith sundry dispatches from His Excellency, the Chevr. De la Luzerne, and Mons. Holker, Adjutant-General of the Royal Marine of France, which I beg the favor of you to send forward by a fast sailing boat, which, if possible, you will hire for the purpose of carrying them on board the fleet at Portsmouth, or any other part of the bay, wherever the said French fleet may be. I think it probable that there may be Virginia or Maryland boats at your place that will undertake this business for a moderate compensation, as they may probably be on the point of returning. I must pray of you to procure the best boat you can for this service on the most reasonable terms in your power, taking care that the skipper is a man of confidence, well attached to the American cause, and whom you are assured will faithfully deliver the dispatches. I will pay your order for the amount of all expenses arising on this occasion, and as there will be occasion for constant communication with the fleet whilst they remain in Chesapeake, measures will be immediately taken for that purpose, in which I conceive your assistance will be necessary. Should Mons. Holker add any thing to this letter, I beg it may have your full attention, and you will much oblige, sir

“ Your obed., humble servant,

“ ROBERT MORRIS.”

The expedition of General Lafayette, which Washington detached from his army, then in the vicinity of New York, which was designed to co-operate with a force already there against the traitor, Benedict Arnold, who at that time was ravaging the country along the James River and the lower part of Chesapeake Bay, passed through this county in 1781. The troops which composed this expedition numbered 1,200. They came from Trenton down the Delaware River and up the Christiana Creek to Christiana Bridge, from whence they marched to the Head of Elk, where they arrived on or about the 6th of March. The following letter, which has never

before been published, was copied from the original, now in the possession of the Misses Partridge, of Elkton :

“ELKTON, 7th March, 1781.

“*Sir* :—I return the authority of Governor, inclosed in yours of this date, I do not think you will be able to collect the quantity of meat specified in it by to-morrow. You may, however, use your utmost endeavors with the civil power with which you are vested, to collect as much as possible to-day, which we shall take with us. The rest you will form into a magazine, and wait my orders for its following us. I do not suppose, on such an occasion as the present, a military guard necessary for enforcing the Governor’s warrant; but, should you find that it is, you must have one.

“I am, sir, your obt. and h’ble serv’t.,

“LAFAYETTE.

“*Mr. Henry Hollingsworth.*”

After the expedition arrived at Head of Elk, a little fleet was soon gathered together in the Elk River, to relieve himself of the command of which Lafayette sent for Commodore Nicholson, of Baltimore, and on the 9th of March the expedition set sail and reached Annapolis in safety the next evening. Lafayette expected to receive aid from the French fleet, which had sailed from the north a short time before, and was supposed to be in the lower part of the Chesapeake, and which, had all gone well, would have co-operated with him in the attempt to capture Arnold. But, unfortunately for the success of the enthusiastic young Frenchman, the British had dispatched a large squadron to reinforce the one already co-operating with Arnold, which overtook the French fleet near the mouth of the Chesapeake. A severe action took place, and, although the French had the best of the fight, they concluded, inasmuch as some of their vessels were badly crippled, and the English had succeeded in getting into the mouth of the Chesapeake during the heavy fog, to abandon the enterprise.

Lafayette had preceded his expedition to Annapolis and hastened on down the bay to look after the French fleet, but found, much to his surprise, that the fleet had not made its appearance. After spending some time near Portsmouth and consulting with Baron Steuben, under whose command the other forces were, Lafayette learned of the arrival of the English fleet and was forced to come to the unwelcome conclusion that his expedition was a failure. He thereupon sent orders to the troops which were still at Annapolis to be ready to move at a moment's notice. At this juncture, Washington, who had been apprised of the state of affairs, recalled the expedition, which at this time was blockaded in the harbor of Annapolis by two vessels detached from the British fleet for that purpose. Lafayette found means to rejoin his little fleet at Annapolis and for a while thought seriously of returning by land, but that plan was abandoned as impracticable on account of the want of horses to transport the artillery and stores. After much delay, it was resolved to run the blockade, if possible, and return to the Head of Elk by water. The following plan was adopted: Two sloops of about sixty tons' burden were fitted up with two eighteen pounders each in their bows and a traveling forge in their holds. At 10 o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, these vessels, each manned by two hundred volunteers, sailed boldly out of Annapolis Roads to attack the British vessels, which, on their approach, not relishing the hot shot of the Americans, left their moorings and dropped down the bay, thus opening a passage for the American fleet, which followed the two gun-boats, and reached the Head of Elk the same night. At that place Lafayette found letters from Washington countermanding the order of recall and ordering him southward again to assist General Greene.

It is stated in a letter which Lafayette addressed from Head of Elk to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, upon the 10th, that he intended to march the next day, and that it would be

necessary to have horses and wagons at Baltimore to relieve those which would accompany him from that place. He also informed the Governor that two men came on board his vessel while coming up the bay, and, mistaking it for a British vessel, had offered to show them the country about the mouth of the Gunpowder River, and accompanied by a small detachment which he had sent for that purpose, had gone there. He also informed the Governor that he intended to execute them as spies.

The army under Lafayette left the Head of Elk on the morning of the 11th of April, and marched to the Brick Meeting-house, which they reached about an hour before sunset, and encamped in the meeting-house woods. The author is indebted to James Trimble* for the following description of the interesting scene, he having derived his information from those who witnessed it: "The leading divisions were rapidly followed by others until the whole woods, then containing about thirty acres, seemed filled with horses, wagons and men, but the villagers were surprised to see so many people settle down so quickly in exact order, the men cooking their suppers, and sentinels walking around the entire body. None of the inhabitants were molested except to replenish their empty canteens at the old-fashioned draw wells in the vicinity. William Kirk, then in about his twelfth year, informed me that in company with others he went the next morning at the first appearance of daylight to see the Frenchmen before they left, but found the road already filled with the army in motion, in compact order." Upon this occasion Lafayette spent the night in the old stone house upon the plantation of the late Marshall J. Hunt, a short distance northeast of the village of Rising Sun, then occupied by Job Haines. On taking his leave the next morning, the general pre-

from
Trimble

* For short account of James Trimble see sketch of the Defoe family, in Chapter XVIII.

sented each of Mr. Haines' sons with a piece of money, giving his son Lewis a gold coin, his name being the same as that of the general's sovereign.

Some of the army are said to have encamped near Harrisville the same night, which seems quite probable, from the fact that Lafayette spent the night about midway between that place and the Brick Meeting-house. The next day the army crossed the Susquehanna in scows at Bald Friar* Ferry, and proceeded to Baltimore. The troops under General Lafayette were all from Northern States, and though they had willingly engaged in the expedition down the bay, they became dissatisfied when ordered to engage in a summer campaign in the South. They were poorly clad and without shoes, and showed so much discontent that it was predicted when they left Bald Friar Ferry, that not one-half of them would reach Baltimore. But by hanging one deserter and severely reprimanding some other delinquents, Lafayette preserved his little army intact and safely reached Baltimore, where the wants of his army were supplied.

In the September following, the American army under command of General Washington, passed through the Head of Elk, *en route* to the siege of Yorktown. Claude Blanchard, who accompanied the French troops, 1,200 of whom were in Washington's army, published a journal kept by him during his service in the army in this country as commissary, in which he states that the troops embarked at Plum Point, where a number of transports from the French fleet were waiting to receive them. Blanchard, on his route northward, passed through Havre de Grace, in company with the army, in August, 1782. He states in his journal that the army was nearly two days in crossing the Susquehanna, there being but one ferry-boat at the lower ferry ;

* This ferry is on the Susquehanna River, a short distance below Mason and Dixons line. It is said to have been kept at one time by a bald-headed man, called Fry, at which time it was called Bald Fry's Ferry.

and remarks that the "Head of Elk is in a very dry soil, and one is drowned with dust there. Fever is very prevalent there, doubtless caused by the swamps in the vicinity."

After the capture of Yorktown, a part of the American army, under General Lincoln, passed through the Head of Elk on their way northward. It is stated, in a requisition made upon Colonel Hollingsworth by Henry Dearbourn, then Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Quarter-master, afterwards Major General in the war of 1812, that he was in want of one hundred and fifty beef cattle to drive on with the army for its subsistence. He also wanted at least thirty-four horse teams, and intimated that if they were not forthcoming "he would be under the disagreeable necessity of making use of the authority of the army for procuring them," which he seemed to regret lest it might distress those who had already contributed their full share. He adds, in a postscript, that "20 wagon-loads of straw will be absolutely necessary for the troops in this cold season."

Shortly after this, in December, 1781, some of the Rhode Island troops, who were quartered in the house of one Jane Clark, at the Head of Elk, got into a quarrel with a gang of watermen, who attacked them in their quarters in the night, and being driven away, returned and renewed the fight the next morning. Jane Clark kept a hotel, or at least sold liquor, and it was in evidence that the watermen were drunk, and probably the soldiers were in the same condition. The fight was ended by one Forteen Stodder, a *negro soldier* from Rhode Island, shooting James Cunningham, the leader of the sailors, from the effect of which he died shortly afterwards. Stodder was indicted for murder, and was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to be burnt in the *brawn* of the left thumb with a hot iron. The record of the court shows that the sentence was executed. He was probably the last person that was obliged to submit to this barbarous and inhuman punishment in this county.

The Legislature, by the act of 1780, confiscated the property of all disloyal persons, and by subsequent acts sought

to make it available for the redemption of bills of credit or paper money, which it was found necessary to issue to defray the expense of carrying on the war. Commissioners were appointed to take charge of this property and dispose of it for the purpose before-named. The first emission of these bills of credit, which were somewhat in the nature of a forced loan, and similar in character to modern shinplasters, was authorized by the act of May, 1781, and John Dockery Thompson, Henry Hollingsworth, Thomas Hughes, Benjamin Brevard, and John Leach Knight, were appointed to superintend the issuing of the bills in this county. Several subsequent issues of paper money were made, and the enactments in reference to them contain many allusions to red money and black money, which can only be explained and properly understood, in connection with the fact that some of these issues of paper money were printed partly with red ink, while others were printed wholly with black. A large quantity of this confiscated property was in this county. Robert Alexander, before-mentioned, who took refuge on board one of the vessels of the British fleet when it was in Elk River in 1777, was the owner of nine hundred acres of land, upwards of one hundred acres of which was that part of the tract called Friendship, extending from the Hollow, in the town of Elkton, eastward to the Big Elk Creek. He also owned a part of "Belleconnell," and some other land on the Glasgow road. Two-thirds of his land was confiscated and sold, as were also one-half his slaves, he having twenty-two of them. The property of the Elk Forge Company,* on account of the treason of John Roberts, one

* This company was organized in 1761 by John Roberts, David Davis, Thomas May, and David Thomas, of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, who formed a partnership for the purpose of manufacturing bar iron under the name of the Elk Forge Company. For this purpose they agreed to purchase a tract of land containing six hundred acres, called "Rumsey's Success," from William Rumsey. This land was on the Big Elk, where Elk Mills cotton factory now stands. They also agreed to contribute

of the principal members, was also taken possession of by the commissioners, but owing to the fact that the company had not obtained a deed for the land, the State never realized anything from it. This property consisted of upwards of thirteen hundred acres of land, upon which were two forges and a "valuable grist-mill," which is the old mill at this time standing near Elk Mills cotton factory, on the Big Elk, and sixteen negro slaves. This man Roberts resided before the war in Lower Merion Township, Philadelphia County.

He was a member of the Society of Friends, and like some of his brethren in Pennsylvania, adhered to the royalists. He was accused of persuading people to enlist in the royal army, and was captured while on his way to the Head of Elk to "communicate information to a certain Mr. Galloway who had gone over to the enemy." During a part or all of the time that the British army occupied the city of Philadelphia, he resided there and showed much kindness to many of those who were politically opposed to him. He was the father of nine children and of a highly respectable family who made every exertion to save him, notwithstanding which he was hanged at Philadelphia, November 4th, 1778.

£300 for the erection of a forge and the prosecution of the business. David Thomas did not sign the articles of agreement, but, nevertheless, had an interest in the business, which he transferred three years afterward to David Davis. For some reason this company did not obtain a deed for their land at the forge until after the Revolutionary war, when William Rumsey, the grandson of the William Rumsey before^r referred to, conveyed it to the heirs of the original purchasers. The original articles of agreement are in the possession of one of the descendants of the immediate successors of the original company. The document is well written, and must have been the work of a person of much learning and great ability. It contains stipulations to meet every imaginable contingency that might arise in carrying on a large and intricate manufacturing business. This company was very successful in business, and soon acquired large tracts of wood-land, and employed a large number of teams in transporting their charcoal from the forests, where it was burned, to their forge, and in hauling the pig iron they used, from the furnaces where it was made in Lancaster County, to their forge on the Elk Creek.

The property of the Principio Iron Company, excepting the part belonging to Thomas Russell and one of his loyal brothers, and one-twelfth part belonging to the heirs of Augustine Washington, of Virginia, brother of General Washington, was also confiscated. This company owned the Principio Furnace and North East Forge, together with upwards of seven thousand six hundred acres of land in this county much of which is owned at this time by George P. Whitaker and the McCullough Iron Company, together with forty-two negro slaves. Thomas Russell was the only member of the company who resided in this county at this time. He being in charge of the iron works at the time of the passage of the act of confiscation, asked that enough of the negroes, utensils and stock be set apart to enable him to carry on the business. His request was granted. In 1782 the property was appraised by Archibald Job, Thomas May, and Stephen Hyland, who valued it at £5,550, 7s., 6d., and the next year the commissioners conveyed it to Thomas Russell, he obligating himself to pay the State the difference between that sum and the value of his own share of the property, which was to be subsequently ascertained. Clement Holliday and Nathaniel Ramsay, commissioners appointed to take charge and dispose of confiscated property, laid out that part of the town of Elkton east of the Hollow, upon land before described as belonging to Robert Alexander, and in October, 1782, sold the building lots at public sale. Although the village of the Head of Elk had been in existence for many years before this time, it was quite small and consisted of only a few straggling houses. Henry Hollingsworth became the purchaser of a considerable quantity of this land adjacent to the town. Joseph Gilpin bought that part of Belleconnell contiguous to his mill property. Tobias Rudolph bought the land on the Glasgow Road, which at this time is in the possession of his grandson of the same name. Joseph Gilpin, Tobias Rudolph, Henry Hollingsworth, and Thomas Hug-

gins purchased the lot upon which the Court-house stands for the use of the town, being authorized by the inhabitants, who had invested them with power to do so, and also to hold the lot in trust for the purpose of erecting on it a market-house or court-house, the town commissioners agreeing to build the former within three years after the sale.

About £6,000 were realized from the sale of Alexander's property. The title to much of Susquehanna Manor, which had reverted to the lord proprietary, was now in Henry Harford, the legal heir and representative of the last Lord Baltimore. All that part of this Manor included between the Susquehanna River and Principio Creek, and the Nottingham lots and the head of the bay and North East River, was surveyed and platted by Samuel Maffit, probably about 1722, for there is no date upon the plat. From this plat it appears that about three-fourths of this part of the Manor had been patented. The other part was held by virtue of unexpired leases, all of which were for long terms, many of them for three lives. Basin Run is called Beasons Run or Bastard Creek, upon Maffit's plat. The principal part of this Manor land was sold to the lessees at low prices, by the intendant of the revenue, an officer whose duties were much like those of the comptroller of the treasury, and whose appointment seems to have been called for by the exigencies of the times. Some of the land in North East and Elk Manors, which were small undefined tracts in Elk Neck, bordering on the North East River, was also held by the same tenure as the land before-mentioned as being in Susquehanna Manor and was disposed of in the same way. The Nottingham lots, which as before stated, were held by patents from William Penn and his successors and also the Welsh tract lands, were taken possession of by the intendant of the revenue; but their owners were, by subsequent enactments, allowed, upon showing an equitable title from Penn, to hold them under patents from the State of Maryland upon payment of £15 per hundred acres.

The lots in Charlestown, which had been reserved for the use of the lord proprietary, and also the lot belonging to the heirs of the Rev. William Wye, were also confiscated, and sold in August, 1782. The town commissioners bought the former for the use of the town. One hundred and thirteen pounds were realized from the property in Charlestown. The commissioners also took possession of the plantation of the Rev. William Edmisson, who they stated was in Great Britain, and who they believed to be a tory. This plantation contained three hundred acres of land situated near the mouth of Stony Run, on the east side of the Octoraro. The commissioners left it in charge of William Ewing, who alleged that Edmisson was indebted to him about as much as the land was worth. This man Edmisson was inducted into St. George's Parish, at the old Spesutia Church near Havre de Grace, in 1770, and remained there about two years when he is believed to have gone to England on account of his sympathy with the British government. But very little is known of the history of Mr. Edmisson, except that he also owned several tracts of land in Harford County, one of which was called by a singular name for a clergyman's homestead, namely, "Drunkard's Hall." The Legislature, in 1782, passed an act for the relief of his family, consisting of his wife, two sons and a daughter, who are believed to have been loyal to the cause of their country, dividing among them his land and negroes upon condition that they should pay his debt.

CHAPTER XXI

Removal of seat of justice to Charlestown—Reasons of the removal—Interesting correspondence—Charlestown Ferry—Condition of society—Stephen Porter kills Thomas Dunn—Escapes from jail, etc.—Is tried at Charlestown and convicted of manslaughter—Unsuccessful efforts to build up Charlestown—Removal of county seat to Head of Elk—Rev. Joseph Coudon's address to citizens of Elk—Opposition of the citizens of Charlestown to the removal of the county seat—Act of Legislature authorizing the erection of public buildings at Elkton—Elkton incorporated—Court meets in Elkton—Members of the Elkton bar—Trouble about roads—The first almshouse—Sale of free school farm—Rumsey's steamboat—The Susquehanna Canal—Rivalry between Havre de Grace and the town of Chesapeake—First arks on the Susquehanna River—Malignant fever in Elkton.

THE war being over, the people of the county begun to turn their attention to matters of public importance. The first matter of this kind that claimed their attention, was a more convenient location for the county seat. In accordance with the wishes of the people an act was passed at the November session, 1781, authorizing Thomas May, John Stockton, and David Smith to act as judges of an election to be held during the last week in the ensuing February at the court-house on Monday and Tuesday, at Head of Elk on Wednesday and Thursday, and at Charlestown on Friday and Saturday; these three places being the ones talked of as most suitable for the seat of justice. The certificate of David Smith is still extant and shows that due notice having been given, he attended at the court-house on Monday, the 25th of February, as also did the other two gentlemen, who had been induced to decline acting as judges; and after their refusal had been made known to him, he appointed John Ward Veasey, James Creswell, and Edward Mitchell clerks,

and proceeded to take the votes of the freemen of the county. "At the election held at the court house there were given and published forty-three votes for Charlestown, one vote for the Head of Elk, and two votes for no removal. At the Head of Elk there were given thirty-four votes for Charlestown and two votes for the Head of Elk; and at the election held at Charlestown there were given four hundred and fifty votes for Charlestown." The great want which the people of the county experienced for a town somewhere within its limits, no doubt influenced them to remove the seat of justice to Charlestown, with the hope of building it up and adding to its prosperity. More than two hundred years had elapsed since the first settlements had been made in the county, and many unsuccessful efforts had been made to build a town some where within its limits. The projected town on Town Point, and Ceciltown on the Bohemia, had been total failures, as had also been the effort to build a town at Court-house Point. Charlestown, with all its advantages for shipping, had found a successful rival in Baltimore, and those who lived there never having been able to divert the trade of Nottingham from the accustomed channels, through which it reached the towns along the Delaware, was in great need of something to stimulate its growth. But notwithstanding all this, and the apparent unanimity of the people, some of the justices of the court at first refused to assent to the removal of the seat of justice to that place. It is highly probable that they were influenced in some way by a desire and belief that the Head of Elk would ultimately be selected for the county seat. The justices seem to have been equally divided upon the subject of the removal of the county seat, for, on the 11th of March following, half of them met at the court-house at Court-house Point and the others at Charlestown, and the court seemed to be in a likely way to reach the same condition that it had been in many years before, when the justices present ordered the clerk to record the mournful fact that it was "miscontinued and drop'd and

fallen." The following correspondence will explain itself and throw some light upon a subject that agitated the people of the county very much when it took place:

"*Gentlemen* :—We have, under advisement, met and called court at the usual place of holding courts for Cecil county, and have adjourned until to-morrow 9 o'clock. We therefore, as the Court, order and require you to attend at this place to-morrow at the time of the said adjournment; and that you have your records and other public papers with you. Given under our hands this 11th March, 1782.

"SAMUEL GLENN,
"WILLIAM MATHEWS,
"THOMAS SAVIN.

"*To Patrick Hamilton, Esq., Sheriff;*
"*and Baruch Williams, Esq., Clerk;*
"*Officers of Cecil County Court.*"

To which the other justices, who had met at Charlestown on the same day, returned the following answer:

"*Gentlemen* :—We have received yours of yesterday, by which you are pleased 'to order and require us to attend' at the place where courts were formerly held. As civil officers, we are ready to obey the orders of Cecil County Court; and in obedience thereto, we attended yesterday at Charlestown, where the Court was, we apprehend, legally held, Messrs. Kirk, Bond, Maxwell, Miller, and Hall being present, and the Court in Charlestown stands adjourned to this day at 9 o'clock, where and when we propose to attend.

"We remain, gentlemen, your most
"obedient and humble servants.

"Charlestown, March 12th, 1782.

"*Messrs. Samuel Glenn, William*
"*Mathews, Thomas Savin.*"

The minute book for that term shows that the five gentlemen referred to in the preceding note met at Charlestown, as stated, on the 12th of March, and proceeded with the business that was brought before them from day to day

until the 15th, when they adjourned until the 26th. On that day the presiding justice, Mr. Bond, produced a certificate that he had administered the oath of office to Messrs. Nathan Norton and Jeremiah Baker, and they took their seats accordingly. John W. Veasey also sat as one of the justices on that day, from which it may be inferred that he was neutral in the fight. Several brief sessions of the court, at which very little business was transacted, were held in the interval between the 26th of March and the 10th of June, when a new commission of the peace was received, which had the effect of restoring quiet. During the first term of the court, held at Charlestown, the justices viewed four lots of ground, which were *formerly* condemned for the use of the county to build a court-house and *gaol* thereon, and were of opinion that the same were sufficient and would answer every end and purpose specified in the act authorizing the removal of the county-seat. The first session of the court was held at one of the public houses at Charlestown, as had been the custom for some years after the organization of the county, before the first court-house was built at Jamestown. But at the March term, 1781, the court appointed Justices Baker and Norton, the latter of whom lived in Charlestown, to provide "this court with a house to hold courts in for the future, and to get workmen to do what repairs they thought necessary and contract for the same." They accordingly, on the 7th of May, 1783, leased two rooms from Alexander Hasson, on the second floor of his house, for three years, at an annual rent of £20. These rooms were in a brick building on Market street, which continued to stand until a comparatively recent date, when it was destroyed by fire. The court this year authorized Patrick Hamilton to build a small stone jail for the use of the county, and there is reason to believe that some improvements were made upon the public wharf at the expense of the county.

It is worthy of remark that the commissioners of Charlestown this year rented the Seneca Point Fishery for £7, and

passed an ordinance prohibiting hogs, sheep, and geese running at large upon the streets, which animals, if so found, were to be killed for the use of the prisoners in the jail. The Dutch inhabitants were presented with a lot whereon to build a school-house or church, provided they built it within the next three years. This indicates that they were somewhat numerous, but there is no reason to believe the house was built.

During the year 1783, three persons were convicted of felony, each of whom was sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, well laid on by the sheriff at the public market-house. The next year one James Campbell, *alias* Williams, was convicted of robbery and sentenced to be hanged. During part of the time that Charlestown was the seat of justice, a public ferry was maintained between that place and Elk Neck, in order to accommodate persons from the lower part of the county having business at Charlestown. The Elk ferry at Court-house Point and the Bohemia ferry being in operation, it was much easier for persons in the lower part of the county to reach Charlestown by land than it is at this time. The great highway between the North and South then, as now, led through this county, and the stage coaches, which carried the first mails of the youthful Republic, then loosely held together by the articles of confederation, for some time crossed over this ferry, the main road at that time leading from near the landing place in Elk Neck through the southern part of the village of North East, and thence, a considerable distance south of where the road is at present located, until it intersected the Elk Neck road near Mill Creek.

During the five years that Charlestown was the seat of justice; and for some years afterwards, society was in a bad condition. A spirit of lawlessness and insubordination seems to have prevailed it. This was produced by the demoralization incident to the Revolutionary war and the disorganization consequent upon the transition from one form of

government to another. As illustrative of the history and jurisprudence of the county, during this period, the reader's attention is directed to a homicide which is notable because the perpetrator of it was tried at Charlestown, and also on account of several other circumstances connected with it.

Stephen Porter, a lawyer of some distinction, and the father of Margaret Aurelia Porter, a maiden lady that many persons of middle age will recollect as a person of extraordinarily strong intellectual ability, lived at Porter's Bridge, on the Octoraro Creek, in 1784, and sometime previous to the harvest of that year employed one Thomas Dunn, who seems to have been a large and powerful man, but a person of bad repute and somewhat of a bully withal. The depositions of several witnesses, taken before the jury of inquest, show that Dunn, who had left the employ of Porter sometime before, returned to the neighborhood, on the 6th of July, ostensibly to settle with Porter, who owed him a trifling balance, but really it would seem for the purpose and with the intention of provoking a quarrel with him. Dunn met one Stephen Herd, who lived in Lancaster County, and was an entire stranger to him, on the road, near Captain William Ewing's, a neighbor of Porter's, and asked him to accompany him to Ewing's, for the purpose of acting as an arbitrator in adjusting the dispute between Porter and himself. The parties pledged themselves to abide by the award which was made by the arbitrators, but soon after it was disclosed, Dunn flew into a passion and began to abuse Porter and malign his wife, and finally spit in Porter's face. Those present used their best endeavors to quiet the enraged bully, but without avail. After enduring Dunn's abuse for some time, Porter, accompanied by Benjamin Brearley, a miller, who occupied a house not far from Porter's mill, started to go to their homes. Dunn followed them, notwithstanding they besought him to desist and take another road. Brearley and Dunn stopped at the house of the former, where Dunn had some clothes

which Brearley was desirous he should take away with him, while Porter continued on to his own dwelling, and procured an old bayonet, and hastening back towards Brearley's house, encountered Dunn, who stooped down, as the witness who saw him testified, to pick up a stone, whereupon Porter stabbed him, from the effect of which he almost instantly expired.

The next day, Samuel Maffit, who was then one of the coroners of the county, empaneled a jury of inquest, consisting of eighteen of the good and lawful men of the county, who, after hearing the testimony, rendered a verdict that the said Porter "then & there feloniously killed & murdered the said Dunn," and Porter was straightway incarcerated in the little stone jail in Charlestown. By common law the property of those convicted of capital offences was forfeited to the State. The coroner therefore returned an inventory of all and singular the lands and tenements, rights, and chattles of Stephen Porter, as appraised by Patrick Ewing, Samuel Scott, John Crawford, and James Egan. The inventory is as follows: One plantation of two hundred acres of land together with one merchant mill, £700; one mare, one horse and two colts, £20; three cows, £9; two small hogs, £1 5s.; six or eight sheep, £2 5s.; sundries, household furniture, £50; total, £782 10s.; whereupon Porter, who was a lawyer, conveyed his property to his wife and one of his friends, in order, if possible, to secure it for the benefit of the former.

Some time after Porter was imprisoned, some of his friends provided themselves with a fleet-footed horse and visited the jail, taking with them a supply of whiskey, with which they succeeded in making the jailer drunk, and getting up a sham-fight, kicked Porter, who had been informed of the effort they intended to make in his behalf, out of the door. Porter lost no time in mounting the horse, and made good his escape to the Octoraro hills, and bidding good-bye to his friends, proceeded across the Alleghany Mountains to

Washington County, Pennsylvania, then a frontier settlement, where he is said to have betrayed himself by the knowledge he exhibited of the law, during a discussion he engaged in with some others in a public house.

The papers in the case show that Porter had a hearing before two of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas of Washington County, Pennsylvania, on the 6th of October, he having been arrested on suspicion of having murdered a man in Cecil County, and that he confessed the murder and narrated the attending circumstances and manner of his escape, all of which are briefly set forth in one of the papers. This paper is a most extraordinary legal document, and seems to have been given to the persons in whose custody Porter was, to enable them to conduct him safely on his way towards this county; for on the 13th of October, he had another hearing before Robert Galbraith, a justice of the peace of Bedford County, Pennsylvania, who gave the posse in whose custody he was, a somewhat similar, though more sensible document, in which the facts of the murder and escape are set forth, and they are commanded to deliver the prisoner to the sheriff of Franklin County, in order that he might be safely conveyed to the sheriff of Cecil County, which was done in due time, and early in the next December a commission was issued by the governor to five of the justices of the county, authorizing and commanding them to hold a special term of court for his trial. It is worthy of remark, that this special commission was sent to Joseph Gilpin, who was designated as presiding justice, and that he notified the others and designated Baruch Williams as a suitable person to act as clerk. The court met at Charlestown on the 7th of December, 1784, and Timothy Kirk being unable to attend, the other justices, John Leach Knight, Stephen Hyland, and John Dockery Thompson, opened the court and proceeded to business. The next day the grand jury returned a true bill against Porter for murder, and on the following day he was arraigned and the same day convicted of manslaughter, the verdict of the jury being "not

guilty of murder, as specified in the indictment, but guilty of manslaughter." The court thereupon ordered that the prisoner enter security for his appearance on Friday, the 16th, to hear their judgment, and he was recognized in the sum of £500 for his appearance from day to day until the court would pass judgment, Patrick Ewing becoming his surety in that sum. The tardiness of the court in passing judgment probably gave offence to some of the friends of Dunn. At all events, George Cather and John Robinson were tried and convicted of insulting the court and jury sometime during the trial. The nature of the insult is not stated, but inasmuch as several witnesses were examined, it is probable that it consisted in using disrespectful language in reference to the manner of conducting the trial. They were each sentenced to pay a trifling fine and the costs, in default of the payment of which they were sent to jail. The record does not state whether the court met and adjourned from day to day until the 16th, but upon that day it rendered judgment "that the prisoner be discharged, the statute not being extended."

The indictment under which Porter was convicted contained two counts, one of which was for murder, under the common law; the other one was for manslaughter, under the statute of James I., chapter I., section 8; which was made on account of the frequent quarrels and stabbings with daggers between the Scotch and English, and which was of a temporary nature, and was not in force in Maryland at that time, it not having been extended thereto, as stated in the judgment of the court, by the action of the State convention which, in 1776, had adopted the common law of England, and extended certain parts of the statute law of that country to the State of Maryland.

During a period of ten or twelve years, just after the close of the Revolutionary war, three other persons met with violent deaths at Porter's Bridge and in that immediate vicinity.

During the time that Charlestown was the seat of justice, every effort was made to increase its prosperity and make it a city of importance. Seneca Point, which then belonged to the town, was rented for a ship-yard, and several small vessels were built there by John Cooper, some of whose descendants yet reside near the town, on a plantation which he purchased in 1754. Some of the citizens are said to have been engaged in trading at this time to the West India Islands; but the efforts of the people of the county to encourage the growth of Charlestown, which had been incorporated nearly half a century before, were unavailing, and they gave up the undertaking, probably because they believed it to be impossible to build a city at that place. Up to this time public opinion had always demanded that the county seat should be located upon navigable water, but the manners and customs of the people had changed very much since the first court-house had been erected at Jamestown and a greater change had taken place since the county seat had been fixed at Court-house Point. When the court-house was at the former place, and during most of the time it was at the latter, many of those who wished to attend court were in the habit of going there in boats. Few settlements had been made at that time, except those along the navigable streams. Now the whole county was settled, and public opinion demanded a more central location for the seat of justice, one that could be reached without crossing ferries, which were expensive to maintain and which it seemed impossible to discontinue while they were needed in order to afford the people the proper facilities for attending court.

Owing to the difficulty of obtaining the means, on account of the scarcity of money caused by the depression of business during the Revolutionary war, and probably because there were many persons favorable to the removal of the seat of justice to the Head of Elk, no public buildings except the jail had been erected at Charlestown. The Head

of Elk at this time, was a place of some importance, and had considerable trade in flour with Philadelphia. In 1785 a line of "stage boats," as they were then called, had been established between that city and Christiana Bridge. Levi Hollingsworth, the son of Zebulon Hollingsworth, and brother of Henry and Jacob Hollingsworth, both of whom took an active interest in the affairs of the town, was largely interested in this enterprise. He had been engaged in the flour trade, from Christiana to Philadelphia, when he was only eighteen years of age, and had served his country with much distinction in the Revolutionary war as captain of "The First City Troop" of Philadelphia, in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. The Hollingsworth brothers were very influential, and there is no doubt that it was mainly through their instrumentality that the removal of the seat of justice from Charlestown to Elkton, which now began to be agitated, was effected.

The growth and prosperity of the town at the Head of Elk is set forth in the following paper which was written by the Rev. Joseph Coudon, at that time curate of North Elk Parish, and who resided on the plantation near Elkton, now owned by Rev. James McIntire. "A short address to the inhabitants of the village and neighborhood of Elk, on the subject of erecting a house of worship in said village, together with a preamble to a subscription humbly proposed.

"It has been too long remarked by the numerous travelers that pass through our village, as well as regretted by the friends of it, that notwithstanding the rapidly growing importance of the place—the various scenes of industry and exertions it is noted for—amidst the many buildings that are daily saluting our eyes, and rising and about to rise to view—there is no appearance of even an humble building dedicated to the worship and service of the supreme ruler of the universe, on whom we depend for all we have or can hope to enjoy. In this we do not imitate our pious ancestors of old who no sooner erected a tent to dwell in, but

they raised an altar also ; and shall I mention the uninlightened nations who made it their first care to erect a noble edifice for the reception and worship of their deities ?

“ Your friends, however, are happy in thinking that the neglect hitherto is by no means chargeable to a want of respect or veneration of the *Supreme*, nor yet to a want of public spirit (for liberality of mind and purse is rather thought to be characteristic of the place) but that somehow or other your attempts in this way have proved abortive as if until now the period for affecting it had not revolved round. Now then ye friends of public religion and public spirit, 'tis humbly hoped you will step forth and no longer suffer this *odium* to lie against us, by putting forth a *liberal* hand towards erecting as soon as may be, a decent and respectable house of prayer, in some degree expressive of our veneration of the Deity, and which will reflect a lasting credit to the place and the founders thereof, even after this, and perhaps a succeeding generation, may have passed away.”

“ Know all men by these presents that we, the hereafter subscribed, being moved by motives of Piety and Christian Benevolence to erect a house for Public worship in the village of Elk, do hereby bind and oblige ourselves to pay, or cause to be paid, into the hands of Messrs Joseph Gilpin, Tobias Rudolph, Zebulon Hollingsworth, Henry Hollingsworth, Daniel Robinson, Jonathan Booth, Thomas Huggins, John Barnaby, George Wallace, John Thomas Ricketts, Jacob Hollingsworth, Henry Robinson and Empson Bird, or their order, the several sums of money (in specie) to our names respectively annexed, in the following manner ; that is to say, one-third part thereof on the first day of October next, one-third thereof when the walls of the proposed building are ready for the roof, and the remaining one-third thereof when the said building is finished, and on the following conditions, viz. : That each of us the subscribers, for every three pounds by each of us respectively subscribed and duly paid, shall at the completion of the said building,

if we require it, be entitled to a vote (upon due notice given) in declaring and ascertaining to what society of professing Christians it shall principally be appropriated; as also, in appointing a number of wise discrete men, not less than three, (of which the minister or officiating person for the time being shall always be one) and not more than nine, who shall determine every matter or thing that may arise, in doubt, or dispute amongst us; or that may require particular regulation, in any of which elections or determinations a majority of votes and council as usual is to be decisive and binding; and said number of trustees or commissioners, or by whatever name they may hereafter be called, shall be annually elected by the friends of said house of worship and adherents of the society to which it shall principally belong hereafter, if it should be thought necessary. And to the afore-mentioned payments, truly and punctually to be made, and done in manner and form aforesaid, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, we do bind ourselves respectively and each of us, our respective heirs, executors, and administrators. In full testimony whereof we do severally subscribe our names and sums annexed, this 26th February, in the year of our Lord, 1785." This paper was signed as follows: "John Gilpin £30, Tobias Rudulph £30, Zebn. Hollingsworth £30, H. Hollingsworth £30, Jonathan Booth £20, Jacob Hollingsworth £21, Jno. Thos. Ricketts £12, Daniel Robinson £9, Tobias Rudulph, Jr. £6, George Wallace £6, Levi Hollingsworth £6, Empson Bird £10." Owing to the unpopularity of most of the clergy of the Episcopal church, and the fact that Methodism prevailed to some extent in the surrounding country, which will be fully set forth in a succeeding chapter, the enterprise proved to be a failure, and the contemplated house of worship was never built.

The removal of the seat of justice from Charlestown was violently opposed by its citizens who did all in their power to prevent it, and the records of the proceedings of

the town commissioners, a few of which are yet extant, show that Baruch Williams and Joseph Baxter were sent to Annapolis (the town commissioners hiring a stage coach for the purpose of taking them there), in order that they might employ counsel and protest against the removal of the seat of justice, and if possible, prevent it. The finances of the town must have been in a low state, for the hire of the stage, and the counsel fees, which were only £6 in all, were not paid till 1791. But the efforts of the citizens of Charlestown were unavailing. A large majority of the people having expressed their desire for the removal of the county seat to the Head of Elk, the Legislature at the November session, 1786, passed an act authorizing and appointing Messrs. Joseph Gilpin, Tobias Rudolph, Sr., Zebulon Hollingsworth, Joseph Baxter and Edward Oldham, to act as commissioners to erect a court-house and jail at that place, on the lot mentioned in a previous chapter as having been purchased by certain persons for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of Elkton and Cecil County. The act also required the justice to levy a tax not exceeding £1,200 for the erection of a court-house and jail, and specified that one-fourth of the aforesaid sum should be levied annually for the four years next ensuing.

The reader will recollect that one of the conditions upon which the public lot was purchased, required the inhabitants of the town to erect a public market-house on it. This condition had been complied with and the market-house had been erected. This caused trouble, the lot being too small for the proper accommodation, of both buildings. But the difficulty was removed by Jacob Hollingsworth, who donated another lot in May, 1787, for the use of the town and the erection of another market-house. This lot was the one at the southwest corner of Main and Bridge streets, directly opposite the Episcopal church. There seems to have been some doubt about the right of the commissioners to remove the market-house, and at the April session, 1787,

the Legislature passed an act incorporating the town under the name of ELKTON,* and making provision for the removal of the market-house to its new location. It is stated in this act that Henry Hollingsworth, in 1787, donated an acre of land to the commissioners of the town for the erection thereon of a school-house or house of worship for the promotion of literature and the Christian religion. This was the origin of Elkton Academy, and part of this land is included in the lot on which the academy now stands. The good people of the town seemed to have been much perplexed about the market, and the act of incorporation contains many curious provisions upon that subject. Tuesdays and Saturdays were designated as market days, and the sale of all victuals and provisions before ten o'clock on those days within one mile of the market-house was prohibited under penalty of fifteen shillings. The slaughtering of all animals on the public lot, and the hitching of horses or other beasts of burden inside the market-house were prohibited, under a penalty of ten shillings. The clerk of the town, whose salary was not to exceed thirty pounds, current money, was to have supervision over the market, and was to inspect the weights and measures used by the market people, and when found defective to sell them for the use of the owner.

The town election was to be held on Easter-Monday, and each of the seven town commissioners, who were also to be trustees of the "Town School," were to own real estate to the value of at least £300. The people of that time seem to have had unbounded faith in the efficiency of fairs to promote the prosperity of towns, and notwithstanding they had failed to benefit Charlestown to any very great extent, provision was made in the act of incorporation for holding four of them annually in Elkton, upon the first Tuesday in January, April, October, and December. At the time of the passage of this act the constitution of the United States had

* For a few years subsequent to this time it had been called *Elkton*.

not been adopted, and the sale of all foreign goods, wares, and merchandise was prohibited.

The commissioners were engaged for several years in building the court-house and jail, but they caused the work to be well done, as the good state of preservation in which the court-house now is, abundantly attests. The workmen employed upon the public buildings were hired by the day, and in many instances their board was paid by the commissioners, and several gallons of rum, which was purchased for their use, is included in their accounts. Much of the stone used was purchased by the ton. The nails were also made from nail rods purchased for that purpose, by persons employed by the commissioners. Some of the hardware and paint was purchased at New Castle, which was then a place of much more importance than it is at present. The commissioners were allowed a commission of four per cent. upon the money expended, as compensation for their services. The £1,200 authorized to be levied for the construction of the public buildings was inadequate for the purpose, and in 1789 an additional levy, not exceeding £800, was ordered to be made for the purpose of completing them.*

The court met for the first time at Elkton, on the 11th of June, 1787, at the public house of John Barnaby. It is the brick building now standing on the bluff west of Bridge street, near the Bridge. The growth of the town seems to have been slow for many years after its incorporation, which was owing to the fact that most of its influential citizens were engaged in the practice of the law, which was not so lucrative then as it is at present, consequently few of them were able to amass sufficient wealth to erect large residences. Most of the old, substantial brick buildings had been erected before the Revolution, and it is probable they

* The fire-proof building, used for the clerk's and register's offices, was built in 1832.

were the only buildings of any importance in the place until long after it became the seat of justice. Isaac Weld, an English traveler, passed through the town in 1795, and after his return home published a journal, in which may be found this description of the place:

“Twenty-one miles from Wilmington is a dirty, stragling place called Elkton, consisting of ninety indifferent habitations, erected without any regard to uniformity. In this neighborhood are some log-houses, answering the following description: The sides are composed of rough logs of trees, placed horizontally upon each other in such a manner that the ends of the logs rest alternately in notches on those of the adjoining side. The interstices are filled up with clay and the roof is formed of boards or small pieces of wood called shingles.”

There is reason to believe that the members of the bar were at this time a jolly set of fellows, that were disposed to have as good a time as circumstances would permit. The records of the county contain the following extraordinary document, which favors this view of the case:

“For the encouragement and promotion of conviviality and good fellowship, on this 19th day of September, 1787, upon motion, it was unanimously determined that for every birth that hath been since the first day of September, instant, or that shall be hereafter, the parent shall give a general punch-drinking within one month from the time of said birth. By a most respectable society of the gentlemen of Elkton.

“JOHN MURRAY, President.

“Attest,

“JOHN PARTRIDGE, Sec.”

The removal of the seat of justice from Charlestown destroyed the hopes its citizens had long cherished of making it a city of importance, and soon afterwards many of the more enterprising of them removed to Baltimore. In 1787 the old warehouse was sold at public sale to Archibald Job for forty pounds, and in 1791 the commissioners passed an

order allowing the jail, which had somehow fallen into their hands, to be used as a school-house and for public worship of religious societies.

In 1790 a law was passed to straighten and amend the several roads therein mentioned, and "Richard Snowdon Thomas, Thomas Maffit & Jacob Hollingsworth were appointed commissioners to lay out and survey, mark and bound, a road from Susquehanna lower ferry to the ford at the Furnace, from thence to Charlestown, from thence to the bridge at the head of North East, and from thence through Elkton towards Christiana, to the Delaware line."*

This caused trouble. The people of Charlestown were apprehensive that when the road was straightened, travel would be diverted from that town and they no doubt thought they had been ill-used when the seat of justice was removed to Elkton. For these reasons and because they thought the projected improvement was made in the interest of their successful rival, they opposed the change. The controversy about this matter began in 1792, and probably entered into the canvass for the election of members of the Legislature, for at a special meeting of the commissioners of Charlestown, on October 3d, it was ordered that the register, Nathan Norton, deliver eight dollars to William Graham to pay for a wagon and other necessary expenses for the purpose of taking the voters to the election.

At the session of 1792, William Linton was sent to the Legislature and authorized to employ counsel in order to retain the post route where it then was. The matter seems to have been before the Legislature at the next session, for the town commissioners sent an express to Major Thomas M. Foreman, who was a member of the Legislature in 1792, for

* Previous to this time the road from Elkton to Christiana Bridge was very crooked, and passed around the northern part of Grays Hill and near the Baptist church on Iron Hill.

a petition that was given to him by Mr. Linton, of Annapolis, the winter before. The expressman returned and reported that Major Foreman was away from home, but there is reason to believe that the commissioners thought he was lying and had not been at Foreman's residence. They afterward got a sketch of the petition from Patrick Hamilton, who was a man of some note, and had been sheriff of the county, but he thought it was very imperfect, notwithstanding which they appointed Alexander Hasson and Samuel Hogg to lay it before Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, who at that time was a member of the Legislature.

The efforts of the villagers were successful and no further reference to the new road is made until 1795, when a petition, signed by many of the citizens of South Susquehanna Hundred, was presented to the levy court, expressing their satisfaction with the condition of the old road which was then in good repair, and protesting against the construction of another one. Isaac Weld, the English traveler before referred to, speaks of Charlestown, in 1795, as follows: "A few miles distant from Elkton is Charlestown, containing about twenty fishermen's houses. The adjoining country is rather mountainous and in some parts the traveler proceeds for five miles together through an uninterrupted succession of woods."

The roads in this county seem, at this time, to have been a fertile source of annoyance and vexation. This was in a great measure owing to their crookedness which is shown by certain plats of them to be seen among the records in the commissioners' office. This crookedness was caused by the desire of the land owners to have the roads, if possible, located on the division lines of their farms, which were often very ill-shaped. The subject of straightening the public highways was of so much importance that it entered into the politics of the county soon after the organization of the State government; and the people, if the traditions that have been handed down to the present time are true were divided

into two parties, as in the case of the road near Charlestown, one of which advocated, while the other opposed, the measure. By the act of 1790 the commissioners therein named were directed to straighten the road leading from the Head of Elk to Back Creek, thence to the head of Bohemia, thence to Warwick, and from that place to the Head of Sassafras. It was not until 1794 that the justices of the levy court were authorized to appoint three freeholders upon the petition of two-thirds of the taxables of the hundred, praying for the widening and straightening of a crooked road, to view the same, and make the improvement prayed for. The undulating character of that part of the county north of the Elk River rendered the construction and maintainance of the roads there more expensive than in the other part of it, and the citizens of the southern part of the county thought themselves aggrieved when compelled to pay an equal share of the road-tax, a large part of which was spent upon roads they seldom or never used.

The Legislature sought to remedy this cause of complaint by the act of 1794, which required the levy court to assess a tax of not more than three shillings in the hundred pounds to be applied to the construction and repair of the roads in the county, and providing that "one-third of the tax levied on the inhabitants on the east and south sides of Elk River should be expended on the roads on the east and south sides of said river." This tax was found insufficient, and in 1795, the levy court was authorized to increase the sum levied for the roads, so as not to exceed five shillings in the hundred pounds. Inasmuch as nothing is said in this act about where the money was to be expended, the provision in regard to that matter in the former act is believed to have been repealed, though it is not so stated in the law.

Previous to the revolution there had been no provision made by law for the maintenance and support of the poor, except such relief as was given to them by the levy court in the matter of outpensions. This method of relieving the

wants of those persons who, from the effects of old age or from any other cause, were in necessitous circumstances, had been practiced almost from the earliest settlement of the county, and the records of the court contain many curious petitions for relief and bills rendered for services done in behalf of paupers. These bills strikingly illustrate the customs that prevailed, and the ignorance of the people who made them, of this class is the following specimen :

“Samuel Brown, deceased, Dr.	s. d.
To making your grave.....	5 0
To making the <i>cofing</i>	15 0
To nine quarts rum.....	13 6
To 1 <i>sheate</i>	9 0
To 4½ lbs. sugar.....	3 0
	£2 5s. 6d.

“17 May, 1763.

Errors excepted.

his

Per SAMUEL X PHILIPS.

mark.”

This is probably the first instance in which a dead man was ever charged with making his coffin and digging his own grave. The reader will observe that much of the bill is for rum, most of which, no doubt, was used at the funeral. The use of liquor at funerals at that time, and for many years afterwards, was so common that a *decent* funeral could not take place without it; but there is reason to think that some of that charged in this bill was used by the undertaker while making the coffin, it also being customary to furnish liquor for the use of those who were employed in the service of the public.

The Legislature, in 1787, passed an act making provision for the maintenance of the poor and providing for the erection of an alms and work-house for their benefit. Nine persons were named as trustees of the institution, who were authorized to take possession of the free-school property in Sassafras Neck, and with the consent of the county court

were authorized to sell and convert it into money for the purpose specified. The justices were also authorized to levy a sum not exceeding £400 for the use and benefit of the almshouse. This act, like many others of that period, was not well adapted to the purpose intended, and by a supplementary act passed in 1788, it was enacted that the trustees should have power to purchase land not exceeding two hundred acres. They were also authorized to take possession of a bequest to the poor of St. Stephen's parish, and all the estates of all persons dying intestate and leaving no legal representatives, and apply them to the use and benefits of the poor of the county. The bequest referred to in the act of 1788, was made by a certain Joseph Phelps to the poor of St. Stephen's parish by his will dated November 1st, 1783. The return of the appraisers of his personal estate shows that it consisted of his wearing apparel, a chest, prayer-book, pocket-book, brush, about two pounds of tobacco, and a pair of spectacles, valued at £3 11s. 8d., and cash in the chest, consisting of English, French and Spanish gold and silver coins, to the amount of £84 13s. 4d., making £88½, which was decreased by the deduction of two other bequests to £58½. He also had about £53 in continental money, which was worthless. But little more is known of this charitable man, except that he had no "kin," as is stated upon the appraisement list.

On the 11th of June, 1788, the trustees of the poor met in Elkton, and received £48 16s., partly in Spanish milled dollars, and partly in corn, from James Hughes, whose step-father, John Price, had rented the free school farm and had the use of the negroes then on it, who seem to have been rented with the land the year before. The free school land has been described in a preceding chapter. There is reason to believe that there was six or eight negroes on the farm, but the number is not stated in the records. It is probable that the negroes had been purchased for the use of the master of the free school, and had been employed by him

in cultivating the farm, but this is only a matter of conjecture.

On the 13th of June, 1788, the trustees of the poor purchased one hundred and eighteen acres of land from Henry Hollingsworth, which is described under the name of St. John's Town and addition, for £295. This purchase was subsequently increased in 1791 by the addition of fifty-seven acres, purchased from the same person for £142 10s., all of which now constitutes the present Almshouse farm.

The trustees authorized Colonel Hollingsworth to erect a house on the farm purchased from him as soon as practicable, he agreeing to rent them a house for the use of the poor, lately built by him at the Head of Elk, until the new house was ready for use. This house is the old log building now standing in Little Elk, on the north side of the street, west of the Marley road.

The construction of the new house was delayed by freshets in the Little Elk, which prevented the workmen from getting stone from the bed of the creek and hauling timber across it, and was not ready for occupation until June 2d, 1789, at which time it was formally accepted by the trustees, who, on the 3d of the previous March, had chosen George Harris and his wife Ann, as overseer and matron of the institution, at a salary of £40 a year.

In 1791 the trustees sold the free school land to Robert Milligan for £1,200. What became of the negroes is not stated, but there is reason to believe they were sold to Milligan.

By the act for the establishment of Washington College in 1782, the visitors of the free schools on the Eastern Shore were authorized, if they thought proper, to incorporate the bonds and estate in their hands with the funds and estate of that institution. This measure was strongly opposed by the vestry of North Elk parish, who appointed a committee to consult with the vestry of St. Augustine's parish, and with the visitors of the free schools, and to protest against

diverting the school property from the use originally intended.

The number of inmates of the Almshouse at first was not large, but in 1802 they had increased to forty, and the trustees were obliged to erect an addition of twenty-five feet in length to the original house, which cost £250. This year a contest took place between several of the physicians of the northeastern part of the county, about which of them should have the job of attending the paupers. One of them in addition to his regular services, offered to keep a statistical record of the various diseases of the inmates, etc., for £40 a year. Another one in addition to all that, offered the use of an electrical machine and attendance once a week in order to use it upon the paupers that might need it, and the trustees, no doubt thinking the paupers would be benefited by the use of electricity, gave the contract to him.

The successful termination of the Revolutionary war seems to have given a great impetus to the inventive powers of the people. Among those who distinguished themselves in this way was James Rumsey, then of Virginia, but a member of the Rumsey family which once resided at the head of Bohemia River, who was the inventor of a steam boat constructed upon a novel plan. He applied to the Legislature for a patent for his invention, in 1784. The constitution of the United States, not then having been adopted, and the articles of confederation containing no provision in regard to this matter, inventors were obliged to apply for patents to the Legislatures of the States. Rumsey's invention is described as a method of propelling vessels by means of the reaction of a stream of water forced by the agency of steam through a trunk or cylinder parallel to the keel, out at the stern. The action of this stream upon the water in which the vessel floated, it was believed would cause the vessel to move forward. The legislature gave him the exclusive right to the use of his invention for ten years. He afterwards formed a society in Philadelphia called the

Rumseian Society, of which Dr. Franklin and Levi Hollingsworth were members, for the purpose of introducing his boat and other inventions to the public, but like most geniuses he met with little success. John Fitch claimed priority for his steamboat, which led to a contest between them, and neither profited by their efforts to introduce steamboats. In 1783, the Legislature passed an act entitled, "an act for making the river Susquehanna navigable from the line of this state to tide water," in which it is stated that a company, of which William Augustine Washington, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thomas Russell, Aquilla Hall, John Churchman, and forty others, mostly of Baltimore city, had subscribed the sum of £18,500, and had obligated themselves to raise the further sum of £1,500 for the purpose named in the title of the act. The Legislature considering the enterprise a laudable one, incorporated the company under the name of "The Proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal," and enacted that they should meet at Havre de Grace in February, 1784, and elect a governor and three directors. This was the origin of the old Maryland Canal which was one of the first works of the kind chartered in the United States. It extended from Love Island, near the State line, nearly to Port Deposit. No doubt the Maryland Canal Company was formed with a view of securing the prospective trade from the upper waters of the Susquehanna to Baltimore city, most of which at this time found its way to the towns on the Delaware. This view of the case is strengthened by the fact that provision was made in the act of incorporation for condemning a quantity of land not exceeding two hundred acres for the purpose of erecting grist-mills and other water-works along the line of the canal for the purpose of grinding the wheat, the product of which it was expected would find a market in Baltimore. By the first act the company was authorized to charge a toll of one shilling per ton (carpenter's measure, on all boats and rafts that passed through the canal. The act also directed that

the work was to be commenced on or before the first of October, 1783, at Love Island near the State line and to be prosecuted with diligence till tide water was reached, and fully completed within seven years. The work seems to have been commenced by the time specified, for in a supplement to the act of incorporation passed at the session of 1784, it is stated that considerable progress had been made. This supplemental act exempted the property of the company from taxation and legalized a long list of tolls for all sorts of merchandise, except dry goods, that might pass through the canal, and specified the value at which foreign coins were to be estimated, when taken in payment of tolls.

Probably for the want of means the canal was not finished in the time specified, and an extension of one year was granted in 1790, by another supplementary act, which authorized the company to increase the number of shares to thirty, and provided that foreigners might become shareholders. The work of constructing the canal was of greater magnitude than was at first apprehended, but there is reason to believe that it was so near completion in 1795, as to indicate that it would never be very successful. Twelve years had elapsed since the work was commenced, and it is probable that a change had taken place in public opinion in reference to its utility.

About this time the people living in those counties of Pennsylvania that bordered upon the Susquehanna River, began to agitate the subject of improving its navigation, and at a meeting held at Harrisburg, in August, 1795, took that matter into consideration. Some of the consequences of this meeting are manifest in the action of the Legislature of Maryland, at its session in the December following, from which it is very plain that the citizens of Havre de Grace, which had been laid out about twenty years before, were jealous of the advantages that would naturally accrue from the canal to those who resided upon the Cecil side of the river.

George Gale, a prominent citizen of this county, had purchased a hundred and ten acres of land on the east side of the river, near Watson's Island, in July, and on the 1st of December following, purchased eighty-eight acres adjoining it from John Creswell, and proceeded to lay out a town, which he called Chesapeake. This town, which was a short distance above Perryville, was incorporated by an act of the Legislature on the 24th of December, 1795. On the same day an act was passed making an addition to the town of Havre de Grace, and authorizing a lottery for the improvement of the navigation of the Susquehanna River. This was the beginning of a contest between the proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal and certain persons in Pennsylvania, who were jealous of the privileges that had been conferred upon the proprietors of the canal, that was settled many years afterwards by the organization of the Tide-Water Canal Company, which purchased and now own the rights and franchises of the other company. Probably the real object of those who sought to effect the enlargement of Havre de Grace, was the same as that of the founder of the rival town on the other side of the river, namely, a desire to speculate in town lots; and very likely they concealed their real design under the plausible pretext of improving the navigation of the river. But civil engineering was not as well understood then as it is now, and they may have honestly thought that \$50,000, which was the sum authorized to be raised by lottery, was sufficient for the purpose designated. It was specified in the act for the improvement of the river, that none of the money raised by the lottery was to be applied to opening or improving the Susquehanna Canal, which seems to indicate that the Legislature might have lost faith in its utility.

Nothing ever came of the effort to build the town of Chesapeake, and it must be added to the long list of abortive efforts to build towns where they were not needed.

The next year, 1796, a German named ^KBreider, who owned a flour-mill on the Juniata River, near Huntington, Pennsylvania, is said to have built an ark and loaded it with flour and ran it down the Susquehanna, and thence to Baltimore. This is believed to have been the first venture of the kind, and Breider having demonstrated the practicability of navigating the perilous river as well as the profitableness of the Baltimore market, his example was followed the next year by several others. By a supplementary act, passed January 20th, 1797, the time for the completion of the canal was extended to the 1st of December, 1805, and the bed of the Susquehanna River was declared to be "a public highway, free for any person or persons whatever to work thereon in clearing the obstructions to its navigation," which warrants the inference that something was about to be done for its improvement at this time by those in charge of the lottery. The early history of this canal is involved in great obscurity, occasioned by the loss of the records of the proceedings of the directors previous to 1817. Land was condemned for the use of the proprietors, in 1800, at which time Robert Gilmer was governor of the canal. The work is believed to have been completed in 1805. It was too narrow at first to be of much use, and the proprietors had it widened, about 1810. During the time of the construction and enlargement of the canal, many of the laborers employed upon it were afflicted with a malignant fever, from the effects of which many of them died.

In 1805, the inhabitants of Elkton also suffered from a malignant fever that baffled the skill of the most eminent physicians. There is some evidence tending to show that it was caused by the miasma from the marsh on the north side of the river, which at that time was embanked so as to exclude the tide. The following extracts from a diary kept by the late Dr. Amos A. Evans, who at that time was a student of medicine under the late Dr. George E. Mitchell, show the malignant character of the epidemic. It is stated

in Morse's Gazetteer of the Western continent, that Elkton five years after this time, contained ninety houses, which, at five persons to each house, would give a population of four hundred and fifty. In 1805, the town probably contained less than four hundred inhabitants.

Under the date of September 26th, 1805, Dr. Evans says: "Cloudy morning, wind from S. E. About 60 persons now sick in Elkton. *Every person afflicted with languor and lassitude.* Want of appetite and dreadful sickness of stomach are the general precursors of the reigning epidemic, which is attended with tormenting and excruciating pains of the extremities. This sudden change of the weather has in a number of cases occasioned this epidemic to take on the form of dysentary and diarrhoea. The chills which precede are of long continuance, the fever succeeding, very inflammatory, demanding remedies powerful and energetic. 28th September; good fires are very necessary and quite agreeable, cases of bilious fever still increase. The symptoms of this fever are anomolous, the pains in the extremities and lumbar regions are violent, the eyes are painful and often much inflamed. October 3d and 4th; more than 80 persons sick in Elkton. October 14th; sickness continues to increase in the country. November 4th; several cases of bilious and intermittent fevers still continue, which are remarkably stubborn this fall. Diseases in general, this season have been much more stubborn than they have been known for some time, and the people of Elkton and its vicinity have been more generally afflicted. Cathartics and emetics though given in double doses, in some cases produce little or no effect."

CHAPTER XXII.

Octoraro forge—Cecil Manufacturing Company—New Leeds—Chesapeake and Delaware Canal—Benjamin H. Latrobe—The canal feeder—Riot at Elkton—"Treeket the Loop"—Supplementary Act—Work resumed on the canal—John Randel—He sues the canal company—Completion and cost of the canal—Difficulty of construction—Port Deposit—Philip Thomas—Port Deposit Bridge Company—Bridge burned—Sale of Susquehanna canal—The log pond—Susquehanna and Tide Water canal.

IN 1788, John Churchman, the distinguished scientist and mathematician of Nottingham, who was the owner of large quantities of barren land, which he, no doubt, had purchased because he thought it contained valuable deposits of mineral, formed a partnership with Samuel Hughes, of Harford County, for the purpose of erecting a furnace and such other works as they might think necessary for the manufacture of iron, upon a tract of land containing 3,000 acres, which was two-thirds of all the land owned by Churchman in Cecil, Chester, and Lancaster counties, and which seems to have been embraced in one tract. The tract to be selected by Hughes for the iron works, it was stipulated in the article of agreement, which may be seen among the land records of the county, was to embrace the Horse Shoe Bend, in the Octoraro Creek, near the junction of the three counties before named. Hughes was to furnish the capital for the enterprise, and Churchman was to be resident manager, the profits being equally divided between them. Nothing is known of the history of this enterprise, but the land records of the county show that the forge which was just below the Horse Shoe Bend, where the Cecil paper-mill now stands, was built sometime previous to 1795, at which time it was in the

possession of a certain John Jones and Thomas Rogers. It was subsequently purchased in 1801 by John Frey and Mathew Irwin, and was known for some time as Frey's Forge.

The Cecil Manufacturing Company, whose mill for the manufacture of linen, woolen, and cotton goods, was on the Little Elk Creek, just above Marley, was organized in 1794. This company is believed to have been organized by the efforts of Colonel Henry Hollingsworth, of Elkton, who was at this time, the owner of the site of Marley Mill. This gentleman purchased ten acres of land, on both sides of the Little Elk, from John Anderson, on the 31st of July, 1794, for £100. The company, which consisted of the following members, viz.: Colonel Henry Hollingsworth, of Elkton; Levi Hollingsworth and Paschall Hollingsworth, of Philadelphia; Francis Partridge, John Gilpin, Levi Hollingsworth, Jr., and James Mackey, of Cecil County; and Solomon Maxwell and William Cooch, of New Castle County, Delaware, are believed to have organized on the 1st of the following November, for on that day Colonel Hollingsworth executed a deed to the others for eight-tenths of the ten acres he had purchased from Anderson, retaining the other two-tenths for his own share. The company proceeded to build a stone factory, the walls of which were quite thick and are now standing, though the wood-work of the building was consumed by fire many years ago. The durability of the stone-work of this mill seems to have warranted the assertion of an historian, who, in speaking of it in 1807, said it was the best mill of the kind in the United States. Some of the machinery used in this factory was imported from Europe. In 1796 the company purchased upwards of five hundred acres of land adjoining the site of the mill, in order to obtain pasturage for the sheep they intended to keep for the purpose of obtaining wool to supply their mill. In 1805 the company obtained the services of John Wilson, a native of Yorkshire, England, who had learned the art of manufacturing broadcloth in his native country, and who

had one-tenth interest in the business. This company manufactured a considerable amount of goods, and it is said presented ex-President Jefferson with cloth sufficient to make him a suit of clothes, which he wore when being inaugurated President of the United States.

Owing to the custom which then prevailed, of nearly every family manufacturing their cloth by means of the old-fashioned spinning-wheels and hand-loom, the company did not succeed in finding a remunerative market for their goods, and in 1811 Mr. Wilson severed his connection with it and purchased the mill property next above, on the same stream, where he erected a woolen factory. Mr. Wilson was a preacher of the society called Independents, and it was through his exertions that the New Leeds church was built. He also had the honor of naming that village after the manufacturing city of Leeds, in England. Mr. Wilson's daughter, Hannah, organized the first Sunday-school in this county, probably the first in the State, at New Leeds, in 1816.

The next matter that claims our attention is the project of connecting the waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays by means of a canal.

As long ago as 1680, when Augustine Hermen was lord of Bohemia Manor, the construction of a canal to connect the waters of the two bays was contemplated. The earliest settlers along the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays felt the want of a better method of transportation than they then had, and no doubt the far-seeing and clear-minded Hermen was quite as much influenced by the prospective canal and the advantages to be derived from it as he was by the superior quality of the soil when he made choice of Bohemia Manor and settled upon it.

In 1769 some of the enterprising citizens of Philadelphia induced the American Philosophical Society to order a survey to be made with a view of constructing a canal across the peninsula, but the Revolutionary war began before any

active steps were taken towards the construction of the work, and it was not chartered by the State of Maryland until 1799. It appears from the charter that Maryland was the first State to move in the matter, for the charter contains a proviso that it is to be of no force until a law is passed by the State of Delaware authorizing the cutting of the canal through that State, and until a law is passed by the State of Pennsylvania declaring the river Susquehanna to be a highway, etc. The company was authorized to raise \$500,000, in shares of \$200 each, for the construction of the canal, and Tobias Rudolph and William Alexander, in Cecil County, in connection with two other persons in each of the Eastern Shore counties of Maryland, and other persons in Baltimore, Wilmington, and Philadelphia were authorized to open the subscription books and inaugurate the enterprise.

About the year 1801 Benjamin H. Latrobe,* Cornelius Howard, and John Thompson surveyed various routes across the peninsula for the proposed canal, and the directors of the company decided to adopt the one between Welsh Point, at the junction of Back Creek and Elk River, and running in a northeast direction from there to a place on Christiana Creek, then called Mendenhall's Landing, about four miles west of Wilmington. It was the intention of the engineers that located the canal in this place to supply the water necessary for the purpose of navigating it

* B. H. Latrobe was of French Huguenot extraction, but born in England. He came to Philadelphia in 1800, and soon afterwards married the daughter of Isaac Hazlehurst, the law-partner of Robert Morris, the financier. While engaged in constructing the feeder, he resided in a house which stood north of the Elkton and Christiana Turnpike and east of the State line. He was one of the most eminent architects and civil engineers of his time, and was employed in supervising the old Capitol building at Washington, and also the Exchange, which is now used for the Custom House, in Baltimore. He was the father of J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., a distinguished member of the Baltimore bar, and the grandfather of F. C. Latrobe, the present mayor of that city.

from the Big Elk Creek, by means of a feeder constructed for the purpose of carrying the water of that creek into a vast reservoir,* covering a hundred acres of land, from which the water could be taken when needed for the purpose of locking the various crafts through the canal. About a hundred thousand dollars was expended upon the construction of the feeder, which was intended to carry the waters of Big Elk into the proposed reservoir, which was to be located about a mile west of Glasgow, in Delaware. The work was constructed under the supervision of Benjamin H. Latrobe, who was chief engineer.

The canal company was obliged to purchase the right to use the water of Big Elk from the Elk Forge Company, whose forge was then located where Elk Mills factory now stands, near which the feeder was to start, and also the water rights of all the mills between the forge and the mouth of the creek. Due bills or promissory notes, similar to bank notes, were issued for the purchase of the water rights, and work was commenced on the feeder in 1802. Some of the plans of the engineers of that time seem quite curious and strange when viewed through the light of the experience since acquired. The canal company only purchased the right from the forge company to use the water of the creek, when needed, for the purpose of supplying the canal, the forge company reserving the right to use the water of the creek during the winter months, when it would be impracticable to navigate it. The water of the creek was taken out of the head-race of the forge and taken across the channel of the creek in an aqueduct constructed for the purpose. It would seem to have been a great deal more practicable to have taken the water directly from the east side of the dam and to have dispensed with the aqueduct, but probably there

* Owing to a misunderstanding of his instructions, the engraver of the map accompanying this book located this reservoir too far south. It should have been at the junction of the feeder and the canal, which is some distance west of Glasgow, which is called Aikentown on the map.

were reasons that do not now appear, that caused the engineer to adopt the plan he did.

The work upon the feeder was done in a superior manner. Several of the arches, through which the water of small streams was to pass underneath it, are still standing, and quite a large one intended for a roadway across it is yet extant. It is said that when the late Daniel Lord was constructing the factory which is near the arch, being in want of stone, he ordered his workmen to take the arch down, and that after many fruitless efforts to do so, they concluded it would be easier and cheaper to quarry the stone they wanted. This old arch is now standing, and looks strong and durable enough to stand at least a century longer.

For a short time the water of the Big Elk was admitted into the feeder, and the stone used in the construction of the arches, some distance from the upper end of it, were transported to the places where they were used upon scows from the quarry near the forge. Many stones were quarried and nicely dressed for the arches, which, after the work was abandoned, remained near the forge and were used in the construction of the railroad bridge across the Big Elk, near Elkton, which was recently covered by the embankment, after the construction of the new iron bridge in 1876.

There was much diversity of opinion in regard to the proper place for the location of the canal. This was the reason that the company after finishing the feeder to the site of the proposed reservoir, near Glasgow, were forced to discontinue the work, which they did, for want of means, in 1803. The feeder passed within about two miles of Elkton, and it is stated in a history of Maryland and Delaware, published in Philadelphia in 1807, that barges were then used upon it. This is untrue; though the people of that day entertained the opinion that it was practicable to use the feeder as a canal, and the canal company at that time intended to establish slack-water navigation upon the Big Elk, north of the forge, by erecting a system of dams and locks for that purpose.

The laborers employed in the construction of the feeder, who were principally Irishmen, became involved in a riot while the work was in course of construction. There was a race-course at that time in the field near Gilpins Bridge, on the southwest side of Big Elk. Many of the Irishmen from the feeder were at a horse race on this course, which was no uncommon thing, for horse racing was quite common in Cecil County at that time, and the races were recognized by the law of the State. It was customary for those who wished to do so, to obtain license to sell liquor at the races, and no doubt it was sold at this one, and that the too free use of whisky led to the riot, which began in this wise: A negro was on the ground, who was proprietor of a gambling arrangement, called "Treeket the Loop." It consisted of a stake driven into the ground in the centre of a circular excavation of probably a foot or eighteen inches in diameter; a cent was placed on the top of the stake by the proprietor, and those who wished to participate in the game were furnished with a club or shillalah and required to stand some yards from the stake, and if they could throw the club and knock the cent off the stake, so that it would fall outside of the pit in which the stake stood, they won the money; if the coin fell inside of the pit, which it probably did in nine cases out of ten, the player forfeited a cent to the proprietor of the pit. A dispute occurred between the negro who was the proprietor of the pit and an Irishman who was playing, which came from words to blows, and the negro is said to have fractured the skull of one of the Irishmen who soon afterwards died. This riot, like all others, was easily started than stopped, and from the accounts which have come down to us, was quite a serious affair. Many other negroes on the race ground became involved in the fight before it was over. The Irishmen pursued them to Elkton, and a reign of terror was inaugurated which lasted for a considerable time, during which several lives were lost. The late Dr. Evans, who was then a student of medicine with Dr.

George E. Mitchell, is said to have been instrumental in pacifying the infuriated Irishmen and saving the lives of some of the negroes.

In 1803 work was discontinued upon the feeder, and the enterprise was allowed to slumber until 1812. The probability of a war with England appears to have been the great incentive that impelled the Legislature of Maryland to pass a supplementary act to the original charter of the canal, for at the session of the General Assembly in the winter of 1812-13, the following supplement to the act of incorporation of 1799 was passed:

“Whereas, During the time of war against the United States of America, the completion of the work of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal would be beneficial to the United States, by forming the great link of an inland navigation of six or seven hundred miles, and thereby establish a perfectly safe, easy and rapid transportation of our armies and the munitions of war through the interior of the country, and which would ever tend to operate as a cement to the union between the States: And, whereas, the prosperity and the agricultural interest of the State of Maryland, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the Delaware State, are more deeply interested than their sister States in the useful work of opening a communication between the Chesapeake Bay and river Delaware, by means of the said Chesapeake & Delaware Canal; therefore, in order to enable the president and directors of the said canal to prosecute and finish the important work of the said Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That if the United States shall subscribe 750 shares, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania 375 shares, the State of Delaware 100 shares, in the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal Co., in such case the treasurer of the western shore be and he is hereby authorized and directed to subscribe in behalf of this State 250 shares in said company, and the money necessary to be paid in consequence of such subscription

shall be paid by this State, and the treasurer of the western shore, for the time being, shall have the right to vote for president and directors of said company, according to such number of shares in person or by proxy appointed by him, and the said treasurer shall receive upon the said stock the proportion of the tolls which shall from time to time be due to the State for the shares aforesaid.

“And be it enacted, that this act shall not take effect, unless the Legislature of Pennsylvania shall pass or shall have passed a law declaring that in consideration of the act of the Legislature of Maryland incorporating said canal company, the river Susquehanna from Columbia to the Maryland line shall forever hereafter be a highway, and that individuals or bodies corporate may at all times remove obstructions therein.”

The war that the Legislature apprehended took place, and nothing more was done toward the completion of the work until about 1822 or 1823, when the project was again revived. There appears to have been much diversity of opinion in regard to the supply of water to be obtained from the Big Elk Creek, and various estimates were made of it. In 1804 Mr. Latrobe estimated it as equal to one hundred and ninety locks full per day. In 1823 John Randel, Jr., civil engineer of Albany, New York, then in the employ of the company and under whose superintendence the route for the canal had been surveyed, estimated it as equal to seventy-nine locks full per day on an average of a whole year, but as only equal to thirty locks full per day in the months of July, August, September, and October, which only allowed the passage of six vessels per day through the canal. Mr. Randel was accused of under-estimating the quantity of water in the Elk Creek, with a view of having the canal located further down the peninsula, where it now is, so that he could have an opportunity of obtaining a lucrative contract for its construction. The people of Wilmington were apprehensive that if the canal was located so

as to reach the Delaware River, without using the Christiana Creek for that purpose, it would injure the trade of their city, and as was very natural, they looked upon the difficulty of constructing it, very complacently, and the newspaper press of that city continually prophesied its ultimate failure.

Mr. Randel, the engineer, upon whose surveys and estimates the work was undertaken, recommended the cutting of the canal so deep that the supply of water could be obtained for its use from the Delaware River at high tide, by means of tide-locks at either end of the canal, so constructed as to prevent a current in it, and also to admit the water of the Delaware River to enter it at high tide. This was a grand scheme and worthy of the ingenious and scientific man that originated it. He contemplated using the Atlantic Ocean as the reservoir from which the canal was to be supplied with water. This plan, had it been adhered to, would have saved the expense of the steam-pump which now has to be used to supply the canal with water; but probably owing to the great cost of excavating so deep a channel it was abandoned and the present system of locks adopted in its stead.

It is worthy of remark that the canal company resumed work, which had been suspended for twenty-one years, under the presidency of the same person who presided over it when work was suspended, and that the due bills for a large amount of the indebtedness of the company, which was contracted in its early efforts, were paid at their par value.

The canal company employed Mr. Randel to excavate the greater part of the canal and executed articles of agreement with him for the construction of the work on the 26th day of March, 1824. The work was commenced on the 15th of April following upon the deep cut near where the Summit Bridge formerly stood. Randel was allowed until the 1st of May, 1828, to finish his contract, but for some reason the company took the work out of his hands, and in the fall of

1825, contracted with other persons for the completion of the unfinished part of it. This action of the company caused Randel to sue it for damages, and after years of litigation he recovered damages in January, 1834, to the amount of more than two hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars. The suit between Randel and the canal company, which was tried in the Superior Court at New Castle, is one of the most notable cases ever tried in the State of Delaware, being celebrated as well on account of the amount of money involved, as on account of the eminent counsel employed by the parties concerned in it. John Randel, Jr., by which cognomen he was known until the day of his death, was possessed of much skill as a civil engineer, though strange and eccentric, and full of Utopian schemes and projects. He afterwards became the proprietor of "Randalia," which was a large tract of land on Bohemia Manor, near the mouth of Back Creek. His success in prosecuting his suit against the canal company appears to have made him fond of litigation, and for many years after he became proprietor of "Randalia" he was seldom without a law suit on hand. Owing to his success in this suit with the canal company, he was placed in possession of a competency, most of which he squandered in the prosecution of wild, chimerical schemes for self-aggrandizement, which it would have taken many hundreds of thousands of dollars to have brought to a successful conclusion. He was also the originator of elevated railroads, which have recently been erected in some of our large cities. At one time, while Mr. Randel was proprietor of Randalia, he had a steam saw-mill in operation there, and somehow he unfortunately lost a breast-pin which he valued very highly. Work was immediately stopped at Randalia, and everybody in his employ was set to work hunting for the lost breast-pin. The hands at the saw-mill were set to work sifting an immense pile of saw dust, the accumulation of years, in order to find the lost jewel. After much tribulation the long-lost and much-esteemed

bauble was found in the possession of some person, who said he found it along the road some distance from Randallia, where no doubt its owner had dropped it. The chance for a law suit was not to be lost, however, and the contentious Randel laid his case before the next grand jury with the intention of having the person who found the breast-pin indicted for theft, but the grand jury very wisely dismissed the case.

Though Randel was the engineer who surveyed the route for the canal and made the plans and estimates for its construction when he became contractor for the performance of the work, the company employed Benjamin Wright to act as engineer, under whose superintendence the work was completed on the 17th of October, 1829. This important work is thirteen and five-eighths of a mile long, and was made at the cost of \$2,250,000. Its construction was a work of great difficulty, owing to the peculiarities of the land through which the eastern part of it is made. Large sections of the embankments along the sides of it are said to have sunk as much as a hundred feet below the adjoining surface, which caused the bottom of the canal to rise as much as forty feet above its natural position. This led to much trouble and delay in the completion of the work; nor was this the only trouble, for the earth taken out of the deep cut, which at the summit is seventy-six and a half feet deep, was deposited too near the channel of the canal, and it is estimated that during the construction of the work three hundred and seventy-five thousand cubic yards of it slid back into the canal and had to be again removed. For many years after the completion of the work, these immense mountain-like piles of earth had an ugly habit of sliding into the canal, and at one time the company had many acres of them thatched with straw, like an Irish cabin, to keep them dry and render them tenacious enough to maintain the position in which they were originally placed. Much stone was required for walling parts of the canal, a

great deal of which was obtained in the vicinity of Marley Mill and Cherry Hill, and which was hauled to the western part of the canal in four-horse wagons. This stone was purchased by weight and weighed upon immense scales constructed for the purpose. The scales were large enough to hold a wagon loaded with stone, and were constructed with a wooden beam similar to a steelyard; the loaded wagon was driven upon the platform and weighed, and after being unloaded weighed again, the difference in weight showing the weight of the load of stone. The Summit or Buck* bridge, across the canal at the deep cut, was nearly ninety feet above the bottom of the canal and two hundred and forty-seven feet long. It was considered a stupendous structure fifty years ago, when the Pacific Railroad had not been thought of and our vast system of public improvements were in their infancy. People that were school children forty years ago will recollect the picture of this bridge that was in a popular geography which was much used at that time.

The enlargement of the Susquehanna Canal seems to have given a great impetus to the growth of the town (now Port Deposit) just below its southern terminus, or probably it would be more correct to say, that the success of that enterprise led to the building of the town. As early as 1729, Thomas Cresap, who took such an active part in the border war a few years afterwards, had a ferry there, which is believed to have been called Smith's Ferry, probably because it was near the uppermost point on the river which was reached by the adventurous Captain John Smith, who ascended it when engaged in exploring the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. It was afterwards called Creswell's Ferry, because it was owned by Colonel John Creswell, the grandfather of the Hon. J. A. J. Creswell, who owned two

* This bridge was often called the Buck bridge, because there was a tavern near it with the sign of a Buck.

large tracts of land contiguous to it, much of which is yet in possession of the Creswell family. The town, if there was any town there, must have been quite small in 1813 when the British visited Lapidum, for they made but little exertion to enter it, though it was a place of *some* importance, and the citizens and the people of the vicinity had erected a fort for its defense, and probably would have given them a warm reception.

Philip Thomas then owned large quantities of land extending from near the ferry, which was about midway of the town, a considerable distance down the river, embracing the tracts called Mount Ararat, and Yorkshire, which was immediately below the former and some others. He died in 1811, and his property not being susceptible of division, was purchased by his son Philip the next year, he agreeing to pay the other heirs their shares of the value placed upon it by the commissioners appointed by the court for that purpose. Mr. Thomas caused the lower half of the town to be laid out into streets and building-lots by Hugh Beard, an eminent surveyor of that time, who made a plat of it, which may be seen among the land records of the county. This plat is dated October 21st, 1812, and purports to be the plat of a town at Creswell's Ferry. But at the session of the Legislature held the next winter, the name of the place was changed to Port Deposit. This change was made, as stated in the preamble to the act, to prevent the inconvenience arising from the different names by which the place was then called. There is reason to believe that the town had, previous to this time, been also called Rock Run.

The next year Edward Wilson, of Philadelphia, purchased for six thousand dollars the site of the mill at the lower or tide locks, of the canal, which included an insignificant amount of land and the right to water sufficient to run six pairs of mill-stones of six feet diameter, to be driven by water-wheels of not less than fifteen feet diameter. The quantity of water was to be ascertained by actual experi-

ment after the mill was erected. This mill subsequently came into the possession of James Bosley, of Baltimore, who, in 1831, became involved in a quarrel with the proprietors of the canal in reference to the quantity of water he used. Bosley used more water than was agreeable to the proprietors of the canal, who advertised in the Baltimore papers that they would permit the use of the water of the canal only in accordance with the agreement in the deed given to Wilson. Bosley set the proprietors of the canal at defiance, and one day started the machinery at its utmost speed, in consequence of which the mill caught fire and was entirely consumed. This ended the quarrel.

Previous to the construction of the canal, most of the lumber and produce which came down the river stopped at Lapidum. This was because the water was deeper on that side of the river. After the construction of the canal, the business was diverted to the other side of the river, and the want of some better means of crossing than that afforded by a ferry became necessary. This led to the first efforts to erect the Susquehanna bridge, and resulted in the formation of the first Port Deposit bridge company, which was incorporated in 1808. Of the incorporators, five were from Baltimore City and County, six from Harford County, and six were from Cecil, as follows: James Sewell, Adam Whann, Henry W. Physic, William Hollingsworth, Thomas W. Veazey, and Thomas Williams. The commissioners were authorized to raise \$250,000 by subscription, in shares of fifty dollars each, for the purpose of building a bridge over the Susquehanna River at the most suitable place in their judgment between Havre de Grace and Bald Friar Ferry.

This effort failed owing to the inability of the commissioners to obtain the requisite amount of subscriptions to the stock, and at the session of 1812, an act was passed authorizing and requiring John Creswell, Samuel C. Hall, and Lawrence McComb, of Cecil County, and John Stump, John Archer, and James Stevenson, of Harford County, who

were appointed commissioners for the purpose, to fix upon a site for a bridge at such point on the Susquehanna River, at or near the head of tide water at Kerr's Island, near Rock Run, as to them should appear most proper. This act also designated twenty of the most influential citizens of Baltimore, Harford, and Cecil counties, to solicit subscriptions. The commissioners employed Hugh Beard, alluded to in connection with the town at Creswell's Ferry, to lay out a site for the bridge. His certificate of survey is dated the 16th of August, 1813. It shows that the bridge, or bridges, were to extend from the Harford shore to Wood's Island, thence to Kerr's Island, thence to Steel's Island, and from there to the Cecil shore. By this route the bridges between the Harford shore and Kerr's Island were placed further up the river than the others, and the turnpike connecting them crossed Kerr's Island at a considerable angle. This route required three thousand three hundred feet of bridging and two hundred perches of turnpike across the islands. This site was not satisfactory, probably for the reason that the route was longer than was necessary, and by a supplementary act passed in 1815, the company was authorized to change it.

Eight years had elapsed since the first effort to erect the bridge had been made and still it had not been commenced. This long delay was caused by the scarcity of money and the reluctance of capitalists to invest in an enterprise that seemed hazardous and uncertain. Probably they had doubts about the practicability of maintaining the bridge, after it was erected, on account of the tremendous ice floods in the river. But financial ability seems never to have been wanting among the citizens of Port Deposit, and they tried perhaps the only plan that could have resulted successfully, that was, to have the charter amended so as to allow the company to carry on the banking business. This change was effected in 1816, and was eminently successful. The site selected at this time, which was the one upon

which the bridge was built, crossed the river, which at that place was only twenty feet less than a mile wide, nearly at right angles. This route was upwards of a thousand feet shorter than the other one. At the same time, about four acres of the river bank on the Cecil side, contiguous to the abutment, was condemned for the use of the company, for the purpose of obtaining stone for the construction of the abutments and piers.

It is worthy of remark, as showing the changes that have taken place since that time, that the owners of this land, in most cases, received but one cent damages each, which was equivalent to about one cent an acre. The bridge was in course of construction in 1817 and was finished the next year. Kerr's Island was then owned by Robert Kerr, whose large family of seven daughters and four sons were born on it.

At this time, Dr. John Archer was president and Thomas L. Savin, cashier of the company. The company was authorized to discount notes and issue bank bills, and though it is probable that the bridge could not have been built without a resort to this or some similar means, it is doubtful if it finally was not productive of more harm than good, for the company ultimately failed, and the stockholders and holders of the notes in circulation lost heavily. This bridge was built by contract by a Mr. Burr, and was consumed by fire, on the 1st of January, 1823. The fire is said to have originated from friction caused by an iron shod sleigh, which was driven rapidly over it. The bridge was rebuilt in 1829-30, by a Mr. Wormwag, who was the contractor; it remained standing until 1854, when one span of it was broken by a drove of cattle which were crossing. It was never repaired, and the remainder was carried away by a freshet in 1857.

The Susquehanna Canal never paid the proprietors much interest on the capital invested, and they were always in debt. In 1817 they owed the Bank of Maryland upwards

of \$30,000, for which a judgment was obtained, to satisfy which the canal was sold by Robert C. Lusby, who was then sheriff of this county. It was purchased by Samuel Sterritt, of Baltimore, who was treasurer of the canal company, for \$40,000. There being doubts of the validity of this sale, Sterritt conveyed the canal back to the company in February, 1819, in order that it might be resold for the benefit of the creditors. An examination of the minute book of the company, from 1821 to 1835, which is all that is now extant, throws some little light upon the history of the company during that time.

During that period there were saw-mills in operation at Conowingo and Octoraro, and the company were quarreling a great deal with the proprietors of the mills about the quantity of water they used. The managers were also annoyed by persons who used the tow-path for a highway, and in 1829 they passed a resolution requiring their agents to place such obstructions on it as would prevent it from being injured by wheeled carriages. This year the company opened a quarry, near the east end of the bridge, which was the beginning of the trade in granite that has added so much to the prosperity of Port Deposit. The same year the managers fixed the rates of toll for coal barges or arks, which indicates that but few of them had come down the river before this time. A motion was made this year by one of the managers that a model of the boats used for the transportation of heavy goods and merchandise on the river Mersey, near Liverpool, be obtained for the purpose of ascertaining whether such boats were suitable for use on the canal and for the passage to Baltimore. This was only about a half a century ago, and it is hard to realize that the people of that time were so little acquainted with the means and appliances for canal and inland navigation. But the reader must not forget that this canal was among the first constructed in this country, and that steam navigation was then in its infancy.

In 1832 the company memorialized the Legislature in reference to two dams erected across the river, one at Nanticoke and the other at Shamokin. These dams prevented the free navigation of the river, and were in violation of the compact between Maryland and Pennsylvania, in consequence of which Maryland had consented to charter the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, and the other company asked the Legislature to use such means as would cause the dams to be removed. In 1832 the company purchased thirty acres of land for a log-pond. Previous to this time it had a small pond, but the increased amount of lumber that passed through the canal made it necessary to enlarge it. In 1835 the canal from Columbia to the State line was projected, and the proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal seem at first to have been very favorably impressed with it; so much so as to send a considerable sum of money to Harrisburg to be used in helping to obtain the charter.

The Pennsylvania Company was incorporated in 1835, and the proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal immediately offered to sell out to it, or to continue their canal to tide water with locks of a capacity equal to those of the other canal, and to charge no more toll per mile than it did, which fully explains why they had spent their money to aid the other company in obtaining its charter. Shortly after this arrangement was sought to be effected, it was ascertained that the proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal had no legal authority to sell the franchise conferred upon them by their charter. This led to a long and angry newspaper controversy between the friends of the respective companies. The Pennsylvania Company threatened to cross the river above the State line and continue their canal to tide water, thus effectually destroying the business of the other one. The Maryland Company charged the other one with trying to depreciate the value of their stock and trying to make the impression on the public that instead of being valuable as so much of the work already completed it was a hindrance

to the new enterprise. The matter was finally adjusted by an act of the Legislature of Maryland, passed in 1836, in compliance with which the two companies were subsequently consolidated. This was effected by the new company purchasing a large preponderance of the stock and assuming all the incumberances and responsibilities of the old one. Thus ended a controversy between the people of the two States about the navigation of this turbulent river that had continued for forty years and at times was as turbulent as the river itself.

CHAPTER XXIII.

County divided into election districts—County commissioners—Location of boundary line between Cecil and Harford—Number of mills in Cecil County—Elkton wheat market—Manufactories—Charlestown—Elkton bank—Line of packets between Baltimore and Philadelphia *via* Elkton—Frenchtown and New Castle Turnpike Company—Curious provision in the charter.

PREVIOUS to the Revolutionary war, the elections for delegates to the Legislature were held at the county seat, and the people voted *vive voce*. From the close of that war until 1800, elections were still held at the seat of justice, and continued for three days; but in that year, Henry Pearce, Colonel John Creswell, William Alexander, Jacob Reynolds, and Samuel Hogg, who had been designated by the Legislature as commissioners, laid off the county into four election districts. The first district included all that part of the county south of Back Creek and the Elk River; elections were held at Warwick, in the house of Isaac Woodland. The second district included all that part of the county north of Back Creek, and east of a northerly line running from Elk ferry, along certain old roads long since closed, until it struck the North East Creek, and continued up the creek to the fork thereof, thence up the eastern branch until it forked, thence by a northerly course until it reached the State line; elections were held in Elkton in the court-house. The third district included that part of Elk Neck, west of Elk ferry and that part of the county between the western boundary line of the second district and Principio Creek, and a northerly line from near the head of that creek to the State line; elections were held at Charlestown, in the house of Samuel Hogg. The fourth district included all that part of the

county west of the third district; elections were held at Battle Swamp, in the house of Greenbury Rawlings. Jacob Reynolds did not sign the return made by the other commissioners, probably for the reason that he did not agree with them about the place of holding the election in the fourth district, which soon after was changed to the village of Rising Sun. These districts remained intact until 1835, when Joseph Bryan, Edward Wilson, William Macky, Henry C. Chamberlaine, Thomas S. Thomas, George Kidd and Patrick Ewing were appointed by an act of the Legislature to lay off the county into seven districts. This change was made in deference to the wishes of the people in regard to the selection of county commissioners.

By the act of 1797 five persons were to be appointed by the executive, styled "Commissioners of the tax," who were to levy the tax and do such other business generally as had previously been transacted by the justices' court, when sitting as a levy court; but in 1827 this law was repealed, and it was enacted that five commissioners should be elected by the people. One of these commissioners was to be chosen from each district by the voters of the district, except the second, from which two were to be chosen. This law did not work satisfactorily for obvious reasons, and the Legislature sought to abridge the power of the second district by the act of 1829, which provided that the commissioners should be elected by the people of the whole county, but made no change in the number, and still required two of them to be taken from the second district.

The commissioners appointed by the act of 1835 met at the court-house early in April, 1836, and appointed Thomas Richards in place of Patrick Ewing, who refused to serve, and on the 21st of June, 1837, completed their work, having laid off the county into districts, nearly as they are at present, except that the eighth district was formed out of parts of the sixth and seventh by an act of the Legislature in 1852, and the ninth in the same manner in 1856, out of

parts of the fourth, fifth, and sixth districts. It is worthy of remark that only four of the commissioners signed the report, which indicates that the others did not agree with them.

In 1829 the Legislature appointed James Steel, Stephen Boyd, Washington Hall, Levi H. Evans, and Samuel Irwin, commissioners to locate the boundary line between Cecil and Harford counties. They finished their work in 1832. Their report shows that they began at the State line, at a rock called Long Rock, in the middle of the Susquehanna River, in which they inserted an iron bolt, marking the rock with the initials of the two counties, and continued the line southwardly by various islands and rocks in the river until they reached a large, flat rock, at the lower part of Watson's Island, which they marked with a ring and bolt and the letters H and C.

It is stated in a history of Maryland and Delaware, published in Philadelphia, by Joseph Scott, in 1807, that at that time there were fifty-three grist and merchant-mills in this county, and that Cecil Furnace, on Principio Creek, was in successful operation, and cannon, equal to any manufactured in the United States, were made there. There were, in addition to these, a forge at North East, one on the Octoraro, and one on the Big Elk; several rolling and slitting-mills* on the Elk Creeks, and a nail factory at Marley. There were also fifty saw-mills, four fulling-mills, and two oil-mills in the county. Elkton was described as "one of the greatest wheat markets in America, 250,000 bushels being sold in a year." This quantity may now seem too small to have warranted this assertion, but at this time the fertile fields of the Western States were an unexplored wilderness, and a great deal of the wheat produced in Lancaster County was sold in Elkton, and to the millers along the Elk Creeks, who found a market for their flour in Philadelphia. Strange as it may

* Mills for separating bars of iron lengthwise by water-power.

now seem, the assertion was probably quite true. It is stated in Scott's History that Elkton contained one hundred and twenty dwellings, and that about a thousand castor and wool hats were made there annually. And that Charlestown contained forty-five dwellings and two hundred and fifty inhabitants, and the two stores there sold annually £7,000 worth of goods, and that there was a market house in Charlestown, in which markets were held twice a week, and that six vessels sailed from that town weekly. The cabinet making and windsor chair making were also carried on extensively in Charlestown, and the author mentions as a notable fact that fifty pairs of boots and two thousand pairs of shoes were made there annually. The fact is that boots were very little used in this country at that time, only a few of the wealthy people being able to afford so expensive a luxury. Charlestown at this time was the most important town in the county and had reached the height of its prosperity. The people of the county were generally a free and easy set of "hale fellows well met," and were given to fun and frolic. On Saturday afternoons it was customary for the people of many neighborhoods to assemble at the country stores and taverns and indulge in playing at ball and "long bullets." Long bullets, though a very popular game at that time, has long since fallen into disuse, and very few persons now living know how it was played. It appears, however, to have consisted in throwing cannon-balls of several pounds weight, as far as possible, by two sets of players, those who scored the greatest distance being the winners of the game. The citizens of Charlestown indulged in this game to such an extent as to endanger the lives and limbs of pedestrians, and in 1802, the town commissioners passed the following ordinance :

"Whereas, the inhabitants of Charlestown have suffered, and have been likely to suffer, by playing long bullets on the streets of the aforesaid town. In consequence whereof the commissioners of Charlestown have agreed and passed into a law, that any person or persons who will be found

playing long bullets on the streets before mentioned shall pay a fine of five dollars with costs of suit if any for every such offense."

The village of Brick Meeting-house, then called Nottingham, contained eleven dwellings and ninety-two inhabitants, and the writer before referred to informs his readers that clocks and mathematical instruments were made there. He also states that the flour trade of Elkton had declined since the establishment of banks in Baltimore, and it was no doubt with a view of restoring it that the Elkton Bank was chartered. This bank was the first in the county, and was chartered in 1810. The business of the bank was transacted for a time in the old brick building two doors east of the Court-house. Twenty-one of the most influential citizens of the county were named in the act of incorporation, any five of whom were empowered to act as commissioners to put the bank in operation. The capital stock was to consist of \$300,000 money of the United States, divided into 6,000 shares of \$50 each, 2,000 shares being reserved to the State. The act of incorporation provided that all notes offered for discount should be made negotiable at the banking house, and when the drawer did not reside in Elkton, the notes were to be made payable at the house of some person in the town and notice given at said house that the note had become due was to be held and considered as binding on the drawer and endorsers as if it had been personally served upon each of them. This bank continued in operation until 1822, when it failed, owing to the fact that the millers for whose convenience it had been chartered, sold their flour on credit to certain merchants in Philadelphia, who unfortunately failed and the millers, being largely indebted to the bank, were unable to meet their engagements.

In 1806-7 the first line of packets between Baltimore and Philadelphia was established by William McDonald and Andrew Henderson. It consisted of four sloops which ran to Frenchtown, whence freight was carried by wagons to New Castle and thence to Philadelphia by water. Shortly after

this time another line was started between the two cities *via* Court-house Point and a point on the Delaware near Port Penn. The two lines were soon consolidated under the name of the Union Line, after which the line *via* Court-house Point was discontinued.

The large amount of business done by this line and the difficulty of transporting passengers and freight across the peninsula on the roads then in use, led to the organization of the Frenchtown and New Castle Turnpike Company, which was chartered in 1809. The act of incorporation contains many curious provisions, but is too long to be inserted here. It required the turnpike to be laid out one hundred feet wide, and further required that an artificial road, at least twenty feet wide, be constructed and well bedded with *wood, stone, gravel, clay*, or other proper and convenient materials, well compacted together a sufficient depth to secure a solid foundation for the same. By the terms of the charter, the turnpike was to be finished in three years, which was not done, and in 1813, the Legislature extended the time, having in the meantime made the important discovery that *clay* was not a proper and convenient material for bedding the road.

The schedule of tolls, which is lengthy, but moderate, contains many curious provisions, one of which is as follows: "For every cart or wagon, the *breadth of the wheels of which shall be more than seven inches, and not more than ten inches, or being of the breadth of seven inches, and shall roll more than ten inches*, two cents for each horse drawing the same; for every cart or wagon, the breadth of the wheels of which shall be *more than ten inches, and not exceeding twelve inches or being ten inches shall roll* more than fifteen*, one cent and a half for each horse drawing the same; and for any such carriage

* This seems to indicate that the fore and hind wheels were not intended to run in the same track, but were purposely made to run in different ones, for the purpose of smoothing and compacting the road, which had it been made of clay as at first contemplated, it frequently would have badly needed.

the breadth of the wheels of which shall be *more than twelve inches*, one cent for each horse drawing the same."

Whether wagons were made in those days with wheels, the rims of which were of the width of ten and twelve inches, has not been ascertained, but the Legislators of the State in 1809 seemed to be of the opinion that they might be made, and graduated the toll according to the width of the rim of the wheels that might be used on the turnpike.

CHAPTER XXIV.

War of 1812—British fleet in Chesapeake Bay—Camp of observation on Bull's mountain—General Thomas M. Foreman—Forts Hollingsworth and Defiance—Colonel William Garrett—Persons employed in building Fort Defiance—British land on Spesutia Island—Visit Turkey Point—Burn Frenchtown—Zeb. Furgusson—British fail to reach Elkton—Incidents and anecdotes—Burning of Havre de Grace—Poetical extract—Pillaging—British burn Principio Furnace—Destruction of Fredericktown and Georgetown—Brave defence of Colonel Veazey—List of militia under him—Treaty of Ghent—Rejoicing—Accident at Fort Hollingsworth.

It is not within the scope of this work to discuss the causes that led to the war of 1812, for that reason it suffices to say that the people of this country were divided in their opinions respecting the justice of it; and, while the Democratic party, then in power, was in favor of the war, the Federalists opposed it. Owing to this, party spirit was very bitter in Baltimore at that time, and manifested itself in riotous and disorderly conduct; but to the credit of the people of this county, though probably a majority of them belonged to the Federal party, no riotous demonstrations occurred within its limits.

At that time this country had not completed the first third of a century of its existence as an independent nation, and was but illy prepared to cope successfully with England, which then was probably the strongest nation on earth. In December, 1812, England declared the posts on the Chesapeake and Delaware bay under blockade; and in the February following, a large squadron under Admiral Cookburn entered the former and commenced preying upon our commerce, and plundering and pillaging the inhabitants along its shores. Their primary object was the capture

of Baltimore City, which was then, as now, the commercial emporium of the State. At this time many of the militia of the county were in that city, having been summoned there to aid in its defense. This left the county in great measure unprepared to repel the attacks of the British; but what few militia remained at home did the best they knew.

Early in the spring of that year they established a camp of observation on the summit of Bulls Mountain, and stationed a company of cavalry there to watch the enemy and give notice of their approach, by means of a line of military posts, extending from that place to Elkton. They also prepared to defend the county seat and the other towns along the navigable waters of the county, but owing to their want of experience and the scarcity of artillery, their efforts were of little avail when the threatened invasion took place.

General Thomas M. Foreman* was in command of this

* General Thomas Marsh Foreman was a native of Kent Island and a grandson of Thomas Marsh, who bequeathed him the plantation called "Rose Hill," in Sassafras Neck, upon which most of his life was spent. When the Revolutionary war commenced he was living on this plantation in charge of a tutor, and though only fifteen years of age, ran off and joined the American army. His friends being unable to induce him to return home, procured for him the position of aid-de-camp to General Sterling. During the occupation of Philadelphia by the British he was stationed at the Green Tree Tavern to prevent the Tory market people from communicating with the enemy. He was one of the representatives of Cecil County in the General Assembly in 1790 and 1800, and served under General Armstrong during the bombardment of Fort MCHENRY, in 1813. His remains are interred in the family burying ground at Rose Hill, and are covered with a marble slab, on which is the following epitaph: "To the memory of a gallant soldier of the Revolution, Major Thomas Marsh Foreman, eldest son of Ezekiel Augustine Foreman, who was born August 20th, 1758. At the age of fifteen he joined the army, and at Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, Brandywine, and Valley Forge bravely fought and endured. He died after a short illness, in a firm but humble hope of mercy through his Lord and Savior, on the 8th of Jan., 1845." There is evidently an error in the above epitaph. General Foreman was probably eighteen years of age when he joined the army.

district, but he seems to have been engaged elsewhere, and not to have directly taken part in the defense of this county, consequently the local leaders acted as they thought best, and without that concentrated effort best calculated to insure success. Instead of attempting to defend the mouths of the rivers, they erected forts at Fredericktown, Frenchtown, Charlestown, Elk Landing, and on the Elk River, about a mile below the latter place. The fort at Elk Landing was called "Fort Hollingsworth," in honor of the Hollingsworths, who owned the land on which it stood, and whose ancestors had taken such an active part in the Revolutionary war. It was a small earth-work or redoubt, mounted with a few pieces of small cannon, and stood a few yards southeast of the old stone house now standing near the wharf, and which at that time, and long afterwards, was used for a tavern to accommodate the passengers traveling between Baltimore and Philadelphia. Fort Defiance was about a mile further down, on the bluff on the northwest side of the river, at what is now called Fowlers Shore. It was a work of considerable size, and situated so as to command the channel of the river on two sides of it, the channel at that time being near the bluff west of the fort. Part of the east embankment may be seen at this time. In addition to the redoubt on the bluff, a smaller earth-work was erected about three hundred yards up the river, on the same side, and strong chains were fastened to posts firmly fixed on the opposite shores, to which chains extending to windlasses in the forts were fastened and submerged in the water, so that if the enemy's barges passed the lower fort the chains could be drawn *taut* at the top of the water, thus making the capture or destruction of the barges almost certain.

These works are believed to have been planned by Colonel William Garrett, who was in command of the force that erected them, as appears from the following list copied from the original :

“Returns of the Officers & Privates attending at Fort De-
fiance from the 29th* unto the 24th May, 1813.

	Days.		Days.
John Davidson, Captain,	8	Jacob Tyson, Jr.,	18
Saml. Cowden, Leftent., of		John Wirt,	7
Cap. Davidson's Co.,	18	Benjamin Bowen,	18
John Garrett, Left.,	16	James Scott,	18
Joseph Steel, Ensign.,	14	Christopher McAlister,	2
Saml. Williamson, Cap.,	10	Saml. Short,	2
John Short, Left.,	22	Saml. Smith,	14
Saml. Thompson, Sargt. Maj.,	26	Abraham Boreland,	10
Weston George, Sargt. & Gunr.,	26	Blaney Edmunson,	16
John E. Jones, Seargnt,	26	Edward Graves,	10
John Scott, (Blacksmith) Sergt.,	19	Constant Trivit,	16
William Mackey, Serg't.,	26	Geo. Enos,	4
Jas. Philips, Commisary,	22	John Payne,	3
James Clifton, Gunner,	26	Barney Graves,	17
Aron Stout, Gunner,	18	George Holmes,	10
Saml. Drennen, Artilerist,	26	Peter Founce,	10
Saml. Work, do	23	John Ginn,	2
Saml. Lowery, do	25	Ephriam Morrison,	2
Robert Hemphill, do	26	Moses Scott,	11
James Perry, do	26	Andrew P. Armstrong,	13
Hugh McNelly, do	26	Saml. Taylor,	19
Hugh Rogers, do	26	Saml. Hayes,	12
James Ditoway, do	19	James Worth,	25
John Foster, do	21	Charles Conley,	20
Thomas Bayland, do	26	James McGregor,	18
Zebulin McDonald, do	25	Robert Orr,	24
George McDonald, do	26	William Manfield,	3
John Maloney, do	26	Thos. Whitesides,	5
John Lowery, do	13	James Crawford,	11
Thomas Garrett, Sr.,	2	John Ricketts,	3
John Hays,	19	Jacob Pluck,	13
Thomas Furguson,	9	Thomas Wilson,	24
Nicholas Price,	13	Elijah Davis,	10
Simon Hutton,	18	Saml. Wilson,	4
Thomas Davis,	18	Archibald Wood,	10
John Maxfield,	14	Saml. Francis,	4
Michael McNamee,	7	Miles Standish, †	14
William Thornton,	7	John Stephens,	17

* The 29th of April is probably meant.

† A lineal descendant of Captain Miles Standish of New England.

	Days.		Days.
James Hutcheson,	3	Bailey Boiles,	4
Thomas McIntire,	12	Geo. Jameson,	3
William Dysart,	15	John Clark,	4
James McDonald,	7	William Johnston,	12
William Wilson,	26	Campbell Burk,	15
James Walker,	4	Robert McCrey,	20
James Smith,	4	William Shields,	18
David Mackey,	8	Edmund Burk,	4
Thomas Conn.	3	Augustine Stoops,	5
James Cummings,	20	David Short,	24
Alexander Alexander,	6	William Pennington,	5
Joseph Wolleston,	6	George Foster,	1
Saml. Johnston,*	5	Thomas Bryson,	1
Thomas Russel,	19	Frederick Slagle,	20
James Patton,	10	Joseph Lorrett,	4
William Kerr,	16	William Mainley,	6
John Borelin,	7	James Currier,	5
William Lowery,	2	John Williamson,	3
Thomas Wallace,	19	Elijah Janney,	21
Elijah Hill,	13	Daniel McAuley,	21
Joseph Alexander,	20	Nathan Owens,	9
Robert Christy,	15	Sampson Lumb,	6
William Osmond,	13	Jonathan Short,	5
Hugh Gay,	11	Thomas Wingate,	12
Robert Watson,	10	Joseph Holt,	1
Thos. Garrett, Jr.,	20	Jesse Foster,	8
William Crosson,	15	Nathan Foster,	1
John Scott, (Shoemaker),	5	James Porter,	3
Samuel Shaw,	7	John Simpers,	12
Charles Pierson,	5	John McAuley,	3
Arthur Morrison,	5	Andrew Riggs,	5
James McAuley,	13	John Johnston,	3
Joseph Robeson,	3	Nicholas Hyland, <i>major</i>	4
Jonathan Osmond,	6	James Young,	10
Archibald Dysart,	2	Gilbert Smith,	7
Levi Dysart,	4	Ebenezer Alden, (Cook),†	26
John Dysart,	3	Isaac Philips,	24
Eli Derixon,	8		

* Granduncle of the author referred to on page 330, in connection with death of British officer at Gilpins Bridge.

† A lineal descendant of John Alden, who came over with the Pilgrims in the Mayflower.

Agreeable to the direction of Major Armstrong, I have made out as correct a return as I am possessed of, of the officers, artilerists, and private's time up to the present day.

WILLIAM GARRETT, CAPT.

Fort Defiance, May 24, 1813.

James Sewell, Major 2d Batt. 49 R. M. M."

It is stated in a note appended to this list, that many of the men deserted after serving a few days. There is reason, however, to believe that this is not *strictly true*; and that those who left the fort were volunteers, as some of them are known to have been from Pennsylvania.

On the 28th of April 1813, a squadron of twelve barges, manned with about four hundred volunteers, picked seamen, three hundred marines, commanded by Admiral Cockburn, landed upon Spesutia Island, where they secured some supplies of vegetables, poultry, etc., for which they paid the owners. On the same day, or the following one, they visited Turkey Point, where they endeavored to make friends with the people, and offered to pay for some provisions they obtained. The officer in command tried to make up with the daughter of the lady who lived in the farm house on the Turkey Point farm. She was a bright little girl of ten or twelve years of age, and spurned his offers of friendship with scorn and contempt. The officer remarked to her mother that the child knew he was her enemy.

Proceeding up the Elk River, the British met with no resistance until they reached Welsh Point, where Major William Boulden was stationed with a small squad of militia. He made a brave but ineffectual effort to intercept their advance, but having no artillery, it was useless, and they went on up the river and reached Frenchtown on the 29th of April. The militia in the fort at that place, which was a small log structure mounted with three four-pounders, thinking their number too small to successfully resist the

enemy, retired to Elkton; but a few stage drivers and others, manned the guns and made a spirited resistance while their ammunition lasted, which was not long, when the fort was captured, and the town, which consisted of two warehouses, a tavern, two or three dwelling-houses, a few stables and outhouses, were burned, as were also two vessels that were moored in the river, involving a loss of twenty or thirty thousand dollars.*

Having completed the destruction of Frenchtown, the British tried to ascend the river to Elkton, but were fired upon by the garrison in Fort Defiance, and driven back; whereupon they landed at White Hall, then owned and occupied by Frisby Henderson, Esq., who they tried to induce to show them the road to Elkton, but failing in this, they took one of his female slaves with them, and tried to bribe her to act as their guide. She took them to Cedar Point, opposite Fort Hollingsworth, then in command of Captain Henry Bennett, who opened fire upon them and they made a hasty retreat, and soon afterwards embarked on their barges. Except a few of the British, who are said to have been killed at Frenchtown, no others were injured during this raid.

The barges used by the British are described by those who saw them, as about thirty feet long, with decks extending only a short distance from either side, leaving an opening in the middle which extended nearly from bow to stern, so that the oarsmen could stand on the bottom of the boat when rowing. The most of them had a small cannon or two on board of them, which were called swivel guns.

* A singularly ill-natured and quarrelsome man, called Zeb. Fergusson, is said to have piloted the British from Turkey Point to Frenchtown. He certainly was with the British, who he said captured him at Turkey Point, but those who knew him best believed he had joined them voluntarily, in order to gratify his hatred towards all mankind. He was imprisoned for a while, but nothing could be proved against him, and he was discharged.

These guns were mounted in such a manner that they could be turned around and fired in any direction.

Captain Isaac Lort of Elk Neck, at this time, was the owner and commander of a schooner called the *Annon Ruth*, and just previous to the entrance of the British into Elk River, had returned from Baltimore in his schooner. He found a vessel loaded with flour, aground near the mouth of Back Creek, the captain of which besought him to load his schooner with the flour and take it up the river, he being apprehensive that the British would destroy it. Captain Lort did so, and on his return, found the British in possession of the vessel. In order to save his schooner he ran her aground, and would have scuttled and sunk her, but he had lost his axe. He took off her sails and carried them to a place of safety and repaired to his home. The British on their return from Frenchtown, burned both the vessel and the *Annon Ruth*. The latter was burned at Cazier's shore, which is nearly opposite Welsh Point. The British also captured the sloop *Morning Star* of North East, and took her away with them. The *Morning Star* was built at North East a few years before, and some years after the war was seen in Baltimore. She had been converted into a schooner, and then hailed from Halifax, Nova Scotia.

On their return, after burning Frenchtown, the enemy stopped at the fishery of Jacob Hyland on Elk River, and carried away about a hundred barrels of shad and herring that were stored in the fish house. They also went up the Bohemia River and plundered the fish houses along its banks.

Just before the burning of Frenchtown, the citizens of Elkton and the surrounding country were much frightened by a false alarm. Somehow the story got in circulation that the British had taken Frenchtown and the people as far north as the State of Pennsylvania were very much excited and alarmed. The story originated from the fact that the father of Francis A. Ellis, of Elkton, who, at that time,

lived on Turner's creek, which is the outlet for the country lying between Still Pond and Galena, and who had two vessels engaged in carrying wheat from there to Elkton, became anxious to know where his vessels were, and, thinking they might be found in Elk River, came up in a large row-boat after night to look for them. Some persons at Frenchtown heard the noise of the oars in the stillness of the night and thinking it was the noise of the British barges raised the alarm. An Irishman, who lived at Turkeytown,* heard the story which had not lost anything when it reached that place, and started out to give the alarm, or as the old lady who told the author of the occurrence, said, "to alarm the women and children." He came to the old lady's house (her husband was absent on military duty) and told her "there were fifteen hundred British and Indians at Frenchtown and they spared neither women nor children." He appeared to be frightened nearly to death, and asked her if she had "the color of whisky about her house." Whisky was considered one of the necessaries of life in those days and the old lady gave him some, which revived his drooping spirits, and he rode away to spread the alarm and terrify others. This man was in partnership with an Englishman in a woolen factory at Dublin, now Strahorn's mill, on Big Elk Creek, near the State line, and in order to save the machinery in the factory from destruction, they hid it in the laural bank along the creek. They hid some of it so well that they did not find it until the war was over, when it was rotten and worthless.

Both prior and subsequent to this time, much wheat was hauled from Lancaster and made into flour at the mills in the vicinity of Elkton. Owing to this traffic the people of Lancaster took great interest in the welfare of their friends in Elkton, and some time in the spring of 1813 sent two companies of soldiers to aid in its defense. Ex-President

* Now called Cowantown.

James Buchannan, then a young man, was an officer in one of these companies, which for a time were quartered in a house that stood in the eastern part of the new cemetery.

The Directors of the Elkton Bank thought it best, in view of the raid, to remove the specie from the bank to a place of safety, and so they ostensibly loaded a wagon with it, and put the wagon, which was drawn by six or eight horses, in charge of a military escort composed of a number of soldiers, mounted and on foot, and made believe they were transporting the specie to Lancaster. This procession made quite an excitement in the country through which it passed, but was only a ruse on the part of the officers of the bank, designed to mislead the British and divert them from the real place of concealment. Some time before the wagon and its escort went from Elkton to Lancaster, Levi Tyson, a director of the bank and the owner of a grist-mill on the Big Elk, quietly went down to Elkton one evening with his team and two negro men, and brought the specie home with him that night and placed the chest which contained it under his bed, where it remained until the danger was over. The colored men were told that the chest contained bullets to be used if the British made a raid on Mr. Tyson's mill.

Mr. Tyson often related the story of this removal with much satisfaction, and thought it a good joke. The ostensible removal of the specie to Lancaster was probably made with the view of adding to the reputation of the bank by making the impression upon the minds of the community of its sound financial condition and ability to redeem its notes, many of which were in circulation. And probably the cream of the joke was to be found in the fact that the creditors of the bank were quite as much fooled as the British would have been had they attempted to pillage the bank.

On the 3d of May, which was three days after the burning of Frenchtown, the British, who were about ten miles distant, were discovered by the garrison of the fort at Havre de Grace, who fired one of the guns of their battery. This

the British afterwards said they regarded as a challenge. They answered it by firing a gun on one of their vessels and set sail for the town. Those in charge of the fort (except an Irishman called John O'Neil, who made a brave resistance and fired one of the cannons at the enemy until he was wounded by the recoil of the gun), made an inglorious retreat as soon as the enemy landed, and they at once commenced to plunder the town and then burned it. Havre de Grace was a town of considerable size and some importance, and its wanton destruction caused great excitement and alarm among the inhabitants of this county, which is set forth in the following extract from "THE LAY OF THE SCOTTISH FIDDLE, A TALE OF HAVRE DE GRACE," a curious poem purporting to have been written by Walter Scott, but which bears evidence of having been written by a student of Princeton College, whose name has not been ascertained.

"The distant peasant hears the sound,
And starting with elastic bound,
Hies to the mountain's brightening head,
And sees the fiery ruin spread,
And marks the red and angry glare
Of water, sky, and earth, and air,
Seem'd Susquehanna's wave on fire,
And red with conflagration dire.
The spreading bays ensanguined flood,
Seem'd stained with tint of human blood,
O'er Cecil County, far and wide,
Each tree, and rock, and stream was spied;
And distant windows brightly gleam'd,
As if the setting sun had beam'd,
The Elkton burgher raised his head
To see what made the sky so red,
From Ararat the Falcon* sail'd,
The owl at lonely distance wail'd."

"After the deeds of destruction were over," says an eyewitness of the burning of Havre de Grace, "and the enemy

* The writer alludes to George Talbot's falcons, a pair of which, tradition saith, remained at Mount Ararat many years after he left this county. See page 129, ante.

had rendered himself conspicuous on the rolls of infamy, he proceeded up the river and within one mile of Stafford Mills burned a warehouse belonging to Mr. John Stump." This warehouse was located where the village of Lapidum now stands. While there they contemplated crossing the river to Port Deposit. But the citizens of that town had erected a small fortification not far from where the Odd Fellow's Hall is now located, and they were deterred from crossing by a prisoner they had captured, who told them there was a company of riflemen in the fort, "each of whom could put a bullet in their eye at the distance of a hundred yards."

On returning to Havre de Grace, the British made a raid upon Charlestown, many of the inhabitants of which, anticipating their arrival, had removed to temporary habitations in the barrens, near Foys Hill, and taken their goods with them. Owing to this, and to the fact that the rain had washed down the earthworks that had been erected in the town, the enemy met with no opposition, and committed no depredations there. They also visited Principio Furnace, which at that time was one of the most important manufactories of cannon in this country, and burned it, and spiked the cannon they found there, and burned a mill in the neighborhood, and the bridge over the Principio Creek. Having completed their work of destruction in the upper part of the county, they re-visited Spesutia Island, where they had collected a quantity of cattle, sheep, and calves, during their first visit; for which they paid the owners, and took on board their vessels.

On the 5th of May, their squadron was concentrated off the mouth of Sassafra River, and the next day a detachment of about five hundred of them in fifteen large barges, and three smaller boats, ascended that river, and burned Fredericktown and Georgetown.

The ascent of the Sassafra River by the British barges is said by those who witnessed it, among whom was the late John E. Thomas of Elkton, to have been the most beautiful sight they ever saw.

The soldiers were clad in scarlet uniforms, which added much to the beautiful appearance of the squadron. There were a large number of barges, which formed a line four abreast, and several hundred yards long. A barge containing the admiral, then passed along one side of the line, and crossed ahead of the front tier of boats, and waited until the rear came up, thus bringing all the squadron under review.

Having been informed of the concentration of the fleet at the mouth of the river, Colonel T. W. Veasey, who was in command of the militia at Fredericktown, had them under arms by four o'clock on the morning of the 4th of May, and shortly after a signal was made by his scouts, four miles down the river, that the British were approaching. By six o'clock they were in sight of the town. About this time they halted and the admiral sent two colored men to the fort with a verbal message that if the militia would not fire on him he would not burn anything but the storehouses and vessels. To this Colonel Veasey paid no attention, and the British continuing to advance soon came in range of the cannon, when the skirmish began by the Americans opening fire with it, but having only two rounds of cartridge, were obliged to desist when they were expended. The battle from this point is well described by an anonymous writer of that time a part of whose narrative is as follows:

“The enemy still approaching gave three cheers, which was returned by the militia, and directly after, a volley from their small arms. The fire was immediately returned by the enemy, by a general discharge of grape, cannister, slugs, rockets, and musketry, which made such a terrible noise that one-half of the men shamefully ran, and could not be rallied again. Whether it was from their political aversion to the present war, their dislike of shedding blood, or actually thro' fear, I cannot determine; but so it was that not more than one-half of the original number remained to contend against the whole force of the enemy. This gallant little band resisted for near half an hour, in spite of the

incessant fire of the enemy, until they were in danger of being surrounded, when they retreated in safety with the loss of but one man wounded. The enemy threw several rockets in the village, and reduced the whole place to ashes, except two or three houses, saved by the entreaties of the women. Not satisfied with this destruction, they extended their ravages to the neighboring farm-houses, several of which were burned quite down."

The loss of the British in this skirmish was not ascertained, but was supposed to have amounted to ten or fifteen killed and wounded. After the destruction of Fredericktown, the enemy went over to Georgetown, nearly all of which they destroyed. The conduct of the British soldiers engaged in this raid, both before and after the destruction of the villages, was denounced in very severe terms by the writer before quoted from, who states "that they so far descended in petty pilfering as to rob the black ferry-man, FRIDAY, of his all and his pig, which lived with him in his hut." They even went so far as to take the ear-rings from the ears of one of the ladies in Georgetown, and to rob others of their clothing.

Colonel Veazey was much praised for his gallant defense of Fredericktown. The names of the militia who remained in the fort with him are as follows :

Samuel Wroth,
D. F. Heath,
Moses Cannon,
Nicholas Franks,
John W. Etherington,
Joshua Ward,
Dormer Oaks,
John Etherington,
John V. Price,
Elias See,
John T. Veazey,
David Paget,
Tylus Robinson,
P. Biddle,

James Darley,
James Clayton,
R. C. Lusby (seargt.),
John Henderson (lieut.),
James Allen (capt.),
John Duffy,
Samuel P. Pennington,
H. E. Coalman (seargt. mate),
Samuel Dixon,
William Roberts,
Francis Roch,
William MacKey,
George Stanly,
William Ford,

James Council,
Joseph Greenwood,
Joshua Hovington,
Joseph Davis (of Morris),

Joseph Etherington,
Edward Lister,
— Reynolds.

Having accomplished the destruction of these villages, the enemy returned to their fleet in the Chesapeake, and being apprehensive of the arrival of a French fleet, soon afterwards made their way to the southern part of the bay. From this time until after the battle at North Point, in September, 1814, the British infested the waters of the bay, and the people of this county were continually in dread of another raid. Consequently when the news of the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Ghent, reached here in February, 1815, it was received with great joy, and every manifestation of delight.

The court was in session at Elkton when the news reached that place, and so great was the joy of the people, that it immediately adjourned, and every one that was able repaired to Fort Hollingsworth to celebrate the auspicious event. The river was frozen over at the time, and those who took charge of the guns placed a barrel on the ice some distance down the river, and commenced firing at it with shot. The late judge, Ezekiel F. Chambers, then a young man and State's Attorney for this county, had charge of one of the guns. After a few shots had been fired, some one placed a frozen clod in the muzzle of his gun which caused it to explode, by which the judge was quite seriously hurt. A little girl is said to have been looking out of one of the windows of the old stone house, before referred to, who narrowly escaped being struck by a piece of the bursted gun, which passed through the window alongside of her. This accident terminated the rejoicings for that day, but they were renewed a few days afterwards, by the patriotic people of the town, who had a grand feast, at which they roasted an ox which they had decorated and driven through the streets with a board

placed on his horns, containing the following verse, said to have been composed by George Rickett's of Elkton :

“ My horns, my hide, I freely give,
My tallow and my lights,
And all that is within me too,
For free trade and sailors' rights.”

CHAPTER XXV.

First steamboats on the Elk River—Lines of transportation—Frenchtown and New Castle Railroad Company—Construction of Frenchtown and New Castle Railroad—First locomotives and cars—Telegraphing—The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad—Riot at Charles-town—Sale of Frenchtown and New Castle Railroad.

INASMUCH as the introduction of steamboats upon the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries effected a great revolution in the method of transportation of passengers and freight, and a corresponding change in the prosperity of the people in that part of this county through which passed the lines of transit between the cities of the North and South, the history of the county would be incomplete without some reference to that subject. On the 21st of June, 1813, less than two months after the British had burned Frenchtown, the first steamboat that had ever floated on the Chesapeake Bay, or its tributaries made her first trip from Baltimore to that place. This boat was called the *Chesapeake*. She was built in Baltimore, by William Flanigan, under the supervision of Edward Trippe, for the Union Line which has been mentioned in a previous chapter. She is thus described in a paper in possession of the Maryland Historical Society. When completed her length was one hundred and thirty feet, width twenty feet, and depth of hold seven feet. Her wheels ten feet in diameter, and five in depth. Her engine was a cross-head, which revolved a cogwheel that worked in teeth upon the shaft, which was of cast-iron. To the engine a flywheel was connected to enable it to pass its centre. The smoke-stack was amidships, behind the engine. Extending about twenty feet, and raised two feet above the deck, was the boiler. She had a mast

forward, with a spar and sail, which was spread whenever the wind was fair. She made her first trip from Baltimore to Frenchtown and back, one hundred and forty miles, in twenty-four hours. The appliances for her navigation were simple and crude. A pilot stood at the bow who called out the course to a man amidships, and he to the helmsman. There were no bells to signal the engine, but the captain conveyed his commands by word of mouth or by stamping his heels on the woodwork over the engine. The boat had been running six months when the engineer accidentally found out he could reverse the engine and back her.

In July, 1815, the steamboat *Eagle*, came to Baltimore from the Delaware, and was secured by a rival line owned by Messrs. Briscoe and Partridge, for the run to Elk Landing. This line from Baltimore to Philadelphia being *via* Elkton and Wilmington.

In 1816, two new steamboats, the *George Washington* and *Charles Carroll* were built by the Union Line.

These lines continued in operation for some years, except when navigation was closed by the ice. Then the passengers and mail were carried in stages *via* Perryville and Elkton. During this time Elkton and Frenchtown were places of much more importance, in a business point of view, than they are now, and the farmers in their vicinity derived much benefit from the sale of their surplus horses and grain to the proprietors of the stage lines and the sale of marketing to the hotel keepers for the use of passengers.

The increase of travel on these lines and the want of better facilities for transportation across the peninsula, led to the organization of the Frenchtown and New Castle Railroad Company. This railroad was about seventeen miles long, and as its name indicates, was located between Frenchtown, on Elk River, and New Castle, on the Delaware. It was among the first railroads built in this country, and was the very first upon which steam power was applied to the transportation of passengers, though it was built and used for horse-power for

two years after it was finished. The company was chartered by the Legislature of Maryland at the session of 1827-8, with a capital stock of \$200,000. There seems to have been some doubts of the success of the new enterprise, for the charter of the railroad company contained a provision intended to compel the company to keep open a turnpike, twenty feet wide, alongside of the railroad. Notwithstanding this, the railroad was built a considerable distance south of the turnpike, on a more practicable route. The tolls on the railroad were not to exceed three cents per ton per mile on freight, and the fare for the transportation of passengers was not to exceed twenty-five cents per passenger for the whole distance, and twelve and a half cents for baggage not exceeding one hundred pounds.

The railroad was not finished until 1831. It was of very peculiar construction, and were it now extant, would be a great curiosity. The rails were placed about the same distance apart as in modern roads, but instead of being laid upon wooden sleepers, as the rails of modern roads are, they were placed upon blocks of stone ten or twelve inches square. These stones had holes drilled in them, in which a wooden plug was inserted, and upon them were laid wooden rails about six inches square and ten or twelve feet long, which were fastened to the stones by means of a piece of flat iron shaped like the letter L, which was fastened to the stone by means of a spike driven into the wooden plug through a hole in one extremity of the iron, and another spike driven into a wooden rail through another hole at the other extremity. The stones were placed about three feet apart, and each stone had two of these iron attachments, one on each side of the rail. Bars of flat iron, like tire, were spiked on top of the wooden rails, and this, such as it was, completed the structure. The great defect in the road was the want of something to keep the rails from spreading apart, and it was soon discovered that the only way to remedy this was to resort to the use of ties extending from one rail to the other, and to which both rails were fastened, as in modern roads.

After the introduction of steam-power upon the road in 1833, it had to be rebuilt, the iron rails then used were hollow and shaped like two capital L's, with the horizontal part of one of them reversed and the upper parts of the two letters joined together (└┐). These rails were fastened to the wooden sleepers by spikes driven through holes in the flange of the rail. Horse-power was used on this road for about two years after it was completed. One horse was attached to each car and the horses were changed at Glasgow and the Bear, which were the names of the two stations on the road. The first locomotive steam-engine used on the road was made in England. It was called the "Delaware," and was put on the road about 1833. After running about a year it was rebuilt and called the "Phoenix."

The person employed to put this engine together, after it arrived at New Castle, had a building erected for the purpose, and after spending some weeks in it, the agents of the company learned that he was making a model of each part of the locomotive. Whether they let him complete the work of making an exact model of each separate piece, has not been ascertained; but in the fullness of time he got it put together and started for Frenchtown. How anxious those interested in the success of the experiment must have been. They had procured this locomotive at great expense, and had been at much trouble in getting it put together; but their trouble was only just begun—they had made no provision to supply the screeching and panting monster with water, and had to serve it with this indispensable fluid, much after the manner of watering a horse, from the springs and wells along the road. It was several days making the first trip.

Some of the locomotives afterwards used on this road were built in New Castle: They were poorly constructed and would be considered of but little use at the present time; but poor as they were, they were an improvement upon horse-power. There were no heavy grades on the road, and

they made the trip from river to river in about an hour, and could have made it much quicker, but were limited to that time for fear of accidents if they went faster. The cars first used on this road were quite as different from those in use at present as the locomotives. The doors were at the sides of the cars, and each car had several of them. They would hold ten or twelve persons, and were not in the early days of the road accompanied by a conductor, the captains and clerks of the steamboats at either end taking the tickets and attending to this part of the business of the road.

The business of the road began to decline rapidly after the construction of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, and the two companies, by mutual consent, were united, the business on both lines being transacted under the name of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Company. This company continued a line of steamboats from Baltimore to Frenchtown, and also ran the cars from the latter place to New Castle, as late as 1853.

The railroad from Wilmington to New Castle was completed in 1854, and during that season the company continued to operate the old road and carried passengers to Wilmington. But only a few passengers going to Cape May patronized the road, and the company discontinued its use after that time. Much of the bed of the Frenchtown and New Castle Railroad is now under cultivation. When the company discontinued its use and took up the rails, the farmers resumed the use of their land, and grass and the waving grain took the place of the iron track of the iron-horse, and the quiet of agricultural pursuits and occupations succeeded the noisy activity and bustle incident to the operation of this great national thoroughfare. Strange and crude as this first attempt at locomotion by the use of steam-power was, as compared with the roads and locomotives now in use, the efforts of this company to transmit intelligence by means of signals along the line of the road, were stranger still.

The first rude attempts at telegraphing were by means of black and white flags, which the operators raised upon poles twenty-five or thirty feet high. There were six of these poles or stations along the road, and when the train started from either end of it the operator or flagman at the station next to and in sight of the moving train hoisted a white flag, and so did all the others along the road. The white flags indicated that the train had started, and might be expected to arrive in due time. If the locomotive failed to move, which it sometimes did, the operator hoisted a black flag. Other positions and combinations of the flags indicated other things, and as it was only the work of a moment to raise the flags, intelligence could be transmitted from one end of the road to the other in the space of two minutes. At New Castle, instead of flags, frames about the size of peach baskets, covered with white and black muslin, were hoisted on the court-house steeple, and could be seen for a long distance. It was the duty of the telegraphic operators to pass along the track after each train and fasten down the tire that was used on the top of the wooden-sills that were at first used in the construction of the road. The spikes nearest the ends of these bars would get loose sometimes, and the iron bars had an ugly fashion of elevating themselves and causing trouble to the train. These erections of the ends of the bars were called snake's heads, which, at a distance, they very strongly resembled.

The company, in its palmy and prosperous days, ran two trains each way daily. Pine wood was used exclusively on the steamboats and locomotives. This wood was obtained from the lower counties of the Eastern Shore, and many small vessels were employed in transporting it to Frenchtown. As many as twenty-five or thirty of these vessels were often there at the same time; this, with the arrival and departure of two steamboats daily, made the town a place of business and importance.

The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company is the outgrowth of several local companies. The

Baltimore and Port Deposit Railroad Company was chartered by the Legislature of Maryland, March 5th, 1832, and organized the next year, for the purpose of building a railroad from Baltimore to Port Deposit. The Delaware and Maryland Railroad Company was chartered by the same body, on the 14th of March of the same year, for the purpose of building a railroad from some point on the Delaware and Maryland State line to Port Deposit, or some other point on the Susquehanna River. The latter company was not organized until April 18th, 1835, soon after which work was commenced upon this road and continued until April, 1836, at which time this company united with the Wilmington and Susquehanna Railroad Company, which had been chartered by the Legislature of Delaware, in 1832, for the purpose of making a railroad from the Pennsylvania State line, through Wilmington towards the Susquehanna River to the Maryland line. It was the original intention of the Wilmington and Susquehanna Company to terminate their road at Charlestown, but the Baltimore and Port Deposit Company having changed the eastern terminus of their road to Havre de Grace, the other company continued their road to Perryville. The Legislature of Pennsylvania having chartered the Philadelphia and Delaware County Railroad Company in 1831, that company organized in 1835, and surveyed a route for a road from Philadelphia to the State line. In January, 1836, this company having occasion to apply to the Legislature of Pennsylvania for power to increase their capital, the title of the corporation was changed to the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company. This company soon afterwards obtained the right of way from the State line to Wilmington from the Delaware and Maryland Company, and the road from Philadelphia to Wilmington was opened on the 15th of January, 1838. In the meantime, the road from Wilmington to Perryville had been opened on the 4th of July, 1837, and the road from Baltimore to Havre de Grace two days afterwards.

Although there was now but one line of road, it was the property of three companies: The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, from Philadelphia to Wilmington; the Wilmington and Susquehanna Railroad, from Wilmington to Susquehanna River; and the Baltimore and Port Deposit Railroad, from that river to Baltimore. These companies were consolidated in February, 1838, under the name of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company.

Although the road was now in a condition for use, it was, as compared with modern roads, very incomplete. The track was constructed of iron bars nailed upon wooden string pieces called *mud sills** which rested on the ground, and consequently were continually getting out of position. It was not until after the lapse of some years that this defect was remedied by the introduction of wooden ties.

In May, 1836, a large number of Irish laborers who were employed in grading the roadbed near Charlestown, attended the fair at that place, and having imbibed freely of whisky, engaged in an old-fashioned Irish riot, which from the accounts given of it was the most bloody that ever occurred in this county. During the progress of the riot, the infuriated and drunken Irishmen made an attack upon a dwelling-house, in which some of the citizens had taken refuge, whereupon, the inmates baracaded the doors and having some firearms, made a brave defense. It is said that after their shot was exhausted, the women cut their pewter spoons into slugs which were used with terrible effect. The rioters were finally driven away from the town, and the next day the sheriff summoned a military company called the Cecil Guards, composed of the citizens of Elkton, to his aid, and arrested some twenty-five or thirty of the rioters. Seven of them were indicted for riot, and tried at the October term of court, in 1836. Two of them were convicted

* This name was afterwards used by certain southern politicians to designate the lowest stratum of northern society.

and sentenced to pay a fine of one dollar each, and be imprisoned in the county jail for two years. Being unable to pay the fine, and having no friends, they were detained in jail until the sheriff's charges for boarding them became so large that the county commissioners, in order to get rid of them, paid the fine from their private purses, and the prisoners were discharged.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Clergy of the Established Church—Their powers and duties—They incur the displeasure of the common people—What Rev. William Duke says of them—Presbyterian clergymen—Spiritual condition of the people—Introduction of Methodism—First Methodist society—Character of the early Methodist preachers—Rev. Francis Asbury visits Bohemia Manor—He refuses to take the oath of allegiance—Methodists favor the royal cause—Retrospective glance at the history of the Episcopal Church—North Elk parish—Rev. John Thompson—Rev. Joseph Coudon—St. Augustine parish—Progress of Methodism—Cecil circuit—Hart's meeting house—First Methodist meeting-house at North East—First parsonage—Bethel meeting house—Goshen—Revival at Bethel—North Sassafras and St. Augustine parishes—Richard Bassett joins the Methodists—Rev. Henry Lyon Davis—Death of Rev. Joseph Coudon—Rev. William Duke—His life and labors—Methodism supplants Episcopacy—First Methodist society at Elkton—Methodism and Presbyterianism at Charlestown—Hopewell and Asbury—Methodist Protestant churches.

THE clergy of the established church with very few exceptions, adhered to the Royal cause during the long controversy between the mother country and the colonies, which preceded the Revolutionary war. This was natural, because their livings depended upon their loyalty. With the exception of a few self-denying and godly missionaries who labored under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, they had always been the pampered favorites of the executive, who had foisted them, in many cases, upon an unwilling people. For nearly a century before the commencement of the Revolutionary war, an indiscriminate poll-tax had been levied for their support. Nor was this all that tended to make them unpopular and lessened their influence among their parishioners. By the act of 1763, the vestries, of which the clergymen were *ex officio*

members, were enjoined to nominate, annually, four suitable persons, in each of the large parishes, for inspectors of tobacco. Of this number, two were to be selected by the executive, and, when once commissioned, could be retained in office as long as was mutually agreeable to themselves and the vestry.

The reason for vesting this power in the vestries may be found in the fact that the clergy were to be paid by means of promissary notes, issued by the inspectors for the value of the tobacco in their charge, and payable by them upon demand. By this act, the inspectors became, to some extent, the bankers of the province; and as their continuance in office depended upon the vestries, the lay members of which were generally the intimate friends and companions of the clergymen, it is easy to see that the latter were invested with a power and influence in secular affairs which was incompatible with the proper discharge of the duties of the clerical office.

In 1756 when it was thought necessary to levy a *per-capita* tax on the bachelors in the province, in order to defray the expense incurred in prosecuting the French and Indian war, the vestries had been made the agents to effect its assessment. This mixing up of spiritual and temporal things was not calculated to increase the godliness of the clergy, or to strengthen their allegiance to the Prince of Peace, under whose banner they were ostensibly enlisted, but whose teaching, there is reason to believe, many of them disregarded, choosing rather to be votaries of the race-course or to follow a pack of hounds than to perform the irksome duties of the closet and the chancel. The clergy, until after the Revolutionary war, had never been amenable to any episcopal authority on this side of the Atlantic ocean; and it is more than could have been reasonably expected, under all the circumstances, that they should have developed a high degree of piety or experimental religion. Anderson, in his history of the Church of England, says that the acts of the

Colonial Legislature had provoked the opposition of all opposed to a religious establishment in Maryland, as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that one of the crying evils, under which the church labored, was the appointment of unworthy clergymen. Previous to 1720 (when the clergy were laboring under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and were subject to the Bishop of London) the *better part* of them wished a bishop for the colony, but failed to get one appointed, after many trials.

From a very early period in the history of the colony until the beginning of the Revolutionary war, the testamentary law of the province was similar, if not identical, with that of the mother country, which gave the ecclesiastical courts the sole authority to settle the estates of deceased persons. The chief officers of this court in Maryland, were called commissaries. From the nature of the case, they of necessity were always clergymen; and being in no way amenable to the people, as most of the other clergy were, they almost invariably incurred their displeasure and opposition by the zeal they manifested in behalf of the church and the aristocracy.

In 1737, which was the time of the Border war, a petition from the commissary and clergy of the province was presented to the King in council, stating among other things that the Quakers and other sectaries were dissatisfied with the established church, and that they had induced some of the inhabitants of Maryland to transfer the acknowledgment of the right of their lands from Maryland to Pennsylvania. They therefore prayed that a regular clergy might be encouraged to reside on the *borders* and in the province of Pennsylvania, in order to overawe the sectaries and prevent a recurrence of this trouble. Nothing came of the petition, and the Quakers and Presbyterians of Nottingham and elsewhere on the borders were not troubled with ministers of the establishment to awe them into subjection,

Rev. Mr. Henderson was the first signer of the petition. He is believed to have been commissary at this time.

The act of 1763, which fixed the compensation of the civil officers, and the poll-tax for the support of the clergy expired by limitation in 1766, and the feeling between the people and the proprietary government not being good, a controversy arose about how certain of the civil officers and the clergy were to be paid. The clergy in this case, as in every other, took the side of the government; and inasmuch as a large majority of the people, composed of that part of them who belonged to other denominations and those who belonged to no religious society at all, were opposed to the payment of a tax for the maintenance of a hierarchy that many of them despised, the clergy incurred the displeasure of the classes before referred to, and no doubt increased their desire for the severance of the ties that bound them to the mother country. In this case, as in many others, the zeal of the clergy injured the cause they espoused. Another cause of the unpopularity of the clergy of the established church may be found in the manner of their appointment, which, however nicely it may have been used, savored too much of despotism, to have been satisfactory to the people, thirsting, as they then were, for the full fruition of the liberty they were destined a few years later to enjoy.

The "patronage and advowson," which means the right to appoint the ministers for the various parishes in the state, was vested in the governor, who was generally appointed by the lord proprietary, and being in no wise amenable to the people, too often set their wishes at defiance. The Rev. William Duke, published a pamphlet in 1795, on the state of religion in Maryland. Speaking of the condition of society and the clergy of the Episcopal church at the time of the introduction of Methodism, he says:

"They did not, generally, discover any religious zeal, or concern themselves either with the principles or morals of the people; they were regarded very little in these respects

even by their own hearers; and what influence they pretended to, they maintained rather as scholars, gentlemen and men of affluence, than as Christian divines. When any of their hearers became seriously thoughtful about religion, one would suppose it natural for them to consult their stated pastors; but when they remembered that these pastors in the course of so many years had not administered them any sufficient instruction, they resented the imposition, and neglected them in turn. They found the way they were in was not likely to issue in anything like the design of the gospel, and therefore did not hesitate to take the chance of a change. One circumstance that argues this defect in the Episcopalian clergy, *even to this day* (1795), is the disrespect that they are treated with in many parishes, even by their own people. Ministers of other denominations are sufficiently censured or ridiculed by people of a different profession; ours are chiefly *calumniated and harassed by their own*. Churchmen not only exclaim against the impositions of the late establishment, whereby *parsons were erected into little popes* about the country, but they still see nothing sacred in the clerical character, and pass sentence upon the religious and moral principles of their own pastors with as much petulance as they would upon those of an infidel."

In a sermon preached at the ordination of Mr. Asbury, at Baltimore, in 1784, by Thomas Coke, then superintendent of the Methodist Church, he uses this language:

"The churches (Episcopal) had, in general, been filled by parasites and bottle companions of the rich and great. The humble and importunate entreaties of the oppressed flocks were contemned and despised. The drunkard, the fornicator, and the extortioner, triumphed over bleeding Zion, because they were faithful abettors of the ruling powers."

Rev. Hugh Jones, who was rector of North Sassafras Parish for many years, there is reason to believe, was both aristocratic and haughty. He was a strong partisan of the lord proprietary, and died possessed of so much of this

world's goods that, to put it as charitably as possible, he must have occupied much of his time in accumulating them. The records of North Sassafras parish disclose a lamentable want of virtue and morality among the people. Of the condition of St. Augustine parish at that time very little is known; but it certainly adds nothing to its credit that so much of it was characterized by the name of Sodom! This name may have been misapplied, or it may not have been deserved; so let the veil of obscurity that has hidden the moral deformity that the name implies, remain and cover it from sight.

The spiritual condition of the people of North Elk parish is better known, and has been sufficiently noticed in a preceding chapter.*

The Presbyterian churches, as before intimated, were in a weak condition at this time, caused by the emigration of many of their members to the South and West. Their influence had also been lessened by the unhappy dissensions that arose among them from the preaching of Whitefield and his adherents. Another cause that lessened the religious influence of the clergy of this denomination was the part that many of them felt constrained to take in the controversy between the colonies and the mother country. Their form of church government was eminently democratic, and most, if not all of them, were the descendants of those who, in some form, had suffered for conscience sake on the other side of the Atlantic. Hence, it was not strange that they joined the crusade for liberty, and denounced the encroachments of the British Parliament with an eloquence and vehemence that would have done credit to their founder.

By this it is not to be understood that either the Presbyterian ministers or their congregations sacrificed their godliness upon the altar of their patriotism, but that the commotion and turmoil which at this time shook society to

* See pages 221 and 222, ante.

its very foundation, was not conducive to a high development of religion or morality. Their fault, if fault it can be called, was not that they loved the gospel less, but that they loved their country more; and it is some consolation to know that if society lost a little in morality, it gained much in patriotism.

From what has been said, it is apparent that the spiritual condition of the people was quite as deplorable as had been that of the people of the mother country when Wesley and Whitefield commenced their crusade against the formality and wickedness of the Established Church, and there was quite as much need of a revolution in church affairs as there was in the administration of the government. Much of the credit of effecting a reformation in the spiritual condition of the people belongs to the early Methodist missionaries, though it must not be forgotten that Whitefield, whose doctrine differed but little from that proclaimed by Wesley, had in some measure prepared the way. Richard Wright was the name of the first Methodist missionary who preached the gospel in this county. He had been received as a traveling preacher by John Wesley in 1770, and the next year came to Philadelphia, and shortly afterwards found his way to Bohemia Manor, where he was kindly received. Whitefield had been there a quarter of a century before, and there is no doubt that the impression he made by the fervent manner in which he proclaimed the gospel had much to do with the success of Methodism. Mr. Asbury, long after this time, spoke of his followers on Bohemia Manor as Whitefield Methodists, and remarked that "the Wesleyan Methodists were heirs to them according to the gospel."

Mr. Wright organized the first Methodist society in this county at the house of Solomon Hersey, in 1771, and it is a singular coincidence that its place of meeting was within the bounds of the Labadie tract, Mr. Hersey's house being near the mill that was then called Sluyter's and had

formerly been called Van Bibber's mill, on a branch of the Bohemia River, called Mill Creek, a short distance southwest of St. Augustine. This society was the first organized on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Its members afterwards worshiped at Bethesda chapel, which stood some distance west of where the present Manor church stands. The Methodists at this time, or very shortly afterwards, had another appointment at Thompson's school-house, which was quite near where Bethel church now stands. This latter society was the germ that produced the Bethel church.

The first Methodist preachers were rigid disciplinarians, and very austere in their manners. They denounced slavery as being contrary to the law of God and an infraction of the golden rule. They considered it their duty to "rise at four in the morning, and if not then, yet at five, and that it was a shame for a preacher to be in bed till six in the morning." They required their followers to observe the Friday preceding every quarterly meeting as a day of fasting. They discountenanced the manufacture of distilled liquors and threatened to disown their friends who persisted in making them. They were enjoined to avoid superfluity in dress themselves, and to speak frequently and faithfully against it in all the societies. Until 1785, the Methodists were under the spiritual guidance and direction of John Wesley, who lived and died in full communion with the Church of England, and whose original intention was only to effect a reformation by infusing more godliness and piety into the daily lives and conduct of the members of that church. Accordingly, at the meeting of the first conference, which was held in Philadelphia, in June, 1773, it was agreed by the ministers that they would strictly avoid administering the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and would earnestly exhort all those among whom they labored, particularly those in Maryland and Virginia, to attend *the church* and receive the ordinances there. Seven years afterwards the conference, which met in Baltimore, granted the

privilege to all the friendly clergy of the Church of England, at the request or desire of the people, to preach or administer the ordinances in their "preaching houses or chapels." This was four years after the connection of the church and state had been severed and it shows that the Methodists at that time, if they acted in good faith, which there is no reason to doubt, desired to live in amity and friendship with their brethren of the late establishment. This good feeling was largely reciprocated by the better and more pious part of the members of the established church. Owing to this the new sect for some years after its first introduction flourished best in the strongholds of the episcopacy, while it made little or no progress among the Presbyterians until many years afterwards, when the first expounders of its doctrine had been succeeded by others, whose zeal was more according to knowledge, and whose motives were better understood. For the reasons before alluded to, the growth of Methodism was slow, and it is manifest that those who joined the new sect were actuated by pure motives and a sincere desire to improve their spiritual condition.

Rev. Francis Asbury arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1771, and the next April visited Bohemia Manor to look after Mr. Wright, but met him near Wilmington on his way northward, and proceeded on to the Manor alone. Under the date of April 10th, Mr. Asbury states that some mischievous opposers had thrown the people on the Manor into confusion. The next day he notes in his journal that he had visited and conversed with an old man who was sick, but was prevented from praying with him, by the fact that two men came in, whose countenances he did not like. He probably met with two of the residents of that part of the Manor called Sodom. The next fall Mr. Asbury visited the Manor again on his way to Western Maryland. He speaks of preaching at Hersey's and at the school-house on the Manor, and probably in going west crossed the Elk River at the ferry at Court-house Point.

The next society organized in the county was the one at Johntown, in Sassafras Neck, which, as stated by Mr. Lednum in his history of Methodism, was in 1773. This was seven years after the first society of Methodists had been organized in New York, and the whole number of Methodists in the several conferences of New York, Philadelphia, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, is put down in the minutes of the conference for this year at one thousand one hundred and sixty, five hundred of whom were said to belong to the Maryland Conference. At this time there was only ten Methodist preachers belonging to these conferences. Previous to this time the new sect had made considerable progress upon the Peninsula, and had several appointments in Kent and New Castle, as well as in Harford County.

The people of this county, as before stated, were much more loyal than their neighbors in Delaware, and the course pursued by Mr. Wesley, who strongly favored the royal cause, was not calculated to add anything to the popularity of the ministers who then labored in this country under his direction, and all of whom, except Mr. Asbury, went back to England in 1777. Mr. Asbury was fined £5 for preaching in a private house in Anne Arundel County, in the autumn of that year, and the next spring took refuge in the house of Judge White, in Kent County, Delaware, where he remained in seclusion for nearly a year. He states in his journal that he left Maryland because he could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance to the State. This oath was as follows: "I do swear that I do not hold myself bound to yield any allegiance or obedience to the King of Great Britain, his heirs or successors, and that I will be true and faithful to the State of Maryland, and to the utmost of my power support, maintain, and defend the freedom and independence thereof, and the government as now established, against all open enemies and traitorous conspiracies, and will use my utmost endeavors to disclose and make known to the Governor, or some one of the judges or

justices thereof, all treasons or traitorous conspiracies, attempts, or combinations against this State or the government thereof, which may come to my knowledge." This oath, much to the credit of the vestry of North Elk parish, was taken and subscribed to by them.

Mr. Wesley, in a letter dated January 11th, 1777 (quoted in Tyreman's *Life of Wesley*), says: "I have just received two letters from New York. They inform me that all the Methodists there are firm for the government, and on that account persecuted by the rebels, only not to the death; that the preachers are still threatened, but not stopped; and that the work of God increases much in Maryland and Virginia." Some of the native preachers on the peninsula were not as prudent as Mr. Asbury and his coadjutors. One of them, Chauncey Clowe by name, in August, 1777, which the reader will recollect was the time when the British fleet sailed up the Elk River, raised a company of three hundred Tories in Kent County, Delaware, for the purpose of making their way to the Chesapeake Bay and joining the British fleet. But they were all captured, and Clowe was hanged. Others of the native ministers on the peninsula were accused of circulating the king's proclamation, which, no doubt was the proclamation issued in the king's name by Lord Howe in Elk Neck.

Another cause that retarded the growth of the new sect, was the violent opposition it met with from the ungodly and wicked part of the population, who were, in many cases, encouraged by those whose rank in society should have induced them to have used their influence in favor of peace and good order, rather than to have encouraged the spirit of lawless persecution that prevailed. Mr. Duke states in his pamphlet, before quoted from, that at one time a traveling Methodist preacher could hardly show his face in a little tobacco port or court-house village, without running the risk of being ducked or mobbed or ludicrously set at nought. For this treatment, he says there could be no

actual reason given, but his being a stranger or his re-proving them for swearing. Another difficulty under which the new sect labored, was that of unworthy traveling preachers, who probably were led astray in many cases through ignorance. A few years after this time (in 1782) the conference took action in regard to disorderly preachers, and, in order to keep them in subjection, resolved to write at the bottom of each certificate thereafter issued: "This conveys authority no longer than you walk uprightly and submit to the direction of the assistant preacher."

Now let us take a retrospective glance at the history of the Episcopal churches. In 1771 the vestrymen of North Elk parish gave notice that they intended to petition the Legislature for a sum not exceeding £900, to be levied in three years for building a chapel of ease near where the old chapel stood, and for making some alterations in the church. Ten years before this time Rev. John Hamilton and two of the vestrymen had reported that the chapel was not worth repairing. The next year notice was given of the intention of raising £500 for the chapel; but owing to the unpopularity of the church and the other causes that have been already fully set forth elsewhere, the money was not levied. Rev. John Hamilton, who had been connected with the parish since 1746, died in April, 1773, and was succeeded by the Rev. William Thompson, who was appointed curate by Governor Eden on the first of the following May. Mr. Thompson was to receive the whole amount of the poll-tax levied for the support of the rector, and was to continue until his successor was appointed. He appears to have been popular, and the vestry soon afterwards sent an address to the governor, "thanking him for his kind, fatherly, and tender care of them, and entreating him to perfect his pious and fatherly intentions towards them, by inducting Mr. Thompson into the parish," which was accordingly done on the 23d of June, 1773. Mr. Thompson seems to have been an eminently pious and practicable preacher, and disposed to

do all in his power for the spread of the gospel among his parishioners, for the next year he was ordered to pay Andrew Barrett fifty-nine shillings for building a tent at the place where the chapel stood. This is the chapel not far from Battle Swamp. Tradition says that he preached there in a tent with some success for several days. He was probably incited to make this extraordinary effort by the activity of the Methodists, but the war came on, and the connection of the church and State being severed, the vestry, in 1777, were obliged to raise his salary by subscription, and the same year gave him permission to preach at the Manor Church or somewhere in St. Augustine parish, every third Sunday. This subscription list is yet extant, and contains the names of Jacob and Zebulon Hollingsworth; Benjamin and William Mauldin; Jacob and Michael Lumm; Phredus Aldridge; William, James, and John Crouch; Abraham Mitchell; Stephen, Isaac and Nicholas Hyland; Thomas Russell; John Ricketts; Samuel and Joseph Gilpin; James Pritchard; Nathaniel Ramsay, and many others, some of whom, a few years later, became identified with the Methodists. The amount of the subscription was £202 18s., 6d.

Mr. Thompson removed to North Sassafras parish in 1779, but the vestry of North Elk seem to have been loath to give him up, and wrote to him, proposing to raise £100 by subscription in silver, or its equivalent in continental money, if he would preach for them one Sunday in each month, and find a lay reader to officiate one Sunday in each month. But nothing came of the offer, and the next year they employed one Collin Ferguson as a lay reader in the parish, every Sunday, and agreed to pay him £120 specie per annum during the time he acted as such, Mr. Thompson agreeing to officiate once a quarter during said time. It is worthy of remark that twelve years afterwards Collin Ferguson claimed that £40 of his salary as lay reader for the years 1780-81, was in arrears, and placed his claim in the hands of William Barroll, an attorney, for collection; and

that an order was given on Mrs. Coudon, the widow of the Rev. Joseph Coudon, for that amount.

On Easter Monday, 1781, Mr. Joseph Coudon was appointed lay reader, and continued to serve in that capacity with so much acceptability that he was chosen as their rector in September, 1785. Meanwhile, in 1784, Mr. Coudon and Henry Hollingsworth had been chosen to represent the parish in a convention held at Annapolis that year, to take into consideration the distressed condition of the church.

It is apparent from what has been written, that North Elk parish was not in a prosperous condition during this time. The condition of St. Augustine parish was no better. The Rev. Joseph Mather, who had succeeded Rev. Hugh Jones, was rector of that parish at the time the Methodists came to the Manor, and remained there until 1774, when he resigned. He was succeeded by the Rev. Philip Reading, who was presented to the parish by Governor Eden, in 1774. He was an Englishman, and had been a missionary at Appoquinimink (now St. Anne's, near Middletown), and is said to have been very successful there. He remained in charge of this parish, in connection with Appoquinimink, until 1776, when his churches were closed, and he is said to have died of grief. The parish was vacant for three years previous to 1781, when it was taken in charge by Rev. William Thompson, who had charge of it in connection with North Sassafras, until the time of his death, which occurred in 1786. Mr. Thompson, unlike nearly all his brother ministers, was loyal to the cause of the colonies. This added to his popularity, and enabled him to maintain the supremacy of the Episcopal church during his life, in those parts of the county where the church people were most numerous, in consequence of which Methodism made little progress in this county until some years after his death.

From the time of its introduction up to the year 1785, Methodism made great progress in Virginia and North Carolina, and in the lower part of the Peninsula as well as

in Eastern Pennsylvania and Western Maryland, but seems to have made comparatively none in this county. Mr. Asbury, who was constantly employed in traveling from place to place, supervising the work of those under him, speaks of visiting Robert Thompson's, near Bethel, in the spring of 1780, and says he "spoke close to him, who had fainted in his mind, being now left alone." Mr. Asbury visited Mr. Thompson again in October of the same year, and remarks in his journal that "the old man is stirred up." From which it may be inferred that Methodism had probably retrograded, rather than advanced, in the southern part of the county, which was the only part of it into which it had, at that time, been introduced.

The conference of 1785, agreeable to the wishes of Mr. Wesley, formed themselves into an independent church; but this event, whatever may have been its effect upon Methodism elsewhere, seems to have had no perceptible effect upon the few detached appointments in this county.

In May, 1787, Mr. Asbury visited Elkton, upon which occasion he preached to a large congregation. He states that he was received by the Rudolph family with great respect. This family were probably at this time members of the Episcopal church, for the next year Tobias Rudolph was appointed delegate to represent North Elk parish in a convention in *Baltimore Town*. They lived in the old brick house now standing on Main street three doors east of the court-house, which was built by Tobias Rudolph, in 1768.

The name of the Cecil Circuit appears for the first time upon the minutes of the conference in 1788, but its exact bounds are unknown. There is reason, however, to believe that, in connection with the appointments in this county, it embraced much of the territory of New Castle County, and probably some of the northern part of Kent, in Maryland. John Smith and George Wells were the first preachers in charge. They were succeeded the next year by George Moore and Benjamin Roberts. That year the number of

members in all the societies in the circuit is put down in the minutes of the conference as follows: Two hundred and fifty-seven white and two hundred and fifty-two colored.

Seventeen years had now elapsed since the introduction of Methodism on Bohemia Manor, and it is probable that there was preaching regularly in Elk Neck and at North East; for Mr. Asbury states, under date of October 15th, 1794, that he preached at *Hart's Meeting-house* on that day, and the fact of a house being there at that time seems to indicate that there had been preaching in that neighborhood sometime before. This is the first reference that has been found to this meeting-house, though there is a tradition that the early superintendent preachers, when passing back and forth from the southern part of the county to their appointments west of the Susquehanna, preached to the people in that neighborhood under the shade of some large walnut trees that stood about two miles southwest of where the meeting-house now stands. Many of the first settlers in Elk Neck had been zealous churchmen, and an effort had been made to erect a chapel of ease in that part of the county while it was a part of North Sassafras parish.

The descendants of the first settlers still adhered to the religion of their fathers, which accounts for the alacrity with which they embraced the new faith. Owing, no doubt, to their strong predilections for the manners and customs of the Episcopalians, the Methodists of Elk Neck, until a comparatively recent period, observed the Whitsuntide holidays, and every year had services upon Whit-Sunday and Monday, which were largely attended by their brethren from Delaware and other places many miles distant.

Hart's meeting-house was the first one erected in the county north of the Elk River; and though it was in existence as early as 1794, the society, there is reason to think, did not have a deed for the land on which it stood until seven years afterwards; for the land records of the county show that, on the 21st of August, 1801, Samuel Aldridge and

Milicent, his wife, in consideration of the great desire they had to encourage and promote the religious worship of God, and in consideration of the nominal sum of five shillings, sold half an acre of ground, which is described as being on the great road leading from Turkey Point to Elkton, to Robert Hart, Thomas Hart, Charles Ford, Fredus Aldridge, and Zebulon Kankey, trustees of the Methodist society in Elk River Neck and their successors. It is generally believed that Robert Hart gave this society the land upon which the first meeting-house stood, but this record seems to indicate very clearly that such was not the fact; and there seems to be no doubt that the meeting-house mentioned by Mr. Asbury, was built upon land donated by Mr. Aldridge and his wife. It was a small frame house, ceiled with boards and weather-boarded on the outside, and contained a quaint and curious old-fashioned pulpit.

The next Methodist meeting-house erected in the county was at North East. It appears from the land records of the county, that on the 25th of October, 1794, Jacob Jones conveyed an acre of land, which is described in the deed as lying to the northward of the road leading from North East Church toward *Beacon Hill*, to William Howell, John George, David Sweazey, Jacob Jones, John Ford, *Robert Hart*, and Samuel Aldridge, for the sum of £10, "in trust for the society of religious people called Methodists, and their successors forever thereafter, who were to have full power and authority to erect on the said land a house for the public worship of God." This was the first land owned by the society at North East, and is the same now used for the cemetery. It is worthy of remark that Robert Hart was also a trustee of the church called by his name in Elk Neck.

Mr. Asbury, under date of the 5th of June, 1795, says he "preached in North East within the frame of a church that was just begun." He no doubt referred to the first church, which stood near the centre of the cemetery. It was about thirty by forty feet, weather-boarded without and ceiled

with boards within, and was removed bodily in the early part of the present century to the lower part of the village, where it remained until 1837, when the house now in use was built, and it was sold to Hugh Brown. On the 12th of April, 1804, William Hunter sold a lot containing about half an acre, which is described as being a few perches to the eastward of *the church* and to the northward of the Methodist meeting-house near the head of North East River, being on the east side of the great road leading from the head of North East River to Turkey Point, together with the house and fencing thereon, to William Howell, Robert Hall, *Nicholas Chambers, Sr.*, Abraham Keagy, and William Williams, the three former being citizens of Cecil County, and the two latter residents of New Castle County, to have, hold, occupy, and possess forever for the use and convenience of a traveling preacher of the gospel, in or belonging to the Methodist church, in charge of Cecil Circuit. This deed was witnessed by Tobias and Martha Rudolph, the former being at that time one of the associate justices of the county court. The latter was afterwards the wife of the Rev. William Torbert. This is the first parsonage in the county, of which there is any trace in the records of the court or the history of the church; but there is no evidence that it was ever used as such, and in 1809 those of the trustees who resided in this county sold it to Thomas Cazier for \$250. The trustees are called in the deed to Cazier the "trustees of Ebenezer Chapel," which seems to indicate very unmistakably that the meeting-house at North East was then called by that name. This chapel and parsonage, though described as being east of the road to Turkey Point, stood west of where the main street of the village is now located, the road at that time being some distance west of where the street is at present.

The congregation which worshiped in Thompson's school-house, which stood very near where Bethel Church now stands, erected their first meeting-house sometime previous to 1790; but like the congregation at Hart's, they did not

obtain a deed for the land upon which it stood until 1805. In that year, Richard Thompson, then of Philadelphia, formerly of this county, conveyed the lot upon which the church stood, to John Curnan, *Nicholas Chambers Sr.*, James Ratcliff, Robert Guttery, and Tobias Biddle, "for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church, according to the rules and discipline which from time to time may be agreed upon or adopted by the ministers and preachers of said church at their general conferences, and in future trust and confidence that they shall at all times permit such ministers or preachers as shall be duly authorized by the rules and discipline of said church, and none others, to preach or expound God's holy word there, and on the further condition that the church organization should not be suffered to die by the failure of the congregation to elect trustees." In 1802 the Legislature passed an act in relation to the incorporation of Christian churches or religious societies, authorizing the male members of twenty-one years of age and upwards to draw up and have recorded a constitution or plan of government; but the congregation at Bethel, it would seem from the foregoing extract, had not availed themselves of it. It is worthy of remark that Nicholas Chambers was also one of the trustees of the parsonage at North East. The first Methodist society that organized agreeable to the act of 1802 was called Goshen, now Ebenezer. The organization was effected on the 15th of January, 1806. The title then assumed was the Goshen congregation or society belonging to the Methodist church in South Susquehanna Hundred. The first trustees were Caleb Edmundson, William Tyson, James Thompson, Thomas Sproston, Thomas Janney, and Edward McVey. The rules and regulations were signed by the above-named trustees, and acknowledged before Samuel Miller and Jeremiah Baker, justices of the peace. Though this congregation is the first one of this denomination that effected an organization according to law in this county, there is reason to believe that it had no meeting-house until

1827, for on the 18th of February, 1826, Thomas White sold an acre and nine perches of land to Thomas Janney, Caleb Edmundson, John Williamson, Elijah Reynolds, William Edmundson, Michael Trump, John Cameron, trustees, in trust, that they should erect, or cause to be erected, thereon a house or place of worship for the use of the members of the Methodist Episcopal church in the United States. And on the 5th of November, 1827, Dr. James Beard sold to the same trustees a lot containing about an acre, adjoining the other one, on which a church had been built in the meantime, "in trust that the said lot should be for the use of the members of the M. E. Church in the United States, to build thereon any house for the convenience and use of said church."

Under date of May 27th, 1800, Mr. Asbury, writing of Bethel, says: "The people sung and leaped for joy of heart; they have beaten down strong drink, and the power of God is come." The next day he says, "at the Manor chapel we had a great time; my soul was divinely refreshed." This brief entry in Mr. Asbury's journal, throws some glimmering light on the previous condition of the people on the Manor, and leads us to infer that they had formerly been addicted to the immoderate use of strong drink.

It seems proper at this point to refer briefly to the condition of North Sassafras and St. Augustine parishes. Rev. Mr. Thompson, who the reader will recollect was rector of these parishes previous to the time of his death, had been succeeded by the Rev. James Jones Wilmer in 1787. He was a grandson of Hugh Jones, and had been educated in England, but returned to America in 1773, and became chaplain of the First Maryland Regiment in 1777. Mr. Wilmer left these parishes in 1788, and was succeeded by Rev. John Bisset, who had charge of North Sassafras from 1790 to 1792. He was succeeded by Rev. George Ralph, who was in charge of that parish for nine months in 1793.

He also had charge of Shrewsbury parish, in connection with North Sassafras, and taught a school at Georgetown. He was succeeded in 1794 by Rev. Jeremiah Cosden, who was a native of the parish, and had been a Methodist preacher, on account of which he had much difficulty in being admitted to orders in the Episcopal church. He lived upon the glebe, which he cultivated, his parishioners keeping the buildings in repair, but contributing nothing to his support. Mr. Allen, in his manuscript history, remarks that "he seems not to have been a very zealous churchman, and probably regretted leaving the Methodist church." Mr. Asbury, speaking of him in his journal, in 1795, says: "He was always very generous, and did not serve us for money," and adds, "he did certainly run well."

Mr. Cosden was succeeded by Rev. Joshua Reese, in 1801. Mr. Reese had been a physician, but had exchanged the practice of curing the body for that of curing the soul. He left this parish in 1802, having been in charge of it and St. Augustine for about a year. He was succeeded in the rectorship of North Sassafras parish in 1803, by the Rev. Henry Lyon Davis, the father of the late Henry Winter Davis, who the next year also took charge of St. Augustine parish. During part of this time, that is to say, from 1789 to 1792, the Rev. Joseph Coudon had charge of St. Augustine, in connection with North Elk and St. Ann's, near Middletown. He died in 1792, and this parish was vacant for two years, when Rev. Mr. Cosden took charge of it in connection with North Sassafras. The Rev. Mr. Davis seems to have had a nominal connection with St. Augustine during the time of his rectorship at North Sassafras. During the period between the years 1787 and 1808, there is reason to believe that Methodism increased quite as rapidly on the Manor and in Sassafras Neck as it did in that part of the county north of the Elk River. Its membership were no longer confined to the poor and the lowly, but some of the most eminent persons of that part of the county were found

among them. Prominent among these was Richard Bassett, before referred to in connection with Bohemia Manor, who came to reside upon his plantation at Bohemia Ferry, about 1795. He was one of the most influential Methodists of that period. His house was the home of the poor, weary itinerants, who always found an open door and a hearty welcome. Mr. Asbury was in the habit of stopping at his house frequently, and there is no doubt that it was owing to his instrumentality that the first camp-meetings in the county were held in a grove on his estate, about a mile north of Bohemia Bridge, in 1808 and the next year.

These camp-meetings were a source of vexation and annoyance to the Rev. Mr. Davis, who viewed the success of the Methodists with jealous eyes. Mr. Davis was a learned man and had been elected professor of the Greek and Latin languages in Dickinson College, when he was only nineteen years of age. Being a learned man and zealous minister, he had no sympathy with the Methodists who had preached the gospel at Hersey's mill, Thompson's school-house, and Bethesda Chapel, and had been so successful in making proselytes that there were none left to attend upon his own ministrations in St. Augustine parish, the church at that time being closed for want of a congregation. In 1809, Mr. Davis, in a letter to the Bishop, says: "Already there have been several camp-meetings in the peninsula this summer. At this time there is one near Smyrna, Del. Next week one will be formed in this neighborhood, and another in Wye River in Talbot County. *I am horribly afraid of the effort.* Within the last two years the church has evidently declined in almost every part of the Eastern Shore." This is rather a gloomy picture to be drawn by a zealous churchman, but no doubt it was a true one, and very probably Mr. Davis feared that owing to the zeal and success of the Methodists, the parish of North Sassafras would also fall into their possession. The history of that parish for the next fifteen years, and all the subsequent history of St. Augustine, show that

the fears of Mr. Davis were well grounded, for so few were the church people and so little respect had the others for the old St. Augustine church that they not only suffered it to go to ruin, but actually pulled it down and used the bricks of which it was constructed in building chimneys in their houses and for other purposes, so that a quarter of a century later but very little if any part of the walls were standing. The chapel which stands near the site of the church was erected in 1841, mainly by the instrumentality of a few pious ladies of the neighborhood ; but so effectually had Methodism supplanted Episcopacy in the affections of the people of the Manor, that when the Bishop attended there on St. Patrick's day of that year in order to consecrate it—it being a stormy day—he was obliged, for want of an audience, to postpone the ceremony until the next autumn.

The Rev. Joseph Coudon, who, the reader will recollect, had been chosen curate of North Elk parish in 1785, was ordained two years afterwards, and the same year was installed rector of that parish. The minutes of the vestry for 1788, show that he had then been laboring faithfully in the parish for six years, and had received on an average only about £37 a year, though the subscription list for his support amounted to upwards of £178. Probably part of what he did receive was the interest on the money obtained by the sale of the glebe which was disposed of in 1875, and the money placed in his hands, he being allowed to use the interest upon giving bond for the payment of the principal. In 1788 he was allowed to labor part of the time in St. Augustine parish and Appoquinimink, Delaware, which he continued to do until the time of his death, which occurred April 13th, 1792, on his farm, now owned by Rev. James McIntire, near Elkton. Mr. Coudon was succeeded by Rev. William Duke, who took charge of North Elk parish, in 1793, and the same year married Hettie Coudon, the daughter of the former rector. Mr. Duke was a native of Baltimore County, and was licensed to preach by Rev.

Francis Asbury, when he was only sixteen or seventeen years of age. His name appears upon the minutes of the first conference, held at Philadelphia, 1774, as one of the seven ministers who were that year taken on trial. The next year he was admitted to full membership, and remained in connection with the conference as a traveling preacher until 1779, when he ceased to travel, and subsequently took orders in the Episcopal church, being impelled to do so by his opposition to the erection of the Methodist society into an independent church.

Mr. Duke was a learned man, and was more of the student than the preacher. He was the author of several religious and poetical works, the principal one of which was published while he resided in Elkton, in 1795. It was entitled "Observations on the present state of religion in Maryland," and was a valuable contribution to the religious literature of that period. No person would imagine, however, after reading it, that the author had ever been a Methodist preacher, for he severely censures those who were instrumental in obtaining the independence of the Methodist church, and intimates that the means used to effect that end were not very creditable. He also criticises the religious peculiarities and manners of the Methodists of that period, and, while admitting that in general they seemed to seek an experimental knowledge of God, "appeals to themselves whether they do not, both by example and express direction, excite the people to noise and uproar; and whether they do not avail themselves, not only of that noise but also of a confined air, violent gesticulations, and other circumstances calculated rather to surprise than inform the human mind; and whether they do not estimate their success in proportion to the disorder and tumult of their audience?" Strange language this, to be used by one who, a few years before, had been a zealous Methodist himself, and yet there is no reason to think that he was not entirely sincere when he used it, for in this pamphlet he is

more severe, if possible, in his animadversions upon the Episcopal church than he is upon the Methodists.

The fact seems to be, that the early Methodists were both noisy and demonstrative, and Mr. Duke probably left them and joined the Episcopal church because it was quieter and better suited his temperament.

After being rector of North Elk parish for three years, Mr. Duke, in 1796, resigned and went to Anne Arundel County, but returned to Elkton the next year, and soon afterwards removed to Kent County, where he taught a parochial school, but again returned to Elkton in 1799, and opened a school in Bow street, and during the next three years occasionally preached at North East, in his school-room at Elkton, and in the Episcopal church near the village of New London in Pennsylvania, and at the almshouse, baptizing and burying many. It was during this interval that he wrote to Bishop Claggett, May 3d, 1801, that he preached sometimes by special appointment at home, but never dreamed of doing anything more, "for," said he, "I have made my last effort with these people." In 1803 Mr. Duke was appointed professor of languages in St. John's College, Annapolis, and had charge of St. Ann's Church, in that city, until 1806, when, the college having been deprived of its funds, he returned to Elkton, and the next year took charge of the academy there. In 1798 Mr. Duke purchased the Belle Hill farm, which he owned for a number of years. The acquisition of this property no doubt caused him to desire to be near to it, hence his oft-repeated and fruitless efforts to effect a permanent location in Elkton. This time he remained there until 1812, when he took charge of Charlotte Hall, in St. Mary's County, and became principal of the school there, but in 1814 returned to Elkton and continued to officiate as aforesaid until the spring of 1818, when he was appointed principal of the Elkton Academy. He died at Elkton in 1840, aged eighty-three years.

So effectually had Methodism supplanted Episcopacy in North Elk parish that during the interval from 1801, when Mr. Duke ceased to minister there, until 1835, it was without a rector. Part of this time the vestry-house was used as a school-house, and in the war of 1812, the church upon one occasion was used by a company of soldiers which occupied it as a barrack while awaiting transportation to Baltimore.

Trinity church in Elkton was organized in 1832 by the efforts of James Sewell, Henry Hollingsworth and a few others, and the same year Rev. William Henry Reese was installed as the first rector. The first church building was consecrated the same year. Mr. Reese was succeeded by Rev. Henry Lyon Davis, formerly of North Sassafras parish, who returned to this county in 1834. Mr. Davis remained in charge of Trinity church but a short time, when a vacancy of two years occurred, at the end of which Rev. Henry Williams took charge of Trinity in connection with St. Mary Ann's. Mr. Williams was succeeded by Rev. Robert Lloyd Goldsborough in 1841. Mr. Goldsborough was a very zealous churchman and under his rectorship the religious affairs of the parish assumed a much better condition than they had been in for many years.

In 1835 a church was organized near Port Deposit, the members of which were allowed the use of the chapel lands near that place probably for the purpose or with the intention of erecting a church building. In 1839 the vestry laid out the church land in North East, into building lots, and sold it at public sale, from which they realized upwards of twenty-five hundred dollars.

Though St. Mary Ann's church had been built nearly a century it had never been consecrated, and that service was performed by the Right Reverend Bishop Whittingham, on the 3d of September, 1844. In August, 1845, St. Mark's chapel near Perryville, which was built on land donated by the Misses Gale, was consecrated, and the next year Rev. Richard Whittingham, Jr., was chosen by the

rector as deacon and assistant minister there. Mr. Goldsborough occasionally held service in the neighborhood of Lord's Factory and in 1849, the subject of erecting a church near that place was contemplated.

The first society of Methodists in the vicinity of Elkton worshiped at the house of Richard Updegrave, which was a short distance east of the town and near the State line, in 1799. The names of the members were John Pennington, Elizabeth Pennington, John Crouch, Cornelia Crouch, Richard Updegrave, Hannah Updegrave, Thomas Phillips, and Sarah Land. The names of the probationers were Sarah Updegrave, John Hitchcock, and Rachel Coudon. This society probably removed to Elkton in 1801, for in that year it is called in the records of the quarterly conference the society at Elkton, Md.

On the 20th of July, 1813, Levi Tyson, Richard Updegrave, Benjamin Pearce, Robert Taylor, and William Kilgore, trustees of the Elkton M. E. church, purchased half an acre of ground on High street, from Thomas Howard, for the sum of one hundred dollars for the use of the Methodist Episcopal church in Elkton.

Bishop Asbury states in his journal that he preached in Elk chapel, in 1815, and remarks that "this place, Elkton, has been founded about fifty years," and adds, "it may be visited by the Lord in the fourth or fifth generation;" from which it is plain that his opinion coincided with that expressed by Mr. Duke some years before, and that the residents of the town were no more inclined to profit by the preaching of the Methodists then than they were to profit from the preaching of Mr. Duke.

From these facts, it seems plain that the chapel mentioned by Bishop Asbury, which is the old brick church on High street, now occupied by the Free Methodists, was erected about the year 1814. This chapel was subsequently enlarged, in 1842, by an addition to the north end of it, and in 1827 George Jones, John H. Ford, Jesse Updegrave, Henry

Jamar, Robert Johnston, Levi Tyson, and Samuel Wilson, who, at that time were trustees of the church, purchased from Levi Tyson the lot adjoining the church lot on the east, for an addition to the graveyard. In 1820 Martha Rudolph presented this congregation with a house and lot on North street, a short distance above the railroad, for the use of the minister in charge of Cecil circuit and his successors, reserving certain rights and privileges in the house and garden for the use and convenience of Mrs. Elizabeth Sullivan, widow, and Miss Mary Sullivan, spinstress, who were then tenants in possession, the trustees agreeing to keep the premises in "good order and neat and comely repair." This parsonage seems not to have been a convenient residence for the minister in charge of the circuit, and in 1824 Martha Rudolph, who was then the wife of the Rev. William Torbert, then stationed at Cambridge, reconveyed the property to the trustees, and so changed the covenants in the original deed as to allow them to rent the property, and apply the proceeds for the purpose of paying the rent of a house for the minister of Cecil circuit in the town of Elkton or elsewhere. The congregation continued to enjoy the use of this property until 1853, when they sold it to Stephen Johnson, the heirs at law of William Torbert and wife, who were then deceased, joining with them in the deed.

Rev Mr. Asbury frequently stopped at Charlestown, and sometimes preached there while upon his annual rounds visiting the churches, and it is pretty certain that the Methodists had preaching there at regular intervals in the early part of the present century. As early as 1792, the Presbytery of New Castle had sent supplies there to preach the gospel, and they had been so well received that the town commissioners, in 1801, appropriated one thousand dollars, which had been derived from the rents of the town property, and part of which was then in their hands, for the purpose of building a church for them, and actually had purchased a quantity of lime and other material to be used in its con-

struction, when it was discovered that they had no legal authority to apply the revenue of the town for that purpose. They subsequently obtained the requisite authority from the Legislature and purchased a house and lot from Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, primarily for the use of the Presbyterian congregation, but with the understanding that, if the house was not used by them, it might be used by other denominations.

The Methodists worshiped in this house in common with the Presbyterians, until 1822, when the Presbyterians organized a congregation in Charlestown, and the subject of building a meeting-house of their own, began to be agitated by the Methodists, and the town commissioners having expressed a willingness to appropriate two hundred dollars for that purpose, an act of the Legislature authorizing them to do so was obtained. But for some reason, probably the want of means, the enterprise lagged until 1825, when the trustees, who were Joseph Benjamin, Thomas Richardson, Joshua Bennett, Robert Thompson, John Turner, John Wilson, and John Tomlinson, purchased a lot from John White, upon which the first meeting-house was erected the same year.

The Hopewell M. E. church came into existence about the time of the organization of the Goshen society. The first house of worship, which was a log building, was probably built in 1810, upon a half acre of land which Davis Reed donated to the trustees in that year. The trustees were James Thompson, George Nelson, Richard Rutter, Joseph Coulson and John Brooks, all of West Nottingham Hundred.

The Asbury church was the outgrowth of the churches that surrounded it. The Methodists of the neighborhood in which it is located, worshiped for some years previous to the erection of the first church of that name, in Jackson's school-house, which stood not far from where the church was built. In 1825, James Jackson, Robert Jackson, Rachel

Jackson, Nancy Bell, Mary Armstrong, William Davidson, John N. Y. Ryan and Elizabeth Ryan, the heirs at law of Mary Carnahan, conveyed, for the nominal sum of five dollars, a lot containing half an acre of land to James Galbraith, in trust for the use, interest and purpose of building a church or house of worship, for the accommodation of the Methodist society. These facts seem to indicate very plainly that the Methodists of that neighborhood had not organized as a church at that time. Mr. Galbraith held this land until 1829, when he deeded it to John Jackson, William Patterson, Amos Eaton, William Dennison, Francis Segar, William Dennison (of William,) and Edward Jackson, in trust for the original purpose, from which it seems probable that the first meeting-house was built about that time.

The other Methodist Episcopal churchès in this county are the outgrowth of those, the early history of which has just been given, and however interesting it might be to trace their history, it is not within the scope of this work, and for that reason will be left for an historian of the future.

The Methodist Protestant church was introduced into this county shortly after the organization of the first conference of that denomination in Baltimore, in 1829. The first church in this county, called "Shelemiah," was built at Bayview, about 1830. The first church building was used nearly fifty years and until 1879, when a spacious and handsome structure was erected in its stead.

Meetings were held in the New Leeds church, which was afterwards purchased by this denomination, about the time that the church at Bayview was founded.

The Methodist Protestants, now have a number of churches in the county, one of which is at Rowlandville, another between Bayview and Charlestown, one in the eighth district, Moores chapel in the fourth district, and also a church at Warwick.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Miscellaneous information—Newspapers—Fisheries—Chrome—Granite quarries—Iron—Iron Works—Paper mills—Free schools—Population.

HAVING traced the history of the county in the preceding chapters as well as the limited data extent would permit, to a period within the recollection of persons of middle age, this chapter will be devoted to a few miscellaneous subjects, which are of so much importance that they cannot be passed by unnoticed.

Prominent amongst these matters are the newspapers, fisheries, manufactures, mineral productions, free schools, etc., the history of all of which can be impartially written at this time. This cannot be said of some other subjects quite as closely connected with the history of the county as those just mentioned. Amongst the latter are to be found the history of the various political parties that have claimed the allegiance of the people during the last half century, and the action of the people during the late civil war. For the reason before intimated, the task of writing that part of the history of the county embraced in the subjects last before enumerated, will be left for another person, or at least deferred until a period in the future, when the lapse of time will have rendered the task less onerous, and more likely to be impartially performed.

Though the people of this county were the equals in intelligence and education of those of any other part of the State, and gave a generous support to institutions of learning, as has already been shown, and though the people of the State, from a very early period in its history, had enjoyed the advantages to be derived from the printing-press, it was

not until after the lapse of nearly a century and a-half after the erection of the county that they could enjoy the privilege of reading a newspaper published within its limits.

The first newspaper published in this county appeared in June, 1823. It was called *The Elkton Press*, and was published weekly by Andrews & McCord, at two dollars a year. It was twenty-one by twenty-seven inches, and had for its motto, "Obedience to the people's choice," which indicated in some degree its character, for it was neutral in politics at first, and seems to have been devoted to the interests of the people so far as its limited size and circulation permitted. John McCord, the founder of this paper, came to Elkton from Lancaster City. He was a printer by trade, and was assisted in the editorial department of the paper by Samuel Stanbaugh, who afterwards became a prominent politician, and received the appointment of Indian agent or trader under ex-President Andrew Jackson. Some time prior to October, 1828, this paper passed into the possession of J. S. Green and Robert Carter. Mr. Carter had established the manufacture of paper in this county in 1816, on the site of the Cecil paper-mill, now owned and operated by his son, I. D. Carter, Esq., and the first proprietors of *The Press* having become indebted to him for paper, he took an interest in *The Press* to secure the debt. During the existence of this firm Mr. Green edited *The Press*.

On the 18th of October, 1828, the firm of Green & Carter dissolved, Mr. Green retiring, and Mr. Carter forming a business connection with Charles F. Cloud. The duration of this firm is not known, but the paper had changed hands prior to March 7th, 1829, it being published at that time opposite the Court-house, on Gay street, by C. F. Cloud and J. W. Conkey, who subsequently removed the office to the old brick building, two doors east of the court-house. The continuance of the existence of this firm, like some of those which preceded it, cannot now be definitely ascertained; but the paper was published by George W. Veazey in

September, 1832. During the latter part of the time this paper was in charge of Messrs. Andrews & McCord, it was run in the interest of the Democratic party, and in 1824, judging from certain communications and extracts from other papers, which are found in its columns, seems to have favored the election of General Jackson to the Presidency. In 1832, when it was published by George W. Veazey, it hoisted the name of Henry Clay for that position.

The Elkton Press seems to have had a sickly existence from the time of its birth, and never to have improved. Its death was probably hastened by the birth of *The Cecil Republican and Farmers' and Mechanics' Advertiser*, a weekly journal which was started in Elkton on May 12th, 1832, by Richard P. Bayly. The size of this paper was twenty-one by thirty inches. It was published for a while "in the brick building nearly opposite to the court-house, lately occupied by W. H. Calvert as a hat manufactory" at two dollars per year. Mr. Bayly, the proprietor of this paper, continued to publish it as late as February, 1834, but it ceased to exist prior to August, of that year, at which time *The Central Courant* was the only paper published in the county. This paper was started in Port Deposit by L. A. Wilmer in March, 1833; it was twenty-one by twenty-eight and one-half inches in size at first, but was subsequently reduced to fifteen and one-half by twenty-one and one-half inches, affording a very limited amount of space for the elucidation of the multifarious subjects to which it was devoted. The subscription was two dollars at first, but was reduced one-half when the size of the paper was changed.

Mr. Wilmer came from Baltimore to Elkton previous to the founding of *The Courant* and worked as a printer on *The Elkton Press*. After the death of *The Courant*, he removed from Port Deposit to Philadelphia and connected himself with *The Saturday Evening Post*, a literary paper of much celebrity at that time. Mr. Wilmer was an anti-Jackson man, but his paper, which was neutral, seems to have

been too diminutive to have produced much effect upon the politics of the county, even if he had tried to do so. It was published as late as November, 1834; how much longer has not been ascertained. Mr. Wilmer was a very eccentric man and would sometimes dress himself in winter clothing in the warmest summer weather, when he wished to take a walk to the Far Creek of an evening.

The *Cecil Gazette and Farmers' and Mechanics' Advertiser* was started in September, 1834, by a Democratic Convention which raised the money by subscription to purchase the press and type for the new journal. It was published and edited by Henry Bosee, though the press and type were held in trust for those who had contributed to their purchase, by a number of trustees of whom Colonel William Mackey and Henry D. Miller, both of the fourth district, were a part. The paper was twenty-four by thirty-two inches in size and was published weekly in Elkton, at two dollars per year. In the issue of August 20th, 1836, it is stated that the paper had been purchased by Amor T. Forwood, who upon that day assumed its editorship. It continued to be published in his name for a few months, when it again fell into the hands of Mr. Bosee, in whose name it was published until February, 1841.

The next journal that claims our attention was called the *Cecil Whig and Port Deposit Weekly Courier*. It was founded by Lynde Elliott at Port Deposit in July, 1835; was twenty-one by thirty-two inches, and was published every Saturday, at two dollars per year, or three dollars if not paid in advance. It was devoted to the interest of the Whig party, but did not prove to be a success, and consequently did not live a great while; how long has not been ascertained, but it probably gave place to the *Elkton Courier*, a strong Whig paper, which was founded by Charles F. Cloud, in August, 1836. It was a weekly journal, twenty-two by thirty-one inches, subscription, two dollars per year. It was devoted to politics, literature, agriculture, the mechanics arts and gen-

eral intelligence. Its office was on Gay street, in the Hollow, opposite Bow street; subsequently it was opposite the residence of Hon. Alexander Evans, and for awhile on the northeast corner of North and High streets. In a literary point of view it was far in advance of many of its predecessors, and for a time was edited by George R. Howard and also by Francis A. Ellis. During the time of the existence of *The Courier*, party spirit was both high and bitter, and sometimes culminated in personal rencounters in the streets, which were often productive of black eyes and bloody noses. At this time and for some years before, the Whig party was in a minority in the county, and receiving no share of the official patronage either from the national or local government, had hard work to sustain a county organ. In consequence of this *The Whig* party was without one for some time after the demise of the *Elkton Courier*, and on the 6th of August, 1839, George Keating commenced in Port Deposit the publication of *The Port Deposit Rock and Cecil County Commercial Advertiser*. The size of this paper was twenty-six by thirty inches; it was published every Tuesday morning at two dollars per year, and was strongly Whig in politics. This paper, like most of its predecessors, had but a brief existence. It was published as late as January, 1840; how much longer has not been ascertained.

Mr. Keating was a strong "anti-Jackson" man, and being very pugnacious, was always ready for a fight. After the failure of *The Rock*, he removed to Baltimore, but subsequently came to Havre-de Grace, where he published several papers, none of which were successful, in consequence of which he is said to have died in the Harford County almshouse in the early part of the war of the rebellion.

The brief existence of most of the early journals of the county may be accounted for by the unsettled condition of its politics, which were in a chaotic or transition state for some years subsequent to 1824; from that time until 1836 the Whig and Democratic parties were in course of formation,

and, as has sometimes since been the case, many of the people knew not to which party they belonged. Hence, the support accorded to the journals of that day was small, as well as precarious.

The Whig party being without an organ after the demise of the *Port Deposit Rock*, some of its leading members, profiting by the example of their opponents seven years before, concluded to start a new paper, and the wherewithal to purchase the press and type was raised by subscription among the members of the party, and those at the head of the new enterprise purchased the press and the type of the *Port Deposit Rock*, which they shipped on board of a small sailing vessel and brought to Elkton. The name of the new paper, the first number of which appeared on the 7th of August, 1841, was *The Cecil Whig*. Its first editor was the late Palmer C. Ricketts, under whose management it continued until the time of his death,* which occurred on the 8th of March, 1860. The old log-cabin which was erected in the Hollow during the campaign of 1840 was used as the first office of *The Whig*. In 1855, the paper having been enlarged the year before, its office was moved to the building on North street, now used by George W. Cruikshank, for a law office. It is not within the scope of this work to give an extended account of the early history of *The Whig*, nor to discuss the condition of the political parties that were contemporaneous with it, while it was under the management of its founder. It suffices to say that Mr. Ricketts was but twenty-three years of age when he assumed the responsible position of editor. The state of society and politics was somewhat different then from what it is now, but party spirit was none the less vindictive. In consequence of this, the bickerings and feuds which had existed among the local politicians of the Whig and Democratic parties culminated in the death of

* Except from April to August, 1852, during which time he edited the *Baltimore Daily News*, and *The Whig* was edited by William J. Jones, Esq.

Amor T. Forwood, a prominent democrat, in the fall of 1843. Mr. Forwood's death was the result of a long and bitter personal controversy between him and Mr. Ricketts, which led him to make an assault upon that gentleman, who, in self-defense, shot him with a pistol. Mr. Ricketts was tried at the October term of court in 1843, and acquitted. It being proved to the satisfaction of the jury that he acted in self-defense.

Mr. Ricketts belonged to one of the oldest families in the county, the founder of which it is believed resided in Sassafras Neck, and was a Quaker; he was much censured by his political opponents for the death of Mr. Forwood, but he lived long enough to win the respect and esteem of many of those who were once his bitterest enemies. He died respected by all, and deeply regretted by a very large portion of the community in which he lived.

The *Cecil Gazette* was neither popular nor prosperous under the management of Mr. Bosee, and in February, 1840, it was purchased by Thomas M. Coleman, who changed its name to *The Cecil Democrat and Farmers' Journal* and continued to publish it until the spring of 1848. When Mr. Bosee sold the *Gazette* he retained the press and type which, as before stated, were held in trust for those who furnished the money to purchase them. This led to a replevin suit, instituted by William Mackey and Henry D. Miller, who appear to have been the only surviving trustees. On the 9th of May, 1842, the sheriff served the writ and delivered the property, consisting of the press and type, to the plaintiffs, they giving bond for the value of the property if the suit went against them. In consequence of the death of Mr. Forwood and the failure of the defendant to employ other counsel, this cause resulted in a non-suit in the April term, 1844. Subsequently, at the October term of court, 1845, Mr. Bosee brought suits against the representatives of Messrs. Mackey and Miller, who had died in the meantime, and also against their sureties on the bond. These suits were

continued until April term, 1847, when one of them at the instance of Bosee was removed to Kent County, the parties agreeing to settle the others in accordance with the judgment in the removed case. The cases that were not removed are at this time upon the docket of Cecil County court, the other one never having been tried in Kent.

In 1848 Thomas M. Coleman started a paper in Elkton, called the *Temperance Banner*, which he continued to publish for two years, when he removed it to Baltimore, where he published it two years longer, and discontinued it probably for the want of patronage. Mr. Coleman then removed to Philadelphia and became reporter for the *Daily Register*, but subsequently connected himself with the *Public Ledger*, of which he has been city editor for a number of years.

Henry Vanderford purchased *The Cecil Democrat and Farmers' Journal* from Mr. Coleman in 1848, and published it under that name until June 1st, 1850, when the *Farmers' Journal* was dropped from the title, and the paper has ever since been published under the name of *The Cecil Democrat*.

In 1865 Mr. Vanderford disposed of the paper to Messrs. Constable & Stump.

Mr. Vanderford, who is a practical printer and a man of fine literary ability, had been connected with several journals before he came to Elkton; he afterwards established the *Middletown Transcript*, and subsequently purchased the *Democratic Advocate* at Westminster, Maryland, now owned and edited by his sons.

Messrs. Constable & Stump continued to publish *The Democrat* until September, 1865, when Mr. Constable sold his interest to George W. Cruikshank, the present proprietor, and the paper was published by Cruikshank & Co., until October of that year, when Mr. Stump sold his interest to John T. McCrery, and the name of the firm was changed to Cruikshank & McCrery. Mr. Cruikshank purchased Mr. McCrery's interest in June, 1866, and continued to publish the paper until February, 1873, when Dr. R. C. Mackall

purchased a half interest in it, which he retained until January 1st, 1876, since which it has been published by its present proprietor.

During the campaign of 1855, when Know-nothingism was rampant in the State of Maryland, the late Charles H. Haines and William J. Jones published a small campaign paper, called the *Union Reformer*, which was printed at the office of *The Whig*. It was devoted to the interest of the Know-nothing party, and was published anonymously for a time, owing to which the postmaster refused to transmit it through the mails; but this difficulty was soon obviated by placing the name of the imaginary firm of Smith & Co. at the head of its columns. After *The Whig* became fully committed to the Know-nothing party, the *Union Reformer* was discontinued.

Early in the fall of 1856 John B. Rowan commenced the publication of a small weekly campaign paper, called the *Jackson Picket Guard*. It was devoted to the interest of the Democratic party, and advocated the election of James Buchanan to the presidency. It was edited with considerable ability, and was printed at the office of *The Cecil Democrat*.

After the death of Mr. Ricketts, the *Cecil Whig* passed into the editorial management of James S. Crawford, who edited it for a period of eleven months, prior to April, 1861, when it was purchased by Edwin E. Ewing, who in 1876 disposed of it to its present owner, Henry R. Torbert, Esq. The *Chesapeake Chesapeake*, or the fighting fish of the Chesapeake Bay, was founded in Chesapeake city, in 1876, by Harry Moss who came to the Centennial International Exhibition as correspondent of the *Vicksbury Herald*. It was purchased by Dr. D. H. B. Brower, in the winter of 1878. Dr. Brower changed its name to the *Chesapeake Record* and continued to publish it until December, 1879, when he removed to North East and started the *North East Record*, which is now published in that town by his son William G. Brower. The

Rising Sun Journal was founded by W. H. Pennington & Bro., in 1879. It is a lively little sheet and gives evidence of attaining a good old age.

The latest journalistic venture in this county, is the *Cecil County News*, which was started in Elkton in September, 1880, by Dr. James H. Frazer, and which though yet in its infancy gives promise of a vigorous manhood.

The fisheries of this county have long been one of its most important sources of wealth. There can be no doubt that the Indian tribes that Captain Smith found residing at the head of the bay, when he explored it, were attracted there, as their ancestors had no doubt been, from time immemorial, by the large quantities of fish they found in the waters of the bay and its tributaries, and the facilities that the numerous branches of the streams emptying into it afforded for the easy capture of the members of the finny tribe.

The reader will recollect that when the warlike Susquehannocks made the treaty with the English on Severn River, in 1652, they reserved the country between the North East and Susquehanna rivers. Their reason for doing so, was no doubt, to secure the right of way to the rich fishing grounds at the head of the bay, and along the northern side of the North East River. In those days and until their passage was prevented by the erection of mill-dams, the migratory fish were accustomed to ascend the streams as far as they found a sufficient depth of water to enable them to swim.

The seines used a century ago were made of hemp or flax twine, which was spun on the old-fashioned spinning wheels then in use. They were generally not more than twenty or thirty yards long. Owing to the abundance of shad and herring a century ago, the demand for them could easily be supplied by seines of moderate length. Longer seines were not used until early in the present century, when the increased population and facilities for transportation produced a greater demand for fish than could be supplied by the short seines formerly in use.

During the Revolutionary war efforts were made by the provincial government, with what success has not been ascertained, to supply the troops of the Maryland line with smoked shad and herring, as part of their rations, which indicates that the fishing business was one of importance at that time.

The invention of the cotton-gin and the introduction of improved machinery for spinning cotton in the early part of the present century, gave a great impetus to the fishing business, which reached the highest degree of success during the decade between the years 1820 and 1830. During this period, as well as before and afterwards, many of the residents of Lancaster and Chester counties were in the habit of annually visiting the fisheries along the Susquehanna and North East rivers, during the fishing season, to obtain their supply of fish which they took home and salted away for use during the intervening time between one fishing season and the next. The Dutch farmers of Lancaster County came in their large Conestoga wagons, many of them for long distances, along miserable roads, through a rough and hilly country. They brought their own provisions and food for their teams with them and frequently would be absent from home for a week. Most of them, and indeed nearly everybody else who went to the "*fishen*," were in the habit of imbibing more freely of ardent spirits than was consistent with perfect sobriety. People who would have scorned the thought of being drunk at any other time or place, were in the habit of having a spree when they went to the "*fishen*." The well-to-do Dutchmen were by no means the only class that visited the fisheries. They were also visited by the poorer classes, who hailed the first *run* of herring with delight, and who, if they had no better or swifter means of conveyance, would go in ox-carts for long distances to share in the annual piscatory harvest.

The Charlestown fair, that was originally intended for a more legitimate use, during the latter part of its existence,

was held about the close of the fishing season. Many of the hands employed at the fisheries were hard cases, and they resorted to this fair to have a spree and spend the money they had earned during the fishing season. These annual drunken routs probably did more than anything else to injure the reputation of that long-established and historic village, which was benefited, rather than injured, when the annual fair was discontinued. In 1807, it was estimated that sixteen thousand barrels of shad and herring were annually cured and packed in the county, and that \$18,000 worth were sold fresh. In 1819, two thousand seven hundred barrels of herring were caught at a shore on North East River in twenty-six days, by making one haul a day. The proprietor of this shore then stopped fishing, having filled all his barrels. A few years later, thirty-three thousand shad were caught at one haul, at Bulls Mountain. About 1820, three hundred hogsheads of herring were caught at one haul at Spesutia Island. The sein used upon that occasion was of great length, and about one hundred men were employed at the fishery. So great was the quantity of fish caught at that haul that it was impossible to *land* them in the ordinary manner, and the fishermen were obliged to buoy the cork-line of the sein by fastening it to boats placed at a convenient distance from each other, and land a part of the immense haul with scoop nets. Herring sold that year as low as ten cents a hundred. As early as 1810, the supply of fish so far exceeded the demand for them that many thousands of them annually went to loss, and were left upon the shores of the Susquehanna River and the head of the bay, where they became such an intolerable nuisance that the Legislature, in 1810, passed a law compelling the proprietors of fisheries in the afore-named places to remove the fish and offal from the shores, within ten days after the end of the season, under a penalty of a fine of five dollars; in case of failure to remove them, within five days after being notified, a fine of twenty dollars was inflicted.

Large quantities of fish were used in the early part of this century for manuring the farms of those who lived near enough to fisheries to apply them profitably, for, owing to the expense of hauling them they could only be used with profit near where they were caught.

The next most important source of wealth in the county are its mineral productions, which consist of chrome and granite. The former is found in great abundance, in the form of what is technically called *sand chrome*, along the streams and low lands in that part of the county extending about a mile south of Mason and Dixons Line, and from the Little Elk to the Octoraro. At what time this valuable mineral was first discovered is not known, but it is highly probable that its existence was known to John Churchman, who owned much of the barren land upon which it is found, near the Octoraro. Its value first began to be developed about 1830, in which year, and subsequently, Isaac Tyson, of Baltimore, leased many hundreds of acres of the chrome lands and began to mine sand chrome extensively. During the succeeding twenty years, many hundred tons of chrome, most of which was obtained in this county, were annually shipped from Port Deposit to Baltimore. Owing to the insignificant royalty, per ton, paid by Tyson and his successor, the Tyson Mining Company, the mines, though a source of inexhaustible wealth to the lessees, were of but trifling value to the owners.

Magnesia also abounds in the barrens along the Octoraro, and in the eighth district, but it is not of sufficient importance to be mined successfully.

Large quantities of iron ore, as before stated, were formerly obtained near the iron works at Principio and North East, and there is reason to believe, from examinations recently made, that Red Hill, near Elkton, contains inexhaustible deposits of ore of a superior quality, as do also some of the hills in the upper part of Elk Neck. By the census of 1880, the amount of capital invested in iron manufactories in this county, consisting of the blast furnace of

George P. Whitaker, on the Principio Creek, and the rolling-mills and forges of the McCullough Iron Company at Rowlandville, North East, and Westamerell, was \$550,000.

Next to iron, the manufacture of paper is the most important industry in this county. The brothers, Samuel and William Meeteer, were the first to introduce the manufacture of paper into this county. They were the proprietors of the Providence Paper-mill, on the Little Elk, in the early part of the present century.

In 1816, the late Robert Carter purchased the site of the Cecil Paper-mill, on the Little Elk, now owned by his son, I. Day Carter, and soon after erected a paper-mill there. He subsequently purchased the mill formerly owned by the Cecil Manufacturing Company, and also carried on the Marley or *Ledger* mill, at which the paper now used in the office of the Philadelphia *Ledger* is made. Mr. Carter was the first to introduce the improved method of manufacturing paper by machinery, and did more than any other person to develop this important branch of business in this county.

By the census of 1880, the total amount of capital invested in the manufacture of paper in this county is \$200,000, which is divided among Charles H. Wells & Co., the proprietors of the Cecil mill on the Octoraro; the *Ledger* mill; the Providence mill, owned by William M. Singerly, proprietor of the Philadelphia *Record*, and I. Day Carter, proprietor of the Cecil paper-mill, on the Little Elk.

Granite of superior quality abounds in the north-western part of the county, particularly along the Susquehanna and Octoraro. The granite quarries of Port Deposit were opened in 1829 by the proprietors of the Maryland Canal, and have been worked ever since, except during a few years of great financial depression. In prosperous times they afford employment to several hundred persons, and have added much to the prosperity and wealth of the town.

In the winter of 1850 an effort was made by a few of the leading citizens of the county, amongst whom were Francis

A. Ellis, Hon. James McCauley, and the late Samuel S. Maffit, afterwards comptroller of the State treasury, to induce the legislature to establish a free-school system for the county. With this end in view, a convention was called, which met in Elkton in the winter of that year, and at an adjourned meeting embodied the views of the members in a bill which was sent to the representatives of the county in the Legislature then in session, with a request that the bill should be enacted into a law. This request was granted, and the bill passed, with this proviso: that the law should be submitted to a vote of the people of the county in the following May; and if not sanctioned by a majority of them, it was to be inoperative. A majority of the people voted against the law, and the old system of private or subscription schools, which had been in use from time immemorial, continued until 1859, when the first free-school system for the county was put in operation. This system was subsequently modified, and finally superseded by the free-school system of the State, in 1872.

Inasmuch as many of the younger part of the community know nothing of the system of education that prevailed when their grandparents were school children, it is proper to state, that in those days, when the people of a neighborhood needed a school-house, they held a meeting and raised the means to build it by voluntary contributions, many of which consisted of building materials and labor. The house was placed under the control of trustees, elected by the contributors, who were invested with power to employ teachers; prescribe the studies to be pursued by the pupils; and to supervise the teachers and schools. Many of the teachers were Irishmen, and though generally well educated and fully competent, not a few of them were addicted to periodical sprees, during the continuance of which, for days at a time, the pupils enjoyed a holiday. The school-houses were generally small and uncomfortable, being poorly ventilated in summer, and more poorly warmed

in winter. Provision was made by the State for the education of children whose parents were too poor to pay the teachers for their tuition, the charges for which, varied from one dollar and fifty cents to two dollars and fifty cents per scholar, per quarter of seventy-two days. Sometimes the patrons of the schools agreed to board the teacher, in such cases he moved around among them, from house to house, spending a few days with each family. The text books in use, during most of the time the subscription schools were in existence, were very different from those now used in the public schools, and required much hard study in order to be understood, but owing to this when their contents were once mastered they were never forgotten. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, it is questionable whether the old system was not productive of more good than the one now in use. The teachers of the olden times were rigid disciplinarians, and enforced their commands with commendable promptness, and inflexible justice; hesitating not in some few cases to chastise the parents as well as the children, when the former dared to infringe upon their prerogatives. The branches usually taught under the old system were few, notwithstanding which their paucity of number, was fully compensated by the thoroughness with which they were required to be mastered.

The strictest attention was given to the morals and demeanor of the pupils, in consequence of which, the virtues of patience, perseverance, and obedience, were highly developed. The word "teacher" was not used in connection with schools; and "school-master" had a meaning that *the Young America* of the present has never realized.

At this time there are seventy-six white and thirteen colored schools in the county. The value of school property, including school-houses and furniture owned by the school commissioners, is \$63,000, about \$50,000 of which has been accumulated since 1868, besides which several houses used for school purposes are rented by the school commissioners.

Owing to the fact that no pains were taken to preserve the returns of the assessors previous to the Revolutionary war, it is impossible even to approximate the number of inhabitants in the county for many years previous to that time; but by a census taken in 1712, it was as follows:

Masters and taxable men.....	504
White women.....	435
Children.....	873
Negroes.....	285
Total.....	<u>2,097</u>

The following abstract of a return made (probably to the intendant of the revenue) agreeably to an Act of Assembly, passed in 1785, in reference to the valuation of personal property, is valuable as showing the number and valuation of slaves in the county in that year:

	Number.	Value.
Male and female slaves from 8 to 14.....	518	£10,360 00 00
Males from 14 to 45.....	618	37,080 00 00
Females from 14 to 36.....	490	22,050 00 00
Males and females under 8 years.....	907	6,490 00 00
Males above 45; females above 36.....	458	6,796 00 00
Number of ounces of silver plate.....	4,151½	1,729 15 10
Value of other property.....		66,201 9 5
		<u>£150,707 5 3</u>

It will be seen from the above statement that the value of the slaves exceeded the value of all the other personal property in the county by upwards of £14,000.

The following table shows the population at each decade from 1790 to 1880.

Year.	White.	Free Colored.	Slave.	Total.
1790.....	10,055	163	3,407	13,625
1800.....	6,542	373	2,103	9,018
1810.....	9,652	947	2,467	13,056
1820.....	11,923	1,783	2,342	16,048
1830.....	11,478	2,249	1,705	15,432
1840.....	13,329	2,551	1,352	17,232
1850.....	15,472	2,623	844	18,939
1860.....	19,994	2,918	950	23,862
1870.....	21,860	4,014	25,874
1880.....	22,642	4,466	27,108

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Hall family—The Evans family—Dr. Amos A. Evans—The Mitchell family—Colonel George E. Mitchell—The Rumsey family—The Mauldin family—The Gilpin family—The Rudolph family—The Leslie family—The Hyland family—The Churchman family—The Defoe family—The Hartshorne family—Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay

THE HALL FAMILY.

THE early history of this family, like that of many others, is involved in obscurity. There is reason, however, to believe that Richard Hall, from whom the distinguished family of that name in this county have descended, patented a large tract of land called "Mount Welcome," on the east side of the Susquehanna River, about a mile above the mouth of the Octoraro, in 1640. He is believed to have been a son of Bishop Joseph Hall, of England. The earliest authentic record extant shows that Elisha Hall and Sarah Winfell (or Wingfield) were married September 16th, 1688. This Elisha Hall was the son of the Richard before mentioned. Sarah Wingfield is believed to have been a granddaughter or niece of the Mr. Wingfield who was President of the Council of Virginia very early in the history of that colony.

The tract of land called "Mount Welcome" probably extended from the Susquehanna to the Octoraro; for at the time of the Revolutionary war the plantation now owned by P. S. P. Conner, Esq., was in possession of Colonel Elihu Hall, who entertained General Lafayette at his mansion, which then occupied the site of the one now used by Mr. Conner. Part of the original dwelling-house, which was built of brick brought from England and landed from scows at the mouth of Octoraro, is now (1881) standing. It is on

an elevation near the Susquehanna, and was a famous mansion in the palmy days of the family, and was of such importance as to be located on a map of Pennsylvania, made a few years after the location of Mason and Dixons line, though it is more than three miles south of it.

But little is known of the history of Richard Hall and Elizabeth (Wingfield) Hall, except that they were the parents of one son, Elisha, who was born in 1663. He married and was the father of three children, as follows: Richard, born 1690; Elihew, born 1692; and Sarah, born 1694. No information concerning Richard and Sarah has been obtained. Elihew was the father of four children: Elihu, Elisha, Sarah, and Elizabeth. He probably died in 1753, at least his will was proved in that year. He devised his mill, which he built on twenty acres of land condemned for that purpose at the mouth of Beason's Run or Bastard Creek (now called Basin Run) in Rowlandville, to his son Elihu; his lands on the Susquehanna River to his son Elisha; and to his daughter Sarah, who had married a Mr. Bay, and then resided in South Carolina, a lot of negroe slaves and other personal property.

His son Elisha was a doctor of medicine. He subsequently removed to Virginia and married a daughter of Charles Carter, of that State.

Elihu Hall Bay, a descendant of Sarah Bay, became a judge of some distinction in South Carolina. Nothing is known of his daughter Elizabeth, but inasmuch as her name is not mentioned in her father's will, it is probable that she died before it was made.

Elihu, the second person of that name, and the great-grandson of Richard, the founder of the family, married Catharine Orrick, of Baltimore County, June 16th, 1757. They were the parents of thirteen children as follows: Elihu, John, James, Elisha, Susanna, Charles, Samuel Chew, George Whitefield, Elizabeth, Henry, Catharine Orrick, Washington, and Julia Reed, all of whom were born between

1758 and 1778. Elihu Hall, the father of this numerous family, was one of the most conspicuous patriots of this country during the Revolutionary war, and was appointed second major of the Susquehanna Battalion of Maryland militia, by the provincial government of his native State, on the 6th of June, 1776. The same year he named his son in honor of General Washington. Such was the prominence and popularity of the man, that this bold and patriotic action, was highly commended by the editor of one of the leading Philadelphia newspapers of that time. He probably died in 1791, as his will was proved in that year.

It is not within the scope of this work to give the history of all the descendants of this illustrious man; but the family of his son John has occupied such a prominent place in the politics and literature of the country, that it demands something more than a passing notice. In 1782, John Hall married Sarah Ewing, a daughter of Rev. John Ewing, a member of the Ewing family of this country, which settled on the banks of the romantic Octoraro, early in the last century. Mr. Ewing was a native of this county, and received his education at New London Academy, then in charge of Rev. Francis Allison, and became one of the most eminent scholars and Presbyterian divines of his time.

After their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Hall spent many years at the family homestead, which he inherited from his father, on the banks of the Octoraro. While residing there in 1806, she wrote a "Sketch of a Landscape," which so well describes the beauties of that romantic section of country, that we make the following extract:

"The wide extended landscape glows with more
Than common beauty. Hills rise on hills—
An amphitheatre, whose lofty top,
The spreading oak, or stately poplar crowns—
Whose ever-varying sides present such scenes
Smooth or precipitous—harmonious still—
Mild or sublime,—as wake the poet's lay;
Nor aught is wanting to delight the sense;

The gifts of Ceres, or Diana's shades,
 The eye enraptur'd roves o'er woods and dells,
 Or dwells complacent on the numerous signs
 Of cultivated life. The laborer's decent cot,
 Marks the clear spring, or bubbling rill.
 The lowlier hut hard by the river's edge,
 The boat, the seine suspended, tell the place
 Where in his season hardy fishers toil.
 More elevated on the grassy slope,
 The farmer's mansion rises mid his trees ;
 Thence, o'er his fields the master's watchful eye
 Surveys the whole. He sees his flocks, his herds
 Excluded from the grain-built cone ; all else,
 While rigid winter reigns, their free domain !
 Range through the pastures, crop the tender root,
 Or climbing heights abrupt, search careful out,
 The welcome herb, now prematurely sprung
 Through half-thawed earth. Beside him spreading elms
 His friendly barrier from th' invading north,
 Contrast their shields defensive with the willow
 Whose flexile drapery sweeps his rustic lawn.
 Before him lie his vegetable stores,
 His garden, orchards, meadows—all his hopes—
 Now bound in icy chains : but ripening suns
 Shall bring their treasures to his plenteous board.
 Soon too, the hum of busy man shall wake
 Th' adjacent shores. The baited hook, the net
 Drawn skilful round the wat'ry cove, shall bring
 Their prize delicious to the rural feast."

Mrs. Hall was one of the most gifted, accomplished, and versatile writers of her day, and seems to have inherited and transmitted to her children much of the genius and intellectuality of her distinguished father. Her book, entitled "Conversations on the Bible," was so popular as to astonish the author by the rapidity of its sale.

John and Sarah (Ewing) Hall were the parents of eleven children, four of whom were distinguished for great literary ability. Their son, Harrison Hall, was the author of a work on distillation, and for many years the proprietor and publisher of the *Portfolio*, a periodical of much celebrity in Philadelphia, where it was published, and elsewhere.

Another son, James Hall, studied law early in life, and afterwards distinguished himself in the battle of Lundy's Lane and other battles on the Canadian frontier, in the war of 1812. He subsequently removed to Illinois, and settled at Shawanese town, became judge of the circuit court, and was State treasurer for four years. He was a voluminous writer, and the author of eleven works on the western country.

John E. Hall was admitted to the bar in Baltimore in 1805. He was a distinguished author, and for a time was editor of the *Portfolio*.

Still another son, Thomas Mifflin Hall, was an author of no mean ability, and published a number of poetical and scientific contributions in the *Portfolio*. He studied medicine, and while on his way to embark in the service of one of the South American States, was lost at sea.

Henry Hall, the tenth child of Elihu Hall and Catharine Orrick Hall, was a physician, and married Hester Maclay, daughter of Hon. William Maclay, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Mr. Maclay and Robert Morris were the first United States Senators from Pennsylvania. William Maclay Hall, son of Henry just mentioned, was a Presbyterian minister. He died at Bedford, Pennsylvania, in 1851. Hon. William M. Hall, son of William Maclay Hall, is president judge of the sixteenth Judicial District of Pennsylvania, composed of the counties of Bedford and Somerset, and resides at Bedford, Pennsylvania. His brother, Hon. Lewis W. Hall, resided at Altoona, Pennsylvania, and represented that district for two terms in the Pennsylvania State Senate, during and after the war. He was twice elected speaker. He now resides at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

A portion of the family homestead is now in the possession of Richard Hall, the son of Washington Hall, and the great-great-great-grandson of the Richard Hall who settled on Mount Welcome in 1640. His brother Charles resides in Harford County, Maryland. Another branch of the

family, which are the descendants of Charles, the son of the second Elihu, reside in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania.

THE EVANS FAMILY.

THIS family is one of the most numerous in the county and for more than a century has been one of the most distinguished; many of its members having filled important public positions, while others have been successful manufacturers and farmers.

There is reason to believe that most of the name in this county are the descendants of three brothers, John, James, and Robert Evans, who settled here about a century and a half ago, and are believed to have been the sons of John Evans, who was probably born about the year 1680.

In 1739, James Evans bought four hundred acres of land in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which he continued to hold, and probably resided on it until 1752, when he sold it to his brother, John Evans, the great-grandfather of William James, and John P. Evans, and Catharine P., wife of W. W. Black.

James and Robert Evans married sisters, Isabella and Margaret, daughters of John Kilpatrick of West Nottingham, who made them the executors of his will, and as such they, in 1773, sold his plantation, about two miles west of the Rising Sun, on the road leading to Porter's Bridge, to their brother John Evans, who had settled many years before at Drumore Centre, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and whose son James, before-mentioned, settled on the aforesaid farm.

John Evans, the eldest of the three brothers, served in the French and Indian war as a volunteer from Lancaster County. He married a Miss Denny and was the father of eight children. His eldest child, James, who was born in 1749, married (first) Susan Allison. They were the parents of three children, John, Robert, and Martha. John emigrated to Erie, Pennsylvania, where he raised a large family. He served as a volunteer in the war of 1812.

Robert, the father of Judge James M. Evans, spent his life in this county and was for many years a justice of the peace. Martha died young. James, above-mentioned, married (secondly) Catharine Porter. They were the parents of four children, Andrew, James, Sarah, and William. William died young; Andrew was drowned in the Susquehanna at the Conowingo bridge, when it was building, in 1817; Sarah married the late William Patten, and is now living in the ninety-third year of her age. James Evans married (thirdly) Martha Gillespie, by whom he had no children. He died in 1817.

James, the second of the three brothers, shortly after the sale of his property in Lancaster County, in 1752, purchased "Evans' Choice," situate about two miles southwest of West Nottingham Presbyterian church, and came there to reside. He was the father of Robert Evans, who resided near Port Deposit.

Robert Evans married, first, his cousin Margaret Evans. They were the parents of Margaret, who never married, and Ellen Oldham, the wife of Cyrus Oldham. He married, secondly, Mrs. Isabella Alexander, whose maiden name was Creigh, by whom he had James, who never married; Jane, who married Abraham D. Mitchell, of Fair Hill; Mary, who married William Hollingsworth, of Elkton; Sophia, who married Dr. Henry B. Broughton, who practiced medicine near Port Deposit for many years; and Robert and John, twin brothers, the latter of whom practiced medicine many years in Havre de Grace, and in the latter part of his life, near Port Deposit.

Robert Evans, the youngest of the three brothers before-mentioned, settled on the Big Elk, west of Cowantown, where Parke, Smith & Co.'s rolling-mill formerly stood, upon three hundred acres of land, which he purchased in 1730. He was a tanner, and had a tan-yard on the west side of the creek, the site of which was covered by the water of the rolling-mill dam. He seems to have been very suc-

cessful in business, for he became the owner of large quantities of land at the Head of Elk, in New Munster and elsewhere. He married Margaret, a daughter of John Kilpatrick, as has been stated, and died in 1775, leaving two sons, Robert and John Evans, and six daughters, Jean Evans, who afterwards married Henry Hollingsworth, of Elkton; Hannah, who married Rev. James Finley, pastor of the Rock church; Mary, who married Zebulon Hollingsworth, of Elk Landing; Isabella, who married William Montgomery; Margaret, who married James Black, the grandfather of Mrs. John C. Groome; and Elanor, who married Amos Alexander, of the Alexander family of New Munster.

John and Robert Evans inherited the tan-yard on the Big Elk. Robert was commissioned lieutenant in a military company early in the Revolutionary war, but was thrown from his horse and killed while riding home from Cowantown before he entered the army. John, the surviving brother, continued to reside upon the family homestead on the banks of the Big Elk, where he engaged in the manufacture of bar iron and nails, and subsequently in rolling copper. He and the celebrated Paul Revere, the hero of Longfellow's "Midnight Ride," are believed to have been the only rollers of copper in the United States at that time, and all the vessels of the American navy are said to have been coppered with material of their manufacture. Revere's mills were about seventeen miles from Boston, and it may be mentioned as an interesting historical fact, that Dr. Amos A. Evans, the son of the proprietor of the copper-mill on the Elk, with the consent of the firm of Revere & Co. and at the instance of his father visited the works of Revere for the purpose of observing his method of working copper, and while there made sketches of the works.

John Evans married Mary Alexander, one of the Alexander family of New Munster. They were the parents of Amos Alexander Evans, who will shortly be noticed at length; Sarah, who married Robert Gallaher; Robert, who

married, and with his family removed to Iowa; John, who was one of the "glorious nineteen;"* Jane, who never married, and died early in life; Levi Hollingsworth, who was State Senator and Judge of the Orphan's Court of this county; George, who went to Mexico and died in the city of Matamoras; and William and Mark, both of whom died young.

AMOS ALEXANDER EVANS,

the oldest son of John Evans and Mary Alexander, was born November 26th, 1785, at the residence of his parents on the banks of the Big Elk, about five miles north of Elkton. When a boy he was sent to the Academy at Newark, Delaware, then a very noted school, where his dilligence and good conduct enabled him to acquire as good an education both in the English branches and in the classics as that school was capable of giving. In March, 1804, when in the nineteenth year of his age, he commenced the study of medicine with Dr. George E. Mitchell, who was then practicing his profession in Elkton, with whom he continued to study for three years; he also attended the lectures of the celebrated Dr. Rush (a signer of the Declaration of Independence), and the lectures of the other professors at the University of Pennsylvania, where his attention to study and his dilligence were such, that he took, in manuscript, three considerable volumes of notes of Dr. Rush's lectures which are still preserved. He showed the like zeal, industry

* Previous to 1836, the senators of Maryland were elected by an electoral college, composed of forty electors; each county electing two and Baltimore City and the city of Annapolis, one each. The constitution provided that not less than twenty-four members of the college should constitute a quorum. At the election in 1836, the Whigs elected twenty-one and the Democrats *nineteen* members of the college. The latter refused to go into an election until they had a guarantee from the Whigs, that certain amendments to the constitution should be made, allowing the people to elect the governor and senators by a direct vote. The Democratic members have since been known as the "glorious nineteen."

and dilligence, in taking a volume of manuscript notes of the lectures of the learned Dr. Jackson, of Boston, which have likewise been preserved.

Having been fully endorsed by his learned preceptors whom he had assisted in his practice for some time, and having been licensed to practice his profession by the medical and chirurgical faculty of his native State, and having also passed a creditable and satisfactory examination by the board of medical officers, and having been appointed surgeon's mate to the 49th Regiment of Maryland militia in 1807, he was appointed, by President Jefferson, an assistant surgeon in the U. S. Navy, on the 1st of September, 1808. On the 25th of the following October, he sailed from Baltimore for New Orleans, in the brig *Adherbal*. He remained in Louisiana at Bay St. Louis and New Orleans; Natchetz, Miss.; St. Maries, in Georgia, and other places where duty called him until some time in the year 1811, having in the meantime, on the 20th of April, 1810, been commissioned as surgeon, when he returned home but was unfortunately shipwrecked during the voyage upon the coast of North Carolina.

During all the time of his sojourn in the southern country, though the yellow fever was raging, he entirely escaped any attack, which he principally attributed to going into the sunshine only when covered by an umbrella, avoiding the night air as much as duty would permit, and to temperate habits.

After Dr. Evans returned from Louisiana, he was ordered to, and joined the frigate *Constitution*, then at Washington city, and sailed from that place on a cruise, on the 11th of June, 1812. From the 16th to the 19th the famous chase of the *Constitution* by the British fleet took place, of which the journal kept by Dr. Evans gives a graphic account. He concludes in the following manner: "thus terminates a disagreeable chase of nearly three days attended with inexpressible anxiety, and alternate elevation and depression of spirits, as the winds were propitious or otherwise; we had

many times given over all expectation of making our escape, and had it not been for uncommon exertion we must inevitably have fallen a prey to the superiority of our enemy."

The *Constitution* after the chase stood into Boston harbor, and again went to sea, and on Wednesday the 19th of August, 1812, came into action with His Britannic Majesty's ship, the *Guerriere*. The *Constitution* fired her first gun at fifteen minutes past five, P. M., and came into close action at six o'clock, and the *Guerriere* struck her colors twenty-five minutes afterwards. From the firing of the first gun to the termination of the action was an hour and ten minutes. The *Constitution* had been on fire a few days before and in extinguishing the flames, Dr. Evans had badly injured his right hand; notwithstanding this he was assiduous in attention to the wounded of the enemy as well as our own men, and kept his daily journal as usual, writing with his left hand. Owing to the fact that the *Guerriere* was so badly injured that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat, and because the ocean was then swarming with British cruisers, it was determined to destroy her, and about three or four o'clock on the morning after the action, she was set on fire. Dr. Evans gives the following account of the matter: "Having got all the men from the *Guerriere*, we set her on fire and before the officer had time to get on board our ship with the boat, she blew up, presenting a sight, the most incomparably grand and magnificent I have ever experienced. No painter, no poet or historian, could give on canvass or paper, any description that could do justice to the scene."

Captain Hull resigned the command of the *Constitution* to Captain Bainbridge, not without trouble on the part of the crew, who were strongly attached to him, and on Tuesday, the 27th of October, 1812, the ship stood to sea, Dr. Evans being her surgeon, and on December 29th, on the coast of Brazil captured His Britannic Majesty's ship, the *Java*, Captain Lambert, who was killed in action. In this action Commodore Bainbridge was wounded by a piece of copper

from the copper railing around the after hatchway, which lacerated the muscles of his thigh in a terrible manner, notwithstanding which he refused to leave the deck or have his wounds dressed until long after the close of the action. Dr. Evans was assiduous in his attention to him, and thus began an intimacy between these distinguished men that only terminated with the life of the Commodore, as is shown by the following letter selected from many similar ones in the possession of the family of Dr. Evans:

“MY DEAR SIR:

“Enclosed are several letters from me which I hope will procure you the station you desire, and also pleasure from my friends. I beg of you to deliver the letters. Although we part at present I still hope we shall meet on service at some future day; at all events, I pray you to be assured of one truth—that in me you have a warm and affectionate friend, and at all times I sincerely hope you will consider me as such; recollect the promise I made to you. At any time when you require the fulfilment of it, command it without reserve. May you be as happy as I sincerely wish you. In great haste but sincerely yours,

“WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

“DR. EVANS,

“Surgeon U. S. Navy, 25th March, 1813.”

For his services Dr. Evans was by vote of Congress presented with two valuable silver medals, one for the *Guerriere* and the other for the *Java*. Only twenty-six medals have ever been given by vote of Congress, and they have attained at this day a high value as works of art. The medals presented to Dr. Evans are about two and a half inches in diameter, and contain on the obverse, the one a handsome bust of Commodore Hull; the other a bust of Commodore Bainbridge. And on the reverse, highly artistic representations of the vessels engaged in action. The one in commemoration of the capture of the *Guerriere* was accompanied by a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, of which the following is a copy:

“NAVY DEPARTMENT, February 10th, 1820.

“*Sir* :—In compliance with a resolution of the Congress of the United States, the President directs me to present to you a silver medal in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of your gallantry, good conduct, and services in the conflict with the British Frigate *Guerriere*. I have the

“Honor to be very
respectfully your
obt. servt,

“SMITH THOMPSON.

“DR. AMOS A. EVANS,

“Surgeon U. States Navy, Elkton, Md.”

The following is a copy of the inscription on the reverse of this Medal :

HORAE MOMENTO

VICTORIA

INTER CONST. NAV. AMER. ET GUER. ANGL.

The obverse contains the following inscription :

PERITOS. ARTE. SUPERAT JUL. MDCCCXII AUG.

CERTAMINE FORTES ISSC U. S. HULL.

The inscription on the obverse of the other medal is as follows :

GULIELMUS BAINBRIDGE PATRIA

VICTISQUE LAUDATUS.

On the reverse,

PUGNANDO INTER CONST. NAV. AMERI.

ET JAV. NAV. ANGL.

DIE XXIX DECEM. MDCCCXII.

In May, 1813, while on a visit to his relatives in the vicinity of Elkton, Dr. Evans served as a volunteer for a short time in the fort at Frenchtown. For some reason the militia that were stationed at that place were removed the evening before the arrival of the British to Fort Hollingsworth, at Elk Landing; whereupon the doctor repaired to the residence of his father, on the Big Elk, where he spent the night; hearing the firing the next morning, he mounted his horse and rode to Fort Hollingsworth, and in company with the late H. D. Miller, and two or three others procured a boat and rowed down the river to Frenchtown, being the first to arrive there after the British had embarked on their barges, which were still lying in the river not far from the ruins of the town. It was upon this occasion that the British fired one of their swivel guns at them while they were standing in the road near the ruins of the town. The ball struck the ground near them and scattered the gravel all over their persons.

After the close of the war, Dr. Evans was stationed at Charlestown Navy Yard, and having ample leisure availed himself of the opportunity to attend the medical lectures at Harvard University, where he graduated with much distinction, on the 30th of August, 1814.

But war having been declared against the Barbary States on the northern coast of Africa on account of their unprovoked and piratical attacks upon our commerce, Dr. Evans, on the 2d of July, 1815, sailed with commodore Bainbridge in the *Independence*, seventy-four, as fleet surgeon in the war against the Algerines. He was the first of this rank in the navy, and the *Independence*, seventy-four, the first ship of the line.

While cruising in the Mediterranean during the war with the Barbary States, Dr. Evans had an opportunity of visiting many of the old historic cities along the shores of that sea, and his journal is replete with beautiful and classic descriptions of many of the places he visited, which shows that he

was not insensible to the charms of nature nor forgetful of the heroes of antiquity.

On his return from the war with the Barbary States, Dr. Evans was again stationed at the Charlestown Navy Yard, and while there made the acquaintance of Miss Mary Oliver, of Boston, a beautiful and highly cultivated and educated lady, whom he married on the 28th of March, 1816. Some time after his marriage he applied to be relieved from duty at the Charlestown Navy Yard and proceeded to Elkton, on leave, where he entered upon the practice of his profession, in which he continued until the time of his death.

Though asked to accept the position of Governor of the State and frequently pressed to accept other honorable positions, he firmly declined all political preferment and honor, choosing rather to minister to the wants and alleviate the sufferings of his numerous patients, who loved and revered him both as a physician and a friend.

About the year 1823, he was ordered to the charge of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, which he declined, unless the Navy Department would promise a permanent position at that place. This not being in its power, Dr. Harris was appointed, and from his private practice accumulated an ample fortune. In 1824, he resigned his position in the navy, against the earnest remonstrance of the secretary and the department.

During his term of service the pay of a surgeon was trivial in comparison with what it has since become, being (as is thought) only about nine hundred dollars a year when he was fleet surgeon.

He died on the 15th of January, 1848, beloved and regretted by the whole community, which showed their sorrow for his loss and their respect for his memory by voluntarily closing every place of business in the town upon the occasion of his funeral.

Mrs. Evans survived her husband many years, and died in Baltimore, on the 4th of January, 1881. Their children

were Alexander Evans, Andrew W. Evans, (now of the United States Army), and Mary Evans, who was married to the late James W. Clayton, all three of whom are still living.

THE MITCHELL FAMILY.

THE Mitchells, of Cecil County, are of Scotch-Irish extraction, and are the descendants of Dr. Abraham Mitchell, a celebrated physician and native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, who settled at or near the Head of Elk, as Elkton was then called, some time previous to 1767, at which time he was practicing his profession near that place. But little is known of his early history, except that he was a cousin of the Rev. Alexander Mitchell, a distinguished Presbyterian minister who for many years near the close of the last and in the early part of the present century, was pastor of the Doe Run and Upper Octoraro churches, in Chester County.

Dr. Mitchell was about twenty-five years of age when he came to this county; and there is a tradition in the family, that having completed his medical studies, his father presented him with a horse, saddle and saddle-bags, and five hundred dollars in cash, when he started out to seek a favorable location to practice his profession. He soon lost the money in his possession by going security for a friend, but being of robust constitution and possessed of great energy, nothing daunted, set himself to work manfully to repair the loss.

In 1769 he leased a lot in Elkton, and subsequently erected thereon the dwelling-house on Main street, now owned and occupied by James T. McCullough, Esq., who, in 1845, married his granddaughter, Catharine W. Mitchell. Elkton was an insignificant village at that time, and probably did not contain more than five or six good houses, among which were those now occupied by Dr. R. H. Tull; the old post-office building, which was built in 1768; and the houses now occupied by John Partridge, Esq., Hon. Alexander Evans, and Colonel George R. Howard. It is

worthy of remark in this connection, as showing the insignificance of the place, that the lot before-mentioned is described as being near Glover's Hill, which is the hill west of Little Elk Creek, now owned by Alfred Wetherell.

Dr. Abraham Mitchell seems to have been fond of agricultural pursuits, a trait that has been inherited by most of his descendants, for he subsequently leased a large quantity of land near the mouth of Mill Creek, which empties into the Little Elk near Glover's Hill, and in 1779 purchased a hundred acres, part of New Castle back landing, which was situate on the Elk River, next above Frenchtown.

Dr. Mitchell was one of the most distinguished physicians of his time, which is shown by the fact that his practice extended over the greater part of Cecil and embraced part of Harford and New Castle counties. He was a true patriot, and showed his devotion to the cause of his country during the Revolutionary war by converting his house into a hospital for the use of the wounded soldiers of the Continental army, many of whom availed themselves of his kindness and professional skill.

On the 19th of November, 1772, he married Mary Thompson, daughter of Dr. Ephraim Thompson, who was the son of Richard, who was the son of Richard, who was the son of the John Thompson who married Judith Hermen, the second daughter of Augustine Hermen, the founder of Bohemia Manor.

In 1781 he purchased two hundred acres of land at Fair Hill, and some time afterwards removed there, but subsequently returned to Elkton, and for a time resided in the Mansion house, on Main street, now occupied by Dr. R. F. Tull. He subsequently returned to Fair Hill, and in the latter part of his life became a member of the Rock church. He had previously, in 1777, been a liberal subscriber to the salary of the Rev. Mr. Thompson, rector of North Elk parish.

He died at Fair Hill, September 30th, 1817, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

Dr. Abraham Mitchell and wife were the parents of eight children, two of whom died in infancy. Of his sons, George Edward was born March 3d, 1781, and will be noticed at length hereafter. Ephraim Thompson, born March 17th, 1783, was endowed by nature with considerably more talent than generally falls to the lot of man. He studied law with William Pincney, and practiced his profession in this county, and died in the service of his country in the last war with Great Britain, on Lake Erie, on board the transport *Lady Provost*, en route from Detroit to Fort George. Abraham David Mitchell, their third son, was born on the 1st of December, 1786. He married Jane Evans, daughter of Robert and Margaret Evans.* They were the parents of nine children as follows: Ephraim Thompson; Robert; Abraham David; Alexander; John Jay; James Evans; and Mary, the wife of Judge James M. Evans; Jane Evans, wife of William T. West, and Margaret, wife of Richard D. Hall. Abraham D. Mitchell was a member of the company of light horsemen, commanded by John R. Evans,† of this county, in the war of 1812, and participated in the defense of Baltimore. He was one of the delegates that represented this county in the Legislature in 1814 and the two following years, and was for many years a leading member of the Rock church and one of the elders of that church at the time of his death which occurred in 1841.

COLONEL GEORGE EDWARD MITCHELL.

GEORGE EDWARD MITCHELL studied medicine under the tuition of his father, and also attended the lectures at the

* See sketch of the Evans family.

† John R. Evans, was a son of Samuel Evans, who for many years resided at Prospect Hill, now owned by H. D. Miller. He is believed to have been related to the other Evans of this county, but the degree of relationship between the families, if any exists, is not certainly known. He was a man of some distinction, and assumed the name of Ricketts to distinguish him from another John Evans. He was the father of John W. Evans, of Newark, Delaware.

medical department of the Pennsylvania University, by which he was licensed to practice his profession, on the 5th of June, 1805. For some years prior and subsequent to this time he practiced his profession in partnership with his father in Elkton, but in 1808 was elected one of the representatives of this county in the General Assembly of the State, and served in that capacity during the session of 1808-9, being a zealous supporter of President Jefferson's administration. Having declined a re-election to the General Assembly, he was elected a member of the Executive Council, and took his seat in that body on the 27th of November, 1809; Edward Lloyd being at that time Governor of the State. Mr. Mitchell's colleagues were Thomas W. Hall, Levin Duvall, Reverdy Ghiselin and James Butcher.

In January, 1809, he was offered the position of captain of light dragoons in the regular army, which he declined, and continued to serve in the council, of which he had been made president, until the spring of 1812, when it became apparent that war would soon be declared against Great Britain, he resigned, and on May 1st was appointed major of the third artillery, in the regular army. Soon after his resignation, he raised a company of volunteers in this county and entered into active service.

The summer and fall of 1812 he spent in camp at Albany, New York, assisting Colonel Macomb in disciplining his regiment, and marched with it, in November, to Sackett's Harbor, on Lake Ontario. He had command of the regiment after reaching Sackett's Harbor, and spent several weeks of an intensely cold winter encamped amid the frost and snow of the Canadian frontier. Huts were subsequently erected, and the remainder of the winter was spent in guarding the fleet on the lake and in making preparations for the approaching campaign.

For his valuable services during the winter, General Armstrong, Secretary of War, promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel on the 3d of March, 1813. In the spring

of that year the campaign on the northern frontier was opened by the capture of York, an important post in Upper Canada. Colonel Mitchell was a volunteer in that brilliant but unfortunate affair. After the British troops had been beaten and completely routed, the diabolical plan of destroying the American troops, which were advancing in columns, by exploding their magazine, containing five hundred barrels of gunpowder, was carried into effect, and General Pike and three hundred gallant soldiers were killed or badly wounded by the explosion. Colonel Mitchell, who was much injured, assisted in reforming the shattered columns. He was the first to raise and revive for the moment the gallant and lamented Pike. His aides-de-camp being killed or badly wounded, he gave Colonel Mitchell his last orders for Colonel Pierce, the second in command of the land forces, who immediately ordered Colonel Mitchell on duty under him, and afterwards spoke in the warmest terms of commendation of his conduct upon this occasion. Colonel Mitchell was with General Dearborn at the capture of Fort George, a strong fortification on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, and aided much in the achievement of that brilliant victory. A few days after the capture of Fort George he was ordered to the command of Fort Niagara, which important post he commanded during the summer and fall of 1813. And on account of his bravery and good generalship, was placed in command of the rear guard of the second division of the Northern army while on its march, under command of General Brown, from French Mills to Sackett's Harbor, in February, 1814. His command consisted of one thousand men, and was one of the most important in the army, on account of the pursuit and attacks that were expected from the enemy. This duty, like all others assigned him, was discharged in a manner highly creditable to him and satisfactory to his countrymen.

In the April following while *en route* with his command from Sackett's Harbor to Buffalo, having arrived at Batavia

he was ordered by General Brown, who had rode forty miles during the night to meet him there, to take command at Oswego, and important post at the mouth of Oswego River and the key to a very important depot of naval stores, twelve miles further up the river at Great Falls, which were intended for the use of vessels recently launched, but not yet finished at Sackett's Harbor.

When Colonel Mitchell had received his orders and with his officers was taking leave of General Brown, the General said to him, "Colonel, if you cannot save this property, our fleet on Ontario will be rendered useless. It very probably will be destroyed, and the whole force of the enemy will be brought against us on the Niagara. But if you save this property we will have a splendid campaign, and you will deserve from me the thanks of your General and the army and your country cannot sufficiently reward you." The alacrity with which the gallant colonel and his no less gallant soldiers engaged in this hazardous expedition is fully attested by the fact that they marched at the rate of fifty miles a day in order to reach Oswego before it should fall into the hands of the enemy. Colonel Mitchell and his command reached Oswego on the 30th of April, 1814. The place was in a bad condition. There were but five cannons in the fortifications, three of which having lost their trunnions were useless. The stockade around the ancient fort which was composed of pickets set in the ground was entirely decayed and useless. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Colonel Mitchell with his accustomed alacrity and promptness set about repairing the works and sent messengers into the surrounding country to arcuse the militia, a few of whom afterwards responded to his call. At daylight on the morning of the 5th of May, a British naval force of seven vessels and a number of gunboats was discovered approaching the fort. The village and the fort being some distance apart and on opposite sides of the river, and Colonel Mitchell having too few troops for the defense of both,

ordered all the tents in store to be pitched near the town, while with his whole force, consisting of less than three hundred men, he took position in the fort. This deception had the desired effect, and the enemy believing the town to be full of troops proceeded to bombard the fort leaving the defenseless village unmolested. Early in the afternoon the enemy in fifteen large boats covered by the gunboats and small armed vessels attempted to effect a landing, but were repulsed by a small detachment of the Americans stationed near the shore, who used an old twelve pounder upon them with terrible effect until it bursted. At this juncture a heavy breeze sprang up and the entire squadron put to sea.

The next morning the British fleet again appeared off Oswego, and the large vessels soon afterwards opened a heavy fire on the fort. In the afternoon the enemy, about twelve hundred in number, effected a landing, and Colonel Mitchell finding it impossible to defend the fort with so few men, boldly sallied out and met the invaders under cover of a woods. He divided his small detachment into two parts, and placing himself at the head of one of them, attacked the British column in front, while the other assailed it on the flank. By desperate fighting the enemy was kept in check for a long time, but overwhelming numbers finally compelled the Americans to fall back, and the British took possession of the fort and what few stores were in the vicinity. Colonel Mitchell retreated up the river in good order and took a position where he might protect the naval stores at the Falls, should the enemy attempt to capture them.

This gallant defense of Oswego was one of the most brilliant affairs on the Canadian frontier, and was in striking contrast with the mishaps and failures in the previous campaign which were owing in great measure to the incompetency or cowardice of those in command. An American historian, in writing of the defense of Oswego two years afterwards, uses this language: "On no occasion did the Americans deserve better of their country; at no time before did the enemy buy victory with less advantage to

himself, or at a dearer price. Twice they repulsed and for nearly two days maintained a contest against seven times their number, and finally succeeded in preserving the stores at the Falls, the loss of which would have materially impeded the operations of the army and navy."

For the gallantry displayed at Oswego, Colonel Mitchell received the thanks of his superior officers, and on the 14th of the following August, was breveted Colonel in the regular army.

After the memorable battles on the Niagara, in which Generals Brown, Scott and Ripley, were disabled by their wounds, General Gaines was ordered to take command of the army of the Niagara, he left Colonel Mitchell in command of the army of the centre, which command he held during the continuance of the war, performing with the approbation of the commanding generals and the Secretary of War the many important and difficult duties which devolved upon him. He was the first to announce the news of peace to the British authorities in Canada.

Shortly after the conclusion of peace, the Legislature of Maryland passed a series of resolutions highly complimentary of his bravery and good conduct, and ordered the Governor to present him with an elegant sword.

Peace being proclaimed, and after having satisfactorily performed all the various and confidential duties imposed upon him preparatory to the reduction of the army, Colonel Mitchell expressed a wish not to be retained in the Peace establishment, notwithstanding which he was retained and by a highly complimentary general order, placed in command of the fourth military department as the successor of Major-general Scott. This command Colonel Mitchell held several years, deserving and receiving the thanks of his superior officers for the ability with which he discharged his duties.

Owing to the partiality and favoritism shown in the reduction of the army in 1821, Colonel Mitchell on the 1st of

June, of that year, resigned his commission and returned to his native county, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, of which he was very fond, upon part of the family homestead at Fair Hill, which he had inherited from his father.

On the 28th of May, 1816, Colonel Mitchell married Mary Hooper, daughter of Samuel Hooper and Ann (Conway) Hooper, of Dorchester County, Maryland. Mrs. Mitchell was a beautiful and highly cultivated and accomplished lady, and no doubt her husband after his long and arduous service in the army hoped to enjoy a long season of repose in the bosom of his family; but he was not allowed to do so. For his countrymen being fully sensible of his eminent fitness for the position, and being desirous to reward him in some measure for his gallant service in the army in the fall of 1822, elected him a member of the Eighteenth Congress from the congressional district composed of Cecil, Kent, and Harford counties, without opposition.

Colonel Mitchell's career as a statesman was no less brilliant than his record as a soldier. In both positions he was distinguished by actions rather than by words. On the 12th of January, 1824, he offered the following preamble and resolutions, of which he was the author, and which will fully explain themselves:

“Whereas, That distinguished champion of freedom, and hero of our revolution, the friend and associate of Washington, the Marquis de Lafayette, a volunteer general officer in our Revolutionary war, has expressed an anxious desire to visit this country, the independence of which his valor, blood, and treasures; were so instrumental in achieving; Therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled that the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the Marquis de Lafayette the expression of those sentiments of profound respect, gratitude and affectionate attachment which are cherished towards him by the

government and people of this country, and to assure him that the execution of his wish and intention to visit this country will be hailed by the people and government with patriotic pride and joy; and be it further resolved that the President of the United States be requested to ascertain from the Marquis de Lafayette, the time when it may be most agreeable for him to perform his visit, and that he offer to the Marquis a conveyance to this country in one of our national ships."

These resolutions were referred to a committee, which changed but did not improve their phraseology, and they were subsequently passed by both Houses of Congress.

On the 6th of the following December, Lafayette, having in the meantime reached this country and being at that time in Washington, Colonel Mitchell offered the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That the Honorable, the Speaker (Hon. Henry Clay), invite our distinguished guest and benefactor, General Lafayette, to a seat within the hall of this House, and that he direct the manner of his reception."

Colonel Mitchell was subsequently made chairman of a committee of twenty-four members of the lower House, and had the honor of introducing the nation's guest to the representatives of the people.

This action of Colonel Mitchell, which is characteristic of the manliness and generosity of his heart, led to the formation of a friendship between him and the distinguished foreigner, which was co-extensive with their lives, as witness the following extract from a letter from Lafayette, dated at La-grange, France, the 26th November, 1826, and addressed to Colonel Mitchell : " You are again by this time on the floor where your kind voice was heard to invite an American veteran to the most honorable and delightful welcome that ever blessed the heart of man ; the sense of that obligation

to you, my dear friend, cannot but mingle with every one of the enjoyments of the recollections relative to a period of my life, the happiness of which to express I could never find adequate words. I beg you, my dear sir, to accept the best wishes and highest regards of your affectionate and grateful friend, Lafayette.”

After Lafayette returned to France he sent Colonel Mitchell a number of choice cherry trees and a quantity of sweet or sugar corn, now extensively cultivated for table use, but at that time very rare in this country. The cherry trees which were planted on Colonel Mitchell's farm, at Fair Hill, flourished well and attained a large size, but his estate having passed into the possession of persons unacquainted with their history, were cut down some years ago. A few trees which were grafted from them, may now be seen on the farm of Joshua Green, near Fair Hill.

The following interesting letter refers to this subject.

“LAGRANGE, MAY 29th, 1827.

“*My Dear Sir* :—The several kinds of corn from Fair Hill Farm through the good care of our friend Mr. Skiner are arrived just in time to be carefully planted. It is not the first nor greatest obligation I am under to you, but I do assure you the previous invoice is very welcome, the more so when it has been gathered on your farm, and kindly sent by you. I hope this letter will find you in good health and requesting you to remember me most respectfully to family and friends, I am with all my heart, your affectionate grateful friend,

“LAFAYETTE.”

Colonel Mitchell was re-elected to Congress in the fall of 1824, carrying his native county against Mr. Reed, his opponent by a majority of five hundred and sixty five in a vote of a little upwards of two thousand. At this time politics were in a chaotic condition, no less than four candidates, Adams, Jackson, Clay, and Crawford being before the people for the high position of chief Magistrate. The

political sentiment of the district was divided between Messrs. Jackson, Adams, and Crawford, and Colonel Mitchell, though a friend and follower of the illustrious Jackson, promised his constituents that in the event of the election of President being thrown into the House of Representatives, he would vote for the candidate favored by a majority of them. The result of the election having shown that a majority of his constituents were favorable to the election of Mr. Adams, Colonel Mitchell in accordance with the promise made cast his vote for that gentleman who was elected. But notwithstanding this he was a firm supporter of General Jackson, in 1828 and subsequently, and so great was his popularity and influence among his immediate friends and neighbors that the people of the northeastern part of the county almost universally followed his leadership and from that time to this the fourth district has been known as the Gibraltar of Democracy.

For some reason not ascertained, Colonel Mitchell was not a candidate for election to the twentieth Congress, during which this congressional district was represented by Levin Gale. He was, however, again elected to Congress as the Jackson candidate in the fall of 1829, after an active and spirited campaign, against his opponent James W. Williams, of Harford County, carrying the district by a majority of two hundred and eight votes.

In April, 1829, he was called upon to mourn the loss of his estimable companion, who for nearly thirteen years had shared his joys and sorrows, and been his helpmate in every emergency, leaving him with a family of seven helpless children.

Colonel Mitchell felt the loss of his wife keenly, but notwithstanding he was nearly overwhelmed with grief, he continued to serve his country in Congress with credit to himself and acceptability to his constituents.

In October, 1831, he was stricken with paralysis, in his office, at Fair Hill, one morning while preparing to visit his

patients. He partially recovered from this attack and with great difficulty reached Washington, at the opening of the session of Congress, in December, 1831, and continued to perform his duties as a member of Congress until the time of his death, which occurred on the 28th of June, 1832.

His death was brought to the notice of the House of Representatives by Mr. Howard, of Maryland, in a brief and eloquent speech which was alike creditable to himself, and eulogistic of the patriotism, bravery, and good judgment of the deceased. The late Ezekiel F. Chambers, then a senator from Maryland, offered an appropriate resolution in the Senate.

The high estimation in which Colonel Mitchell was held by his fellow-soldiers was shown by the spontaneous offer of the military authorities to take charge of his funeral. His remains were interred in the congressional burying ground, at Washington, under the supervision of a committee of the lower House of Congress, the funeral being attended by the members of both Houses, the president and heads of departments and all the military in the city. Colonel George E. Mitchell and Mary Hooper Mitchell were the parents of seven children, as follows: Mary A., wife of John Stump, Esq., and mother of Judge Frederick Stump; George W., who served in the Mexican war and died in this county, in 1850, in the thirtieth year of his age; Dr. Henry Hooper, of Elkton, formerly clerk of the circuit court for this county, and well-known in this county as a physician; Catharine W., wife of James T. McCullough, Esq., of Elkton; Elizabeth H., wife of Russel Thomas; Arther W., formerly clerk of the circuit court for this county; and Samuel Hooper, who served in the Mexican war and died at his residence near Elkton on the 21st of March, 1869, in the fortieth year of his age.

THE RUMSEY FAMILY.

THE Rumseys, many of whom filled important offices and occupied responsible positions in this county during the last century, were the descendants of Charles Rumsey, who emigrated from Wales to America, about 1665. He landed at Charleston, South Carolina, where he resided for some years. He subsequently removed to New York, afterwards to Philadelphia, and sometime prior to 1678, settled at the head of Bohemia River, in this county, where he married and became the father of eight children; three sons and five daughters. His name is first mentioned in the records of this county, in 1610, at which time he petitioned the court for liberty to keep an Ordinary at the Head of Bohemia. He probably died in 1717, for his will was admitted to probate in that year. He left his home plantation, containing about three hundred acres, to his sons, Charles and William, and a farm called "Adventure," containing about one hundred acres, to his son Edward. Charles and Edward were less fortunate than their brother William. The former died, probably, in 1761, as his will was proved in that year. He devised all his estate to his wife, from which it may be inferred that he left no children. Edward died in 1770, and left one son, Edward, and three daughters, Susanna, Mary, and Terissa.

James Rumsey, the inventor of the steamboat, of which an account is given elsewhere, was the son of the Edward last before-mentioned. He was born at the Head of Bohemia, in 1743, and died in London, December 23d, 1792, of apoplexy, at a public lecture, where he was explaining the method of using the steamboat he had invented.

William, the second son of Charles, was a distinguished surveyor. He laid out Fredericktown, and is said to have assisted in locating the temporary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, in 1739. He was one of the largest landholders in the county, and was collector of customs at the Head of Bohemia, during much of the time that place was

the only recognized port of entry for the *rum* imported from Pennsylvania. His will was proved in 1742. He left three sons and two daughters. To his son William, he devised his home place, containing about six hundred acres, on which there was a mill, and certain lots and wharves in Fredericktown. To his son Benjamin, he devised three tracts of land called "Round Stone," "Wither's" and "Baily," lying adjacent to each other, on the head of the Bay near North East River, containing eight hundred acres and other lands in Elk Neck, near Bulls Mountain, and a lot in Ceciltown. To his son Charles, he devised three tracts of land, two of which, "New Hall" and "Concord," were near the head of Elk River; also a tract called "Mill Pond" together with the mill thereon, containing about eight hundred acres, and a lot in Ceciltown. "Rumsey's Success," afterwards purchased by the Elk Forge company, and "David's Sheepfold," adjacent to it, which together contained seven hundred acres, and "Rumsey's Range," containing three hundred acres, lying on Elk River, he devised to his daughter, Mary. To his daughter Henrietta, he devised the tract called "Stony Chase," lying in the forks of North East River, containing one hundred acres, also a lot in Ceciltown. To his wife, Sabina, he devised two tracts called "Happy Harbor" and "Silvania," containing about one hundred and twenty acres, on Hacks Creek, in Sassafras Neck, on which there was a new mill; and a house and two lots in Fredericktown.

The old Rumsey mansion was in Middle Neck, on an eminence about half a mile west of the road leading from Murphy's mill to Warwick. It is described by old residents of the neighborhood, who were familiar with it in childhood, as a magnificent brick building, containing thirty rooms, with a massive stairway and a large hall with a handsome cornice around it. It is said to have been deserted by its owners in the early part of the present century, on account of the prevalence of fever and ague in that

locality, and to have become the abode of those, who, having no houses of their own, were allowed to occupy it free of rent, owing to which it fell into decay and went to ruin.

The name of Rumsey has long been extinct in this county, but some of the descendants of its founder are living in Salem, New Jersey, Philadelphia and Chicago.

THE MAULDIN FAMILY.

THE Mauldins of Cecil County are the descendants of Francis Mauldin and Mary, his wife, who were natives of Wales and settled in Elk Neck, in 1684, on a tract of land, containing upwards of fifteen hundred acres, which extended from the head of Chesapeake Bay across the Neck to Elk River, and included Mauldin's Mountain and the valley between it and Bulls Mountain. This land is described in the original patent as being very fertile and heavily timbered. Portions of this tract remained in possession of the family through seven generations, or until about twenty-five years ago. Though the members of this family are said to have been unambitious and never to have taken an active part in public affairs, except those of the established church, of which they were members, the records of the county show that Francis, the founder of the family, was a justice of the county court in 1721, and filled several other positions of trust and responsibility.

But little more is known about the early history of this family, except that they were owners of large numbers of slaves and much given to hospitality. The will of Benjamin Mauldin was proved in 1700. It contains some evidence tending to show that he resided in Elk Neck. Captain Francis Mauldin's will was proved in 1700. He left four sons: Francis, Benjamin, William and Henry; and three daughters, Rebecca, Elizabeth, and Mary, among whom he devised the family homestead in Elk Neck.

Francis and Benjamin were undoubtedly the sons of the founder of the family. The former was one of the representatives of this county in the General Assembly in 1758 and 1761. Henry, the son of Captain Francis Mauldin, migrated to South Carolina many years ago. His grandson, Benjamin Mauldin was a member of the convention of South Carolina, which passed the ordinance of secession, in 1860.

THE GILPIN FAMILY.

THE Gilpin family of Cecil County are the descendants, in about the twentieth generation, of Richard de Guylpin, of England, to whom the baron of Kendal gave the Manor of Kentmere, in consideration of his having slain a wild boar that infested the forests of Westmoreland and Cumberland, in 1206.

Joseph Gilpin the founder of the Gilpin family in the United States, was a Quaker, and settled in Birmingham, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, in 1695. The country was at that time a wilderness, and he constructed a cave by the side of a large rock, in which he resided for many years, and in which thirteen of his family of fifteen children were born.

The Cecil branch of the Gilpin family are the descendants of Samuel Gilpin, the eldest son of Joseph, who settled in Birmingham. He was born in England, in 1694, and emigrated from Birmingham to Concord, and subsequently, in 1733 removed to Cecil County, and settled at Gilpin's Rocks, on the Great North East on a tract of seven hundred acres that he and Edward Taylor bought of Joseph Carter, for £450. This land is erroneously stated as being in Nottingham, but the records of this county show that it had been patented to Joseph Carter, under the name of Kingsby, by Lord Baltimore, in 1726. It was south of Nottingham, and, no doubt, Gilpin purchased it on account of its

proximity to that township and hoped that ultimately the then disputed boundary would be adjusted so as to leave it under the jurisdiction of Penn,

In 1735 Gilpin and Taylor conveyed a considerable part of their property at Gilpin's Falls to John Copson. The consideration mentioned in the deed is only £400, though they had, in the meantime, built a saw-mill on the property. On the same day that the before-named deed was executed Copson conveyed three hundred and sixty-nine acres, called Cox's Park, situated in the forks of North East Creek, to Gilpin. From these facts it seems plain that Gilpin and Copson exchanged lands. The same year Gilpin purchased of Edward Rumsey three hundred and fifty acres, adjoining Cox's Park, in the forks of North East. This tract was part of Stony Chase, now in the possession of the McCullough Iron Company, and part of Rumsey's Ramble, which had been taken up and patented by William Rumsey. At this time New Connaught Manor was in the possession of the lord proprietary, and Gilpin had a small part of it, containing nine acres, adjoining his other land at the forks of the North East, patented to him. Samuel Gilpin married Jane Parker, of Philadelphia. They were the parents of seven children, as follows: Mary, Joseph, Thomas, Hannah, Samuel, Rachel, and George. Their son Thomas, a Quaker, resided in Philadelphia, and declining to do military service during the Revolutionary war, was with about twenty others, similarly circumstanced, exiled from the city, in 1777, and taken to Winchester, Virginia, where he died in 1778. His brother George was at the same time colonel of the Fairfax militia, and endeavored to effect his liberation. George was an intimate friend of General Washington, and is said to have been one of his pall-bearers. This intimacy was owing to the fact that the Washingtons and Gilpins had intermarried in England.

Joseph, the eldest son, removed from Gilpin's Falls previous to 1761, and settled on what is now known as the

"Gilpin Home Farm," on the Big Elk, north of Elkton. He erected the mill which formerly stood a short distance south of the dwelling-house, the land for the use of which he caused to be condemned for that purpose, according to the custom of the times. He also built the old mansion house, which is now standing. His father having disposed of his lands on North East Creek to his sons, Joseph and Samuel, resided with the latter previous to 1767, in which year he died, aged seventy-four years. He was buried in the family burying-ground on the bank of the Big Elk, a short distance above the bridge across that stream, where his tombstone may be seen.

Joseph Gilpin married Eliza Reed. They were the parents of six children: John, Hannah, Elizabeth, Joseph, Mary, and Rachel. He was a patriotic and public-spirited citizen, and represented this county in the Provincial Conventions of 1776-7, and was also a member of the House of Delegates in the latter year; and for many years filled the position of presiding justice of the county court. He died in 1790, aged sixty-three years, leaving a large landed estate in this county and also in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia. His eldest son, John, to whom he willed the Home Farm on the Big Elk, married Mary Hollingsworth in 1797. He was one of the members of the House of Delegates from this county in 1800, and died in 1808. He was the father of Miss Mary, Joseph, Henry, Dr. John, and William H. Gilpin, many of whose descendants reside in this county.

THE RUDOLPH FAMILY.

AWAY back in the early part of the last century, so far back, indeed, that the time is very uncertain, a distinguished family appeared in Cecil County, and for many years acted a conspicuous part in its history, being prominent as merchants, soldiers, and jurists.

Bartholomew, Hanse, Jacob, and Tobias Rudulph were probably brothers. The names Jacob and Hanse indicate that they were of Teutonic origin, as do also the traditions concerning them. Little is known of Bartholomew, except that he seems, from certain papers on record in the clerk's office in Elkton, to have been a well-to-do planter, though the records of the county contain no evidence that he owned any real estate.

Hanse was the owner of much live-stock and many negroes, which he mortgaged to John Hyland and William Bristow, to secure them as sureties on his bond as administrator of one John Kankey, who owned the ferry farm in Elk Neck, whose widow he (Hanse) had married. He was afterwards wharfinger at Charlestown when the people of this county were trying to persuade themselves that it was the site of what would eventually be a famous city. The widow Kankey had a negro slave who had been owned by her husband (Kankey), and had been greatly attached to him. After the birth of a child, the fruit of her marriage with Hanse Rudulph, this negro (Joe) conceived a violent hatred for him, and finally shot him. The murder of Hanse Rudulph gave rise to the legend of the bloody Holly bush, which has been mentioned in a previous chapter in connection with Elk Ferry. But little more is known of Bartholomew and Hanse; but Tobias, in 1745, leased a few acres of land in Elkton, and was engaged in mercantile business for some time at or near Elk Landing. He subsequently kept store in Elkton, where, in 1768, he built the brick house, now standing, two doors east of the courthouse. He also became the proprietor of much real estate near the town, part of which is still in possession of his descendants.

Jacob purchased the Belle Hill property, north of Elkton, where he contentedly pursued the uneventful life of a farmer.

Jacob and Tobias were men of families. The former had two sons; Michael, and Zebulon, the grandfather of Mrs.

Garfield, wife of President Garfield; and one daughter, the grandmother of the late William Hewitt.

Tobias was the father of four children: John, Tobias, and two daughters, each of whom married gentlemen named Irving. His son Tobias (the second of that name) was the father of Tobias, the lawyer, who was a poet of considerable ability, and Zebulon, also a writer of poetry, and Mrs. Anna Maria Sewell, wife of the late James Sewell and Martha, who became the wife of the Rev. William Torbert.

Very soon after the commencement of the Revolutionary war the cousins, John and Michael Rudolph, entered the American army, the former as major, the latter as captain of a light horse company in Lee's Legion, in which they served with great bravery in the Southern campaigns, in which "Light Horse Harry Lee," the commander of the Legion, won imperishable renown. Their courage and bravery soon won for them the proud distinction of the "Lions of the Legion," and John is still known among the members of the family as "Fighting Jack." Michael was, if possible, more daring and impetuous than John. Upon one occasion he is said to have led a squad of soldiers who surprised and captured a British man-of-war which was blockading Charlestown harbor. Selecting a dark night and a fearless crew, the dare-devil fellow approached the vessel, and when hailed and halted by the sentinel, asked if those on board wished to buy some chickens. Just at this critical moment one of his men pinched a chicken that had been provided for the emergency, and which began to screech as only frightened chickens can. This threw the sentry off his guard, and a few strokes from the oarsmen brought the boat alongside of the enemy's ship, the officers and crew of which were taken by surprise and carried in triumph into Charlestown.

Very little is known of the history of the light horse company in which the Rudolphs served, but it is believed to have been formed of recruits from this county. The father

of Thomas C. Crouch, of Elkton, who served as bugler in this company, joined it under the following circumstances: He was learning his trade at the Red Mill, on the Little Elk, near Elkton, when the company came marching along the road and stopped near the creek to refresh themselves and their horses. Being pleased with the splendid appearance it made, he exchanged the racket of the rickety old mill and the dusty coat of the dusty miller for the noise and smoke of battle, and at once became a soldier. Joseph Benjamin, the ancestor of the Benjamins of North East and vicinity, also belonged to this company, and served his adopted country, for he was an Englishman and had ran away from his native land in the capacity of bugler.

Elk Neck also had the honor of furnishing one recruit for this Company in the person of Noble Hamm, a member of one of the oldest families in that part of the county, who, though a good Christian and brave soldier, met with a sad inglorious death in a brawl, the particulars of which cannot now be ascertained, at the hands of Michael Rudolph who shot him.

The following letter, copied from the original in possession of Tobias Rudolph, a grandnephew of Major "Fighting Jack," is believed to refer to the death of Noble Hamm.

"*Dear Sir:*—I am this moment advised by Captain McLane of his arrival at Philadelphia, an event that affords me no small satisfaction on numberless accounts, particularly as it will furnish me with an opportunity of conclusively determining the unfortunate dispute which is the cause of so much uneasiness to the gentlemen of the corps and unhappiness to myself. They will, I have no doubt, make known very speedily their intention and give ample testimony of the party injured, but I am fully convinced that no proof respecting *themselves* can possibly expose me the aggressor unless they choose, from motives unknown, to interest themselves in a private controversial affair totally confined to Captain Armstrong and myself, to which gentleman my conscience told me I had made every reparation that words were capable of. His replication, which is to the following

effect, could not from any deducible reason, engage their endeavors to effectuate my ruin. Captain Armstrong intimated that the peculiarity of our situation rendered a separation necessary and made, in some measure, a joint service impracticable. I have readily acquiesced in his determination, being convinced of the flagitiousness of my crime. Had I not exerted every endeavor to palliate it, which drew from Mr. Armstrong a declaration of unwillingness to injure me, I beg leave to suggest your previously consulting this gentleman as a necessary step to your appearance in the matter, for nothing but the unbiased advice of a person from whom I must acknowledge the experience of every species of friendship could in any wise obviate the dictates of my opinion which stimulates me to address personally a grievance of so gross a nature.

Mr. Handy's combination singularly affected me. A gentleman with whom I have lived for a *series* of time in the closest friendship, to discover at such a juncture, his ignorance of my real principle and disposition, independent of passion and to build his prosecution on a single fault and without any other assistance to support his conduct, betrays such a degree of flexibility and unfriendliness that I thought him entirely divested of.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obdt., hbl. servt.

“MICH. RUDULPH.

“*Middle Bush, 29th July, 1780.*”

“Major Lee.”

But little more is known of any one who served in this company except its captain, the chivalrous Mike, who, like the Wandering Jew, continued to put in an appearance for some years after the end of the war, and who married a lady of Savannah, Georgia, whose acquaintance he is believed to have made while in that city sometime during the war. Her name has not been ascertained. For some reason their union was not felicitous and they lived so unhappily together that Michael concluded to adopt a sea-faring life. He is only known to have visited this county once after the conclusion of the war, when he came to see his children, who are said to have been living at that time with

their relatives at Elkton. Upon this occasion he "tarried but a night," being deterred, as it is alleged, from remaining longer by the threats of certain members of the Hyland family who had intermarried with the relatives of Noble Hamm and who had threatened to shoot him if they met him in this county.

A few years subsequent to the close of the Revolutionary war, the people of this county paid some attention to ship building, and some of them were engaged in trading to the West Indies. With this end in view, the hull of a vessel was constructed at Frenchtown by Robert Hart of Elk Neck, from whence it was floated to Baltimore, where it was rigged and freighted with a cargo of tobacco consigned to Hart's uncle, then resident in one of the West India Islands for the benefit of his health.

Joseph Lort, who (like Michael Rudolph and the captain's mate) is said to have lived unhappily with his wife, was captain of this vessel, and Michael Rudolph was its supercargo. One bright morning the ill-fated ship sailed down the Patapsco River accompanied by another craft in charge of Robert Hart. The two vessels parted company opposite North Point, those on the outward-bound giving a parting salute to the others and also three cheers for "glorious revolutionary France," and sailed on down the Chesapeake, never to return again. Since she disappeared from the vision of Robert Hart, nothing has ever been heard of this vessel, and for a long time the friends of her officers and crew believed that she foundered at sea and all on board perished. But many years after this happened, the late General Thomas M. Foreman was traveling from Baltimore to Frenchtown in company with General Lallemand, a distinguished Frenchman, who when informed by General Foreman that Frenchtown was in Cecil County, seemed to be somewhat astonished, and informed him that this county was probably the birthplace of Michael Ney, better known in history as Marshal Ney, who played such a conspicuous

part in the wars of the Empire under the First Napoleon, and that evidence had been found among Marshal Ney's papers that he had relatives living in Cecil County, and that his real name was Michael Rudulph.

This disclosure was as unexpected as a clap of thunder from a clear sky. Investigation followed, and it was found that the two men possessed many traits in common, and that the time of the appearance of the great marshal in France coincided with the time of the disappearance of the American soldier. Inasmuch as very little is known, or at least very little has been written by historians of the early life of the great marshal, the theory was advanced by many persons who knew of the characteristics of Michael Rudulph, that he and Ney were one and the same person, and that the vessel and crew which had sailed away from North Point many years ago, cheering for "glorious revolutionary France," had been carried by their officers to that country, and that Michael Rudulph had changed his surname to Ney, and entered the French army. In confirmation of this theory, it was asserted by those who were acquainted with Ney, that he spoke the English language quite as well as he did the French when he chose to do so, but always refrained from displaying his fluency in the former, for obvious reasons, when in the presence of Americans or Englishmen. It has also been asserted by those who have investigated the subject, that Ney was called "the American tobacco merchant" by his brother officers, and that about the time of the disclosure made on the Elk River by Lallemand to Foreman, two of Ney's sons by his last wife, had visited Savannah as was supposed to obtain information concerning Rudulph's wife.

For these reasons, and many others quite as cogent, not a few people believed in the truth of this theory, but it was never adopted by the relatives of the missing man, who had such implicit confidence in his integrity that they scorned the imputation that he could have betrayed his trust as

supercargo, and sacrificed the interest of the owners and consignees of the missing vessel.

Such, briefly told, is the story of the disappearance of Michael Rudolph. His history, after parting company with Robert Hart, is involved in so much obscurity that it is unsafe to hazard an opinion as to whether he and Marshal Ney were identical.

THE LESLIE FAMILY.

AMONG the many old families of Cecil County, the names of which are almost forgotten, none attained greater celebrity as authors and artists than the Leslies.

Robert Leslie, of whom the Leslies of this county are the decendants, emigrated to this country from Scotland (as stated by Eliza Leslie, the authoress in an article published in *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1858) about 1645. The original family name, there is reason to believe from information derived from the land records of this county was *Lasley*. At what time the family located in Cecil County is unknown, but in 1758 Robert Lasley purchased a farm of about a hundred acres, a mile or two north of the town of North East, from which it seems probable that the family were in the county at that time. This Robert was probably the grandfather of Eliza and Charles Robert Leslie, who were the children of Robert Leslie and Catharine Baker, who were natives of this county. The Leslie homestead was about a mile north of the village of North East, and is described by Eliza as being "over against Bulls Mountain."

Sometime previous to 1786, Robert Leslie and family removed to Elkton, where he was engaged in clock and watch making for a year or two. The family subsequently removed to Philadelphia, where Eliza was born November 16th, 1787. She was the author of a number of books on cooking; a novel called "Amelia, or a young lady's vicis-

situdes," and several volumes of fugitive stories, and also edited several annuals. She died in Gloucester, New Jersey, in 1858.

Charles Robert Leslie, the artist, was born in London, October 19th, 1794. The family subsequently returned to Philadelphia, where young Leslie, who was learning the mercantile business, showed such remarkable talent for drawing that some of his friends sent him to London, that he might have the benefit of the tuition of the great masters of the English metropolis. He became a member of the Royal Academy and one of the most famous historical painters of his times. His autobiography, which is interspersed with many anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott, S. C. Coleridge, and Washington Irving, with each of whom he was on intimate terms, and many of the nobility, and most of the artists of the period in which he lived, is one of the most charming books of modern times.

Robert and Catharine Leslie were also the parents of Thomas Jefferson Leslie, who served as paymaster in the United States Army for about half a century, and recently died in New York City.

Jeremiah Larkins Leslie was a son of Thomas Leslie, the brother of Robert, the father of the artist. He was a millwright by trade, and in the early part of the present century carried on a nail factory at Marley. He subsequently became a Methodist Protestant preacher and removed to the State of Ohio. He was the father of Mary Leslie who married Charles Johnson, from whom the Johnsons of North East and vicinity have descended.

His daughter Elizabeth, married John Sumption, the father of the late Rev. Thomas Sumption, a distinguished Methodist preacher.

The Benjamins of North East and vicinity, are the descendants of Deborah Leslie, the daughter of John Leslie.

THE HYLAND FAMILY.

THE Hylands of Elk Neck who were at one time one of the most numerous families in this county, are the descendants of two brothers, John and Nicholas Hyland, natives of Labadeen, England. John was a colonel in the English army, but, it is said, resigned his commission owing to some difficulty about his coat-of-arms. He emigrated to Maryland some time during the period when the province was under the royal government, owing to which he could not obtain a valid grant of land. On account of this difficulty he settled in Pennsylvania, where he obtained a grant of a thousand acres. He subsequently acquired additional property in the State of New York, but returned to Maryland in the early part of the last century, after the restoration of that province to Lord Baltimore, from whom he obtained the grant of a large tract, part of St. John's Manor, in Elk Neck, which on account of the great elevation of part of it, and also in honor of his wife, was called "John's and Mary's Highland."

Stephen Hyland, the eldest son of John and Mary Hyland, was born in Elk Neck, February 23d, 1743, and died March 19th, 1806. He filled many important positions of trust and responsibility, and took an active part in the Revolutionary war. Early in that struggle he raised a company of soldiers for the protection of private property in this county, and subsequently received a commission from the national government as colonel of a regiment. He was stationed on the east shore of the Susquehanna River, at the time, and prior to the invasion of this county by the British, in 1777. When the British fleet entered the Elk River he is said to have marched his command *via* Charlestown to Elk Neck, and to have fired at the British squadron while it was ascending the Elk River. He was subsequently stationed at Annapolis, and in 1781, entertained General Lafayette and the officers of the French fleet at the old family mansion, which was called "Harmony Hall," a part of which is now

(1881) standing on the farm of Daniel Bratton, Esq. The French fleet at the time, it is said, was frozen up in the Elk River, and Colonel Hyland spread a carpet of cloth, large quantities of which he had on hand for the use of the army, all the way from the vessel to his house, as the author has been assured by one of the Colonel's grandchildren, an old lady of seventy-seven years.

On the 1st of December, 1774, he married Rebecca Tilden, of Kent County, Maryland, by whom he had one son, John Hyland. Mrs. Hyland died on the same day that her first child was born, October 10th, 1775.

On the 20th of March, 1777, he married Miss Araminta Hamm, daughter of Dr. Thomas Hamm, of Bohemia Manor. By his second wife he had six children, four sons and two daughters. His son Stephen Hyland, Jr., was a colonel in the war of 1812.

Jacob Hyland, the third son of Stephen Hyland and Araminta Hamm, not being of robust constitution did not enter the army, but contented himself with entertaining and caring for the soldiers who were stationed on Bulls Mountains, to observe the operations of the enemy during the summer of 1813.

During that summer one of the soldiers, in company with a trusty negro slave and a watchful dog, slept in his fish house on the Elk River, for the purpose of giving alarm if the British barges attempted to ascend the river during the night.

Jacob Hyland was the father of Mrs. Jacob Howard, and Stephen, James, Jacob, Washington, and Wilmer Hyland. Mary, the eldest daughter of Stephen and Araminta Hyland, married William Craig, Jr., of Bohemia Manor, who was twice elected a representative of this county in the General Assembly of Maryland, and who died in discharge of his duties, at Annapolis, in 1822. The late James L. Craig, at one time editor of the *Baltimore Pilot*, and subsequently one of the county commissioners of this county, was a son of William Craig.

Martha, the youngest daughter of Stephen and Araminta Hyland married William A. Schaeffer, a prominent Baltimorean. Mrs. Schaeffer was the mother of General Francis B. Schaeffer, late of the United States Army. He served with distinction in the Mexican war, and was honored by President Lincoln with the captaincy of the Select National Riflemen, stationed in Washington at the commencement of the late Civil war, but subsequently joined the Confederate army.

Nicholas Hyland, the first of that name, and the brother of the John before mentioned, also settled in Elk Neck, on a tract of land further down the river and adjoining that of his brother, probably about the same time that his brother John located there. He subsequently acquired a large quantity of land on the Susquehanna River, where Port Deposit now stands. He probably died in 1719, for his will was proved in that year. He left his land on Elk River to his son Nicholas; and to his son John, all his land on the Susquehanna, and directed that his sons should be brought up by the rules of the church of England, which injunction seems to have been rigidly adhered to by his wife Millicent, who he made executrix of his will, for his son Nicholas was a member of the House of Delegates from this county almost continuously, from 1751 to 1766, during which time, whenever opportunity offered, he manifested his zeal for the established church, by favoring legislation against the "Popish Priests and Jesuits."

But little is known of John Hyland, except that he lived and died upon his estate near Port Deposit.

Nicholas Hyland, the third of that name, married Margary Kankey, of Elk Neck, by whom he had one daughter Ann, who married Robert Hart, the grandson of the Robert Hart, who settled many years before in Elk Neck, and some of whose descendants now reside in that part of the county.

THE CHURCHMAN FAMILY.

THE residence of this family in England was at Saffron Waldron, in Essex County, whence John Churchman, the founder of the family in this county, in the seventeenth year of his age emigrated to Darby, Pennsylvania, in 1682, under the care of Thomas Cerie, in whose family was a daughter Hannah, at that time six years old. The perils of the voyage seem to have drawn John to the child, and like a faithful lover he waited for her until 1696, when she became his wife. They settled at Chester, but in 1704 removed to the woods of Nottingham and settled on lot number sixteen.

John died in 1724; his wife survived him until 1759. Among their children was John, born in 1705, who became a famous Quaker preacher, and self-taught surveyor, never having gone to school but three months "to a man who sat in his loom and heard his scholars read." His autobiography, published by the society to which he belonged, is a very interesting and instructive book. In it he tells of a narrow escape he had from death when a lad of some ten or twelve years of age, and which made a deep and lasting impression on his mind. He had been sent on an errand and encountered a drove of wild horses, which enticed away the colt belonging to the mare upon which he rode, and caused her to run away; becoming unmanageable, she ran through a field which had been partially cleared, and upon which the trees that had been girdled and deadened, were still thickly standing; this made the adventure extremely perilous, he being in danger of injury from coming in contact with the dead trees. His autobiography shows that he was in the habit of visiting "*the Friends in Cecil*," who as late as 1767 seem to have had a meeting somewhere in Sassafras Neck. In this connection he speaks of the conversion of John Browning, who then lived in Sassafras Neck and who was, no doubt, a son of the John Browning who quarreled with Augustine Herman about his land nearly a century

before. Browning had prepared tomb-stones for his parents' graves, but when near his death he requested his wife to have the people that attended his funeral place them for hearth-stones in a new brick house which was not quite finished. A small unpretending brick house which John Churchman built in 1745, is now standing about a mile north of the Brick Meeting-house. He died in 1775 and left but one child, George, born in 1730, a dignified elder of the Society of Friends, and probably the most popular and extensive surveyor of the county in his day. George married Hannah, daughter of Mordecai and Gainor James, in 1752, and died in 1814, leaving a numerous family. His son John, the philosopher, born 1753, lived unmarried, "was an eminent surveyor and geometrician; he executed a map of the peninsula between the bays of Delaware and Chesapeake, in 1778; was the author of a magnetic atlas in 1790, and other works of a similar character, which brought him into prominent notice among learned men in Europe and this country, with whom he maintained an extensive correspondence on scientific subjects. He twice visited Europe, where he received much attention and was honored with an election as a member of several learned societies. He died at sea, in 1805, on his last return voyage from St. Petersburg."

The Churchmans might be termed a family of surveyors, as the calling was exercised by the two Johns, father and son; by George, son of the second John; and by John, Micaiah and Joseph, sons of George.

THE DEFOE FAMILY.

Written expressly for the History of Cecil County by Mrs. Mary E. Ireland.

WHILE many perhaps can boast of celebrated ancestors, few can trace back to a more distinguished source than the Trimble's; they being lineal descendants of Elizabeth, neice of Daniel Defoe.

From Elizabeth, who came from England in 1718, down to her relatives of the present day, all the family with a few exceptions have lived within two miles of Brick Meeting-house, Cecil County, Maryland; all worshiped in the meeting-house which gave the village its original name, and all, when called upon to pay the debt of nature, have been brought for interment to the burial-ground attached to this meeting-house.

In order to explain how it was that Elizabeth, neice of Daniel Defoe, and ancestor of the Trimble family, happened to settle in this part of the New World, it will be necessary to go back to the year 1705, when Daniel Defoe, on account of his persistent writing upon the exciting subjects of the times, was compelled to seek an asylum under the roof of his widowed sister, Elizabeth Maxwell, in the city of London.

Three years before, he had sent forth his, "Shortest Way with Dissenters," for which he had suffered the pillory, fine, and imprisonment. It was on account of this article that the government offered £50 for the discovery of his hiding place. The proclamation as tradition informs us, was worded very nearly thus:

"Whereas Daniel Defoe, *alias* De Foe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, entitled the 'Shortest Way with Dissenters.' (He is a middled-sized, spare man, about forty years old, of brown complexion and dark brown colored hair, but wears a wig; a hook nose, sharp chin, gray eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor in Freeman's yard, Cornhill, and now is owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury Fort in Essex;) whoever shall discover the said Daniel Defoe to one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, or any of Her Majesty's justices' of the peace, so he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of £50, which Her Majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery."

On his release he was again imprisoned for his political pamphlets, and through the influence of Lord Oxford, was again liberated; but in his sister's house, secure from his political and pecuniary assailants, he continued to send forth his barbed arrows with impunity. A small room in the rear of the building was fitted up for his private study, and it was there that his sister's only daughter (named for herself, Elizabeth), who was five years of age when her uncle came to live with them, received her education under his teaching; and it was there that "Robinson Crusoe" was written, one year after his niece had left her home and him. Perhaps the comparative isolation he endured suggested the wonderful narrative to his mind.

The Defoe's were all members of the Society of Friends, and attended a meeting designated by the odd name of "Bull and Mouth," which was often mentioned in the early annals of the society.

At eighteen, Elizabeth contracted a matrimonial engagement, which was peremptorily broken off by her mother. This caused an alienation from all her friends, and she privately left her home and embarked for America. Being without funds, she bargained with the captain to be sold on her arrival, to reimburse him for her passage. Accordingly, in the autumn of that year she, with a number of others, was offered for sale in Philadelphia, and Andrew Job, a resident of Nottingham, now in Cecil County, Maryland, happening to be in the city at the time, bought her for a term of years, and brought her to his home.

In 1725 Elizabeth Maxwell became the wife of Thomas Job, son of Andrew, and now being happily settled, she wrote to her mother and uncle, giving them the first information of her whereabouts. As soon as possible a letter came from her uncle, stating that her mother was dead, and that a large property, in addition to her mother's furniture, had been left to her by will, in case she should ever be found alive. An inventory of the goods sent accompanied

the letter, and especial attention was solicited for the preservation of such articles as he had used in his private study, "as they had descended to the family from their Flemish ancestors, who sought refuge under the banner of Queen Elizabeth from the tyranny of Phillippe." He also apologized for the condition of two chairs, the wicker-seats of which he had worn out and replaced by wooden ones. One of these chairs is in the possession of James Trimble, and the other, which belonged to his brother Joseph, was, after his death, presented by James to the Historical Society of Delaware, in Wilmington, because it was in that city that the last thirty years of the business part of Joseph Trimble's life was spent.

All the letters received from her uncle were carefully preserved by Elizabeth until her death which occurred on the 7th of September, 1782, at the age of eighty-two. One of her grandsons, Daniel Defoe Job, living near her, was almost constantly in her society. She took delight in relating recollections of her early days; of how she used to bother her uncle, meddling with his papers, until he would expel her from his study.

Daniel spoke of his grandmother as a little, old, yellow looking woman, passionately fond of flowers, and retaining her activity of mind and body until the close of her life. Another of her grandsons, also named Daniel Job, died at a very advanced age, within my remembrance, and his funeral was the first I ever attended.

There was an Andrew Job, brother of this Daniel, a bachelor, who became a hermit, and for more than fifty years lived entirely alone. The greater part of that time his home was in a forest belonging to his estate, about two miles from Brick Meeting-house. His little habitation consisted of two rooms, one above and one below, and I do not know that he ever left it during that time. He is said to have been very tall in youth, but when I saw him he was upward of eighty, and stooped much. His hair and beard

were long, and of a reddish hue, and though he was so old, but slightly gray. He scorned the style of clothing worn by men, and winter and summer was robed in a blanket, his only covering. Although a man of abundant means, he would not leave his retreat to provide the necessaries of life, and since he would have but little to do with his relatives, they engaged some one in whom he had confidence to take his groceries to him. His wheat and corn he ground himself, by pounding for a long time, my father, whom he had known for many years, went twice a year to take him such things as he required. I accompanied him once when a child, and was kindly treated by the recluse. I remember that he gave me a drink of cider manufactured by himself, by pounding the apples, and squeezing the juice through his hands. The goblet in which he presented it was a huge gourd, and he stirred the sugar in with his fingers. Children, as a general thing, are not very fastidious, and I am glad to remember that I did not slight the old man's hospitality.

After we had left him and gone through the woods to the road I found I had forgotten my sun-shade, which was about the dimensions of a good-sized saucer. I was loth to leave it behind me, and at the same time a little afraid to return for it; but my father re-assured me, and very gingerly I wound my way back to the door, where Andy stood, holding it with a helpless expression of having something left upon his hands that bid fair to prove a burden. He handed it to me in perfect silence, and I received it at arm's length, in the same lugubrious manner. He did not as a general thing take kindly to visitors; they bothered him coming to see him out of curiosity, and when he caught sight or sound of them he hastened in doors and refused them entrance. He evinced but little curiosity as to the doings of the great world around him, from which he had withdrawn; though intelligent, he conversed but little, and that in a subdued tone, scarcely intelligible to me unaccus-

tomed to it. He was upright and honorable in his dealings with my father, and seemed desirous of giving as little trouble as possible.

He kept no money about him, but gave orders upon those who had his property in trust. He, himself, kept control of his forest, and not a stick did he allow any one to cut from it. He lived in this way until a log, falling out of his fireplace, set his house on fire, and burned it down, when he was compelled to live with his two nieces, and his nephew, children of his brother Daniel, who were of middle age and unmarried. Here he remained eleven years until his death, which occurred on the first day of April, 1863, in the ninety-second year of his age. In him were conspicuous the characteristics of the Defoe family, from Daniel down to the relatives of the present day, remarkable longevity, a disposition to remain unmarried, or to marry late in life, and the indomitable independence of spirit which was so prominent in the character of Daniel Defoe, and his niece Elizabeth.

He was very discontented for several years after he left his solitude; however, as years and infirmities wore upon him, he became more reconciled; but until the time of his death he occasionally spoke of going off again to live by himself.

It is a subject of regret that no likeness of him is in existence. A traveling photograph gallery once stopped for a short time in the road opposite his nephew's house. Andy took great pleasure in looking at it, and remarked that "it would be a nice little house for a man to live alone in, if it was off the wheels;" but no persuasion could induce him to enter it.

Joseph and James Trimble, whose mother was a great-great-niece of Daniel Defoe, lived at that time in a beautiful romantic place, half a mile from the village. Joseph was a bachelor; he was very eccentric, and made his home with his brother James, who was married, but who lived in the same manner.

Joseph Trimble's career was rather uneventful. A short account of it might be of interest and a contrast to young

men starting out in life. Without any external influence respecting economy, he commenced at an early age to put his little earnings out at interest, taking good care to secure ample endorsements, mostly three freeholders. He never made a dollar by speculation, worked at moderate wages, farming, etc., never bought any land, and was not remarkable for constitutional strength, and at the age of eighty-two left an estate of over fifty-two thousand dollars, principally among his neices and nephews, and there was every evidence that he enjoyed life as fully as others. Like his maternal ancestor, James Trimble, was passionately fond of flowers, and his beautiful garden and green-house of choice plants were a great attraction to the rural neighborhood. When a boy on his father's farm, he was often detected scrutinizing the curious formations of "weeds" and their flowers, instead of attending to his duty, having (as he told me once) "some reason to remember it."

At the age of about twenty, the novelty of his tastes had reached Dr. Darlington, of West Chester, who sent him a copy of his "*Florula Cestricea*," then just out. This was the first intimation he had ever received that there was such a study as systematic botany, and it is needless to dwell on the enthusiasm with which he entered into what was to him a new world. From this time until near the death of Dr. Darlington in 1863, a correspondence was maintained between them. The Dr. wished specimens of the natural growth of everything in Chester County for subsequent editions of his work, in which he noticed some of James Trimble's contributions, a number of them being new to him.

Packages of these dried specimens are most likely yet in public collections in Philadelphia and West Chester, and at one time James prided himself on being able to designate by its botanical name each "wild" plant he met with in Cecil and Chester counties.

James Trimble gave the land, laid out the lots, and planted the shrubbery for the cemetery at the Brick Meeting-house, to which he gave the name of his farm, and "Rose

Bank Cemetery" is at this time one of the most beautiful places of burial to be found in the country.

He was also a warm advocate for temperance, and the eloquent address which he delivered upon that subject at a meeting near the Brick Meeting-house, will long be remembered.

In my childhood the walk to his place of a pleasant summer evening was too lovely to be forgotten. On passing up the one street of our village, and leaving the houses behind us, we ascended a gentle slope crowned by the Friends' meeting-house, looking in the evening light, surrounded by its willow and poplar sentinals, solemn and majestic, the very embodiment of peace and repose.

Six roads meet near the meeting-house, and taking the left hand one we turned abruptly round past the old oak tree, and ancient log school-house, then through the woods belonging to the meeting-house, following a narrow brown path, fringed on each side by wiry grass, and leading across a stile into the most fragrant of pine woods. Here the evening breeze whispered and sighed, and the soft turf was carpeted with wild strawberries, and tiny wild flowers; then we climbed over another stile into another woods which gently descended to a "run," crossed by the most rustic of little bridges, the air redolent with the perfume of wild-flowers, and echoing with songs of the oriole and lark. Their large old-time stone house, faultlessly clean inside and out, surrounded by lovely grounds, had an ancient, stately grandeur seldom seen in this changeful country. Their home was a sweet, quiet, restful place, and they were never too busy to entertain even children with the names and properties of their floral treasures.

Kind and indulgent as was Mrs. James Trimble, whose maiden name was Hannah Mendenhall, I remember that we children always stood a little in awe of her, and our very best company manners, were put on when in her presence, but with James and his flowers, we were perfectly at

home, and free as air to roam where we pleased, and we never left his lovely gardens without a fragrant memento presented by his kind hand.

One great curiosity to the little folks, was three distinct foot-prints on one of the rafters in the garret of his house. Whose were they, and how they came there, was the mystery. His idea was, and no doubt he was correct, that while the house was in progress of building, over one hundred years before, and while the smooth rafters were lying on the ground, some one, perhaps an Indian, stepping in some indelible fluid had walked on the rafter. They are the prints of a large flat foot, bare, each toe showing separately and distinctly, and each print as far apart as a tall man would naturally step.

But, time has changed much that was so pleasant; the march of improvement has levelled the pine woods. I doubt if the orioles, feeling the change, make the woods as in days gone by, melodious with their ringing notes. James Trimble and his family years ago removed to Pennsylvania, where Joseph died and was brought for interment to the burial-ground attached to the meeting-house, where my ancestors worshiped with Elizabeth Maxwell and her family.

Owing to many of the Jobs living unmarried, and others moving to the southern and western States, the race is well nigh extinct at Nottingham. The family of Jacob Job a reputable citizen and farmer and great-grandson of Elizabeth Maxwell, are all of that name, now residing in Cecil County. The wife of Nathan Griffith of Brick Meeting-house, was a grandniece of Andrew Job the Hermit who was a grandson of Elizabeth Maxwell, consequently their descendants are distantly related to the Defoe family.

THE HARTSHORNE FAMILY.

THE founders of the Hartshorne family, of Cecil County, the members of which took an active part in public affairs

a century ago, settled in this county in the early part of the last century. The father of Jonathan Hartshorne purchased two tracts or messuages of land, one called Cornucopia, and the other Spotswood, of Thomas Hampton, containing together about four hundred acres, and, which, after the close of the Revolutionary war, were patented by the State to the family as situated in New Connaught Manor. This property is now owned in part by W. E. Gillespie, and lies a mile or two east of West Nottingham Presbyterian church, of which the Hartshornes were members. They were an athletic and hardy race of people. Some of them are known to have emigrated to Ohio in the early part of the present century. Jonathan Hartshorne, who married Ann Glasgow, is the first of the name of whom any reliable information has been obtained, and who besides being an agriculturalist, had a tannery to which he gave his attention. He died in 1785, leaving five sons: John, Joshua, Jonathan, Benjamin, and Samuel; and three daughters, Elizabeth Patterson, Rebecca McCullough, and Mary Hartshorne, who married a Mr. Cresswell.

John Hartshorne married Miss Agnes Miller, but died, leaving no children. He espoused the cause of his country in the war of the Revolution, and on the 6th of January, 1776, was elected major of the Susquehanna Battalion of Maryland militia, of this county, by the provincial convention. There is reason to believe that neither the Susquehanna, nor any other of the battalions of militia of this county, were ever called into active service, and in 1777, or the next year, he joined the 4th Regiment of Maryland volunteers. He was commissioned adjutant of that regiment January 25th, 1778. He was also commissioned lieutenant in the same regiment, to rank from May 21st, 1779. In the summer of 1782 he was engaged in recruiting, but in the fall of that year joined the army and served until the close of the war. Joshua died a bachelor, as did also Samuel. Benjamin removed to Clearfield County, Pennsylvania,

where he left numerous descendants. Jonathan, as well as John, was a surveyor and in the latter part of the last century assisted in laying out the public road from Rowlandville to the State line. A copy of the plat of that road which he made, may be seen among the records of the commissioners' court at Elkton. It is well executed and indicates that he was master of his profession. He married Mary Gillespie, of Cecil County, and left three sons, John, James Gillespie, and Joshua; and two daughters, Mary Ann, and Margaret Eliza, who, some years after their father's death, removed with their mother to Pennsylvania and settled on a farm, near Cochranville, where Eliza now resides, who with her brother Jonathan alone survives.

James married Harriet Henickson, of Chester County, and left three children, Charles, Augustus, and Elizabeth Walton.

Joshua, the second of that name, was educated at West Nottingham Academy, then under the care of the Rev. Dr. James Magraw. On removing with his family to Chester County he engaged in merchandize. In 1839 he was elected to the lower House of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and served one term. In 1844 he was elected a member of the Board of Public works and served three years, during the last of which he was president of the board. He subsequently engaged in the iron business at Baltimore, where he resided many years, and at this time having retired from business, resides at West Chester, Pennsylvania. In 1846 he married Martha K. Rogers, daughter of Isaac Rogers, of Harford County, Maryland, and has five children, Mary R., Caroline F., Ann H., Alan S., and Walter R. Adam R. Magraw, a grandson of Rev. Dr. James Magraw, married his second daughter (Ann Hartshorne), and they now reside on the old Magraw homestead, adjoining West Nottingham Presbyterian church.

COLONEL NATHANIEL RAMSAY.

Written for the History of Cecil County by Isaac R. Pennypacker.

JAMES RAMSAY emigrated from Ireland* and settled upon a farm in Drumore Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, at an early age, and by the cultivation of his farm with his own hands, he provided the means of subsistence and education for a numerous family. He was a man of intelligence and piety, and early sowed theseeds of knowledge and religion in the minds of his children. His wife was Jane Montgomery, said to be a descendant of Roger de Montgomery, the Norman who went with William the Conqueror into England.

William, the eldest of their three sons, was graduated at Princeton College, in the class of 1754, licensed by the Association of Fairfield East, Connecticut, November 25th, 1755, and was received into the Abingdon Presbytery, and ordained and settled as pastor of the Fairfield church, May 11th, 1756. He died November 5th, 1771, and the tombstone erected to his memory testifies to his genius and eloquence, his faithfulness as a pastor, and the esteem in which he was held by the members of his church.†

David, the youngest son, born April 2d, 1749, was graduated at Princeton College in the class of 1765. Many stories are told of his remarkable intelligence when a mere boy. He early attracted the attention of the celebrated Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, where he studied medicine, and delivered an address in Latin at the time of his graduation by the medical college. He settled in Cecil County, Maryland, but in a little while removed to Charleston, South Carolina, where for many years he practiced medicine, and where he wrote the numerous histories and biographies which are still regarded as reliable authorities. He was an ardent advocate of the cause of the colonies in their contest with

* Rupp's Lancaster Co., page 295.

† "Princeton College, Eighteenth Century."

the mother country; was a member of Congress, and at one time, in the absence of the president, presided over its deliberations. Numerous sketches of his life have been printed, and his published works speak for themselves.

Nathaniel Ramsay, the second son, was born May 1st, 1741. He was graduated at Princeton College with the class of 1767. On Thursday, March 14th, 1771, on repeating and signing the test oath and the oath of abjuration, he was admitted to the bar of Cecil County. In 1771 he married Margaret Jane Peale, a sister of Charles Wilson Peale, the portrait painter. He signed the Declaration of the Freemen of Maryland; was a delegate from Cecil County to the Maryland Convention of 1775, held at Annapolis. He was, with Charles Carroll, of Carrolton, and others, one of the committee to devise the best ways and means to promote the manufacture of saltpetre; and was also one of the committee appointed to receive all proposals relating to the establishment of manufactures of any kind within the province, and report their opinion thereon.

On Monday, January 1st, 1776, the convention reported resolutions that 1,444 men with officers be raised in the pay and for the defense of the province, and that eight companies of the troops, consisting of sixty-eight privates each, under proper officers, be formed into a battalion; and on the next day William Smallwood was elected colonel; Francis Ware, lieutenant-colonel; Thomas Price, major; Mordecai Gist, second major; and Ramsay was elected captain of one of the companies of the battalion. A few days afterwards (on Sunday, January 14th) he was assigned to the captaincy of the fifth company, of which Levin Wunder became first lieutenant; Alexander Murray, second lieutenant; and Walker Muse, ensign. At the same time the pay of a captain was fixed at \$26 per month; a major, \$33½; lieutenant-colonel, \$40, with \$20 for expenses; and colonel, \$50, with \$30 for expenses. It was ordered that commissions issue to the officers, and recruiting orders, as to the character of the recruits, to the captains. The uniforms decided on were

hunting-shirts of various colors. Five companies of the battalion were ordered to be stationed at Annapolis.

On January 17th, a new election was ordered for a representative from Cecil County in Ramsay's place, whose seat would become vacant on his acceptance of a commission in the regular forces of the province. February 10th, 1776, the Maryland Council of Safety wrote to Ramsay requesting him to purchase one hundred and forty yards of country cloth at about 8s. per yard and linen from 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d. fit for hunting shirts for his company.

On Saturday, July 6th, 1776, the convention ordered Colonel Smallwood to take his battalion at once to Philadelphia and put himself under the Continental officer then commanding to be subject to the further orders of Congress. On July 10th, the troops at Annapolis embarked in high spirits to the Head of Elk and thence marched to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the afternoon of July 16th.

One who saw the regiment march down Market street, wrote: "They turned up Front street until they reached the Quaker meeting-house called the Bank Meeting, where they halted for some time, which I presumed, was owing to a delicacy on the part of the officers, seeing they were about to be quartered in a place of worship. After a time they moved forward to the door where the officers halted and their platoons came up and with their hats off, while the soldiers with recovered arms marched into the meeting-house. The officers then retired and sought quarters elsewhere. The regiment was then said to be eleven hundred strong and never did a finer, more dignified, and braver body of men face an enemy. They were composed of the flower of Maryland, being young gentlemen, the sons of opulent planters, farmers, and mechanics. From the Colonel to the privates all were attired in hunting shirts."* Abraham Clark, writing to Colonel Dayton from Philadel-

* Scharff's Chronicles of Baltimore, page 266.

phia, August 6th, 1776, said that the Maryland regiment was the finest he ever saw.

The battalion left Philadelphia, Sunday, July 21st, in twelve shallops for the Jerseys.* It was still at Elizabethtown August 4th, and complaint was made of the provisions issued at Philadelphia. From New York, Washington wrote August 12th, that "Colonel Smallwood's battalion got in on Friday." There it was incorporated in Stirling's brigade. Work for the Maryland soldiers was at hand. The battle of Long Island occurred on August 27th, 1776. The raw American soldiers might well have been excused had they all fled in dismay as the Connecticut troops did. But in their first battle the Marylanders were to show that their martial appearance did not belie their soldierly qualities. This was the first fight in which the Americans met the British in the open field and Stirling's brigade, in which were the Marylanders, opposing Grant's advance, formed the only line of battle preserved by the Americans on that day. A letter dated New York, September 1st,† says: "The companies commanded by Captains Ramsay and Scott were in the front and sustained the first fire of the enemy when hardly a man fell. The Major, Captain Ramsay, and Lieutenant Plunket were foremost and within forty yards of the enemy's muzzels when they were fired upon by the enemy who were chiefly under the cover of an orchard save a few that showed themselves and pretended to give up, clubbing their fire arms until we came within that distance when they immediately presented and blazed in our faces; they entirely overshot us, and killed some men away behind in the rear." For four hours Sterling's brigade withstood the fire of the enemy's musketry and artillery. By that time Miles and Sullivan had been surrounded and the British

* Pennsylvania Packet, July 23d. Diary of Christopher Marshall, page 85.

† Memoirs Long Island Historical Society, Vol. II., page 489.

troops were in Stirling's rear. He heard the ominous firing behind him and fell back to find himself surrounded. There was but one thing to do, to cross the Gowanus marsh and creek where both were at their broadest, to the American lines on the other side. Tradition says that Captain Ramsay could not swim and that he owed his life on this day to his unusual height, which was six feet three inches. By throwing his head back he kept the water from entering his nostrils and thus crossed the Gowanus Creek in safety.

Perhaps a ray of light may be thrown upon Ramsay's character by an extract from his testimony, given September 21st, 1776, before a General Court-martial of the line on the Heights of Harlem, before which Ensign Macumber was tried for plundering and mutiny. Captain Ramsay deposed:

"I saw a number of men loaded with plunder. I went up to them, and told them they had been acting exceedingly wrong. * * * Ensign Macumber had at this time a knapsack full on his shoulder, out of which stuck two waxen toys, which I took old of, and jested with him on his having such a pretty sort of plunder."* Ramsay's company, on September 27th, 1776, consisted of one captain; one second-lieutenant; two sergeants; one drum and fife; twenty-one rank and file, present, fit for duty; four sick, present; twenty-four sick, absent; seven on command; total fifty-six. Wanting to complete; one drum and fife; eight privates. November 21st, Samuel Chase wrote to the Maryland Council of Safety, that Ramsay was in Philadelphia, and in December he was absent from his command on leave of absence.

A portion of that winter seems to have been spent by him in Baltimore. He belonged to the Whig club of that city, the members of which took an oath "to detect all traitors." William Goddard published, on February 25th, an article in the *Maryland Journal*, congratulating the Americans on the terms of peace offered by General Howe. Goddard

* Force's Archives, Fifth Series, Vol. II., page 500.

says that on March 3d, Colonel Ramsay and Mr. George Trumbull called at his house, and on behalf of the Whig club, demanded the name of the author of the offensive article. On the next evening Ramsay, in company with other members of the club, some of them bearing side arms, called on Goddard and demanded that he should attend the meeting of the club, and compelled him by force to do so. The club ordered Goddard to leave the town the next morning by twelve o'clock. Goddard disobeyed the order and says, that on March 25th, Commodore Nicholson, Mr. David Poe, Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay and others, took possession of his printing office, abused his workmen, seized upon him, dragged him down stairs and carried him to the tavern where the Whig club usually met, and he was given until night to leave the town and county, and informed that his person was unsafe. From other testimony it seems that some preparation had been made to tar and feather Goddard. At all events, the Legislature declared the action of the Whig club to be an infringement of the Declaration of Rights, and called upon the Governor to issue a proclamation, calling upon all persons usurping the powers of government to disperse, and on April 17th, Governor Thomas issued such a proclamation.*

According to the arrangement of the seven battalions of Maryland Regulars on March 27th, 1777, which were under Brigadier-General Smallwood, Mordecai Gist was Colonel of the Third Battalion, and Nathaniel Ramsay, Lieutenant-colonel.

General Samuel Smith says in his autobiography,† that at the battle of Chad's Ford, September 11th, "General Knyphausen had been detached and displayed a force of about five hundred men opposite to Chad's Ford. Colonel Ramsay

* Scharf's Chronicles of Baltimore, page 157.

† Dawson's Historical Magazine for February, 1870.

of the Maryland line crossed the river and skirmished with and drove the Yagers.*

Ramsay was with the army at Valley Forge during a portion of the memorable winter of 1777-78, where Colonel Ramsay and Mrs. Ramsay occupied a log hut facing to the south in which the officers of the army and especially those of the Maryland line were accustomed to congregate. A portion of the line being ordered to Wilmington, Colonel Ramsay and his wife found agreeable quarters at the residence of their friend Mr. Lee. On June 9th, 1778, Ramsay was Lieutenant-colonel of the day at Valley Forge. On June 17th and 18th, 1778, the British army evacuated Philadelphia, and marched across New Jersey toward New York. On the 18th a portion of the American army set out in pursuit from Valley Forge. On the 19th, Washington followed with the whole army. On Sunday, the 28th, was fought the battle of Monmouth. The advance of the Americans under command of General Charles Lee had met the British, but without cause began to retreat, "fleeing from a shadow." For twenty minutes General Lee sat upon a fence without giving an order or making an attempt to stop what at every moment came nearer to being a disastrous rout. At this moment Washington arrived upon the field. The enemy must be checked or all is lost. Colonel Ramsay is coming out of a ravine. Washington hastened to him, and Colonel Walter Stewart, and taking Ramsay by the hand, said

* Some time before this a battalion from Harford County marched to Baltimore, whose services it became unnecessary to accept, Colonel Ramsay to whose regiment the battalion belonged, in acknowledging the receipt of the communication made to them by the Baltimore committee expressive of their sense of the patriotism of the battalion, says: "That battalion, sir, esteem it but their duty to march to the assistance of any part of the province when attacked or in danger of it. But they march with greater alacrity to your assistance from the pleasing memory of former connections and a sense of the value and importance of Baltimore Town to the province in general." Scharff's Chronicles of Baltimore, page 142.

that he should depend upon them with their two regiments to check the enemy until the army could be reformed. Ramsay replied, "We shall check them."

"The British were in the wood in front of Stewart and Ramsay, whom Washington had directed to incline to the left so that they might be under cover of a corner of woods, and not exposed to the enemy's cannon in their front.* The British guns opened fire. Fighting every inch of ground Stewart and Ramsay's men came out of the woods, the Americans and British mixed up together. Ramsay himself maintained his ground until left without troops, and was cut down in a hand-to-hand encounter with some British dragoons, wounded, and taken prisoner."

General Knox wrote to Mrs Knox, June 29th, that Colonel Ramsay was released in parole that morning. He remained at Princeton at the house of Mrs. Sargent until he had recovered from his wounds.† October 31st, 1778, an order was issued by the British Commissary General of prisoners, requiring all American prisoners at home on parole to repair immediately to New York. Colonel Ramsay's name being upon a return of officers at home on parole, October 12th, he was probably among those called to New York by the order. In the fall of 1779, with General Irvine, Colonel Magaw, and other prisoners at Flat Bush, he sent a number of letters to the American Commissary General of prisoners urging that money be sent them with which to buy the necessaries of life. The same officers also sent complaints to General Clinton of the insults offered them by some British troops under Captain Depeyster, and that on one occasion they had been charged upon with fixed bayonets and taken prisoners for no offense whatever. An examination having been made, the Americans were declared to have been "much in the wrong in their controversy with

* Lieutenant-colonel Fitzgerald's testimony. Court-martial of General Lee.

† Boyle's distinguished Marylanders, page 143.

the sergeant of the guard." To this the American officers replied that their treatment had been "very scandalous and that if permitted to do so, they could have established their charges in the clearest manner by the testimony of officers, and respectable inhabitants." In May 1780, the prisoners issued a memorial saying that the public supplies had been stopped for twelve months and asking the respective States to which they belonged for relief.

Several times while a prisoner, Ramsay, in company with other officers, came into the American lines on parole with propositions of exchange. The Americans and British could not agree upon the terms of exchange, but an agreement was at last happily effected in the fall of 1780, in pursuance of which Ramsay and others were released from confinement. On October 30th, 1780, a letter was addressed by General Irvine, Colonels Matthews, Ely Marbury and other officers, still in confinement on Long Island, to Ramsay, Magaw, and others, congratulating them upon their release from the miseries of captivity; saying that "their hearts bleed for the unjustifiable neglect of our country to you, eighteen months without a shilling of supplies," and asking them to remonstrate to Congress, and, if that failed to the country against the injustice of exchanging officers captured at Charlestown, a few months before, in preference to those who had been prisoners three and four years.* General Irvine wrote from Flatbush, October 31st, 1780, to the president of Congress, that those officers who that day left the island, on their way home, had been compelled to leave their unfortunate friends as security for payment of their private debts, the Commissary General of prisoners not being able to discharge them. Ramsay was exchanged for Lieutenant-colonel Connelly, the British spy.†

Tradition says that the officers confined on Long Island made their life as pleasant as possible, paying frequent

* Irvine papers in Pennsylvania Historical Society.

† Scharff's History of Maryland, page 337.

visits to one another, and doing all that could be done to relieve the tedium of confinement. The regulations for the prisoners permitted all field officers to visit any quarters where prisoners were cantoned. No prisoners were permitted to go to the northward hills, or to use firearms, or go into any craft, and all were compelled to be in their respective quarters by ten o'clock at night in summer and by nine in winter. The injustice to the American officers who were in the hands of the British so long, did not end with their imprisonment. They were set free to find their positions in the army occupied by other men. Their places were filled and there was no room for the bravest of them elsewhere in the army. Colonels Ramsay and Tillard, the latter exchanged at the same time with Ramsay, became supernumery on July 1st, 1781.*

By the acts of Congress, Colonel Ramsay became entitled to half pay, commutation, and bounty land. In 1783 he settled in Baltimore. The Maryland Society of the Cincinnati was organized at Annapolis, November 21st, 1783. The next day General Smallwood was elected president; Brigadier General Gist, vice-president; Brigadier General Williams, secretary; and Colonel Ramsay, treasurer; and the latter was also chosen with General Williams, Governor Paca, and General Smallwood to represent the State Society in the General Society.

At the first general meeting of the society after the disbandment of the army, held in the State House, Philadelphia, May 4th, 1784, General Washington was requested to preside, and Colonel Ramsay was appointed one of the committee to wait on General Washington and inform him of the request of the meeting. On the next day, when the meeting resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Colonel Ramsay was called to the chair. On Thursday, May 6th, the chairman reported that the committee of the

* Saffell Records, page 237.

whole were of opinion that the institution of the Society of the Cincinnati should be revised and amended.

In 1785 Colonel Ramsay was chosen to represent Maryland in the old Congress for one year from the second Monday in December, 1785. He took his seat on Monday, June 26th, 1786. While in Congress, in opposition to the votes of the two other Maryland representatives present, Colonel Ramsay voted in favor of a resolution to pay Major General John Sullivan \$4,300, as compensation for the great expense he had been put to while in separate command on expeditions; and he served on the committee to which was referred questions of payments to soldiers. He was sent to Congress for another year, and took his seat May 3d, 1787.

In Baltimore, Colonel Ramsay lived in the handsome home which has since been purchased by Thomas Winans. March 11th, 1786, he bought for £1,750 part of Anna Catharine Neck and Carpenter's Point, Cecil County, Maryland, a few miles below the mouth of the Susquehanna, on the eastern side of the Chesapeake Bay, and on October 6th, 1790, he bought Clayfall, four hundred acres for £580. The Carpenter's Point farm at that time was famous for its shad fishing and ducking shore, and in a less degree is still so.

Colonel and Mrs. Ramsay in winter made their home in Baltimore; in summer at Carpenter's Point; and according to Mrs. Titian R. Peale, exercised a more generous hospitality than was then known in rural Maryland. The climate here, however, did not agree with Mrs. Ramsay, and she died in 1788, leaving no children. Colonel Ramsay then married Charlotte Hall, by whom he had five children.

In 1790 he was appointed by President Washington, United States Marshal for Maryland, and in 1794 he became naval officer of the port of Baltimore. He died Friday morning, October 24th, at two o'clock, in his seventy-first year, and was buried at Westminster church, corner of Green and Fayette streets, Baltimore.*

* A painting of Colonel Ramsay and one of his brother, the historian, Dr. David Ramsay, hang in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. A painting

Colonel Ramsay was a gentleman of great benevolence and integrity of character. He had the early advantages of the best education that the country could then give. It has been said of him that in his law practice he would rather bring the plaintiff and defendant to a peaceful adjustment of their differences than try a case. His brilliant military record shows him to have been the "brave Ramsay" which the great orator, Henry Armitt Brown, called him. Socially his position was of the best. He enjoyed the personal acquaintance and confidence of General Washington, and when he died his obituaries in the *United States Gazette*,[†] *Baltimore Fed. Rep.*, the *London Gentleman's Magazine*,[‡] and the *Annual of Biography and Obituary*,[§] which spoke of his valor and value, came nearer the truth than is sometimes the case in similar notices.

of him when a young man, together with one of his father, James, and brother, David, were until recently in the possession of his grandson, Mr. William White Ramsay, of Harford County. These portraits were painted by Colonel Ramsay's brother-in-law, Charles Wilson Peale.

Mrs. Titian K. Peale, in whose husband's possession is a manuscript diary, kept by his father, Charles Wilson Peale, and which contains several references to Colonel Ramsay, says, "that Ramsay and Washington were of nearly the same height, and that when the officers of the American army would gather, as was their custom, at the residence of Charles Wilson Peale (now occupied by the New York Historical Society) in New York, they would frequently take turns in trying to lift the artist's baby sister to the ceiling. Of all who tried the playful feat, Washington and Ramsay were the only two who succeeded. It is to be regretted that Mrs. Peale's consent to an examination of this manuscript diary, could not be obtained.

The portrait of Colonel Ramsay, in Independence Hall, was photographed with difficulty, the surface being much cracked. A few lithographic copies were struck off, and the stone was destroyed. Through the kindness of Mr. Stone, librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, one of these copies is now in the possession of Colonel Ramsay's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Isaac R. Pennypacker, *nee* Charlotte Whitaker. Colonel Ramsay's sword is now owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Ramsay Whitaker, of Harford County. Bearing this sword in his hand Colonel Ramsay once quelled a serious disturbance among the fishermen at Carpenter's Point. Colonel Ramsay's camp candlesticks are in the possession of his grandson, Mr. William White Ramsay.

† October 29th, 1817. ‡ January, 1818, page 87. § 1819, page 218.

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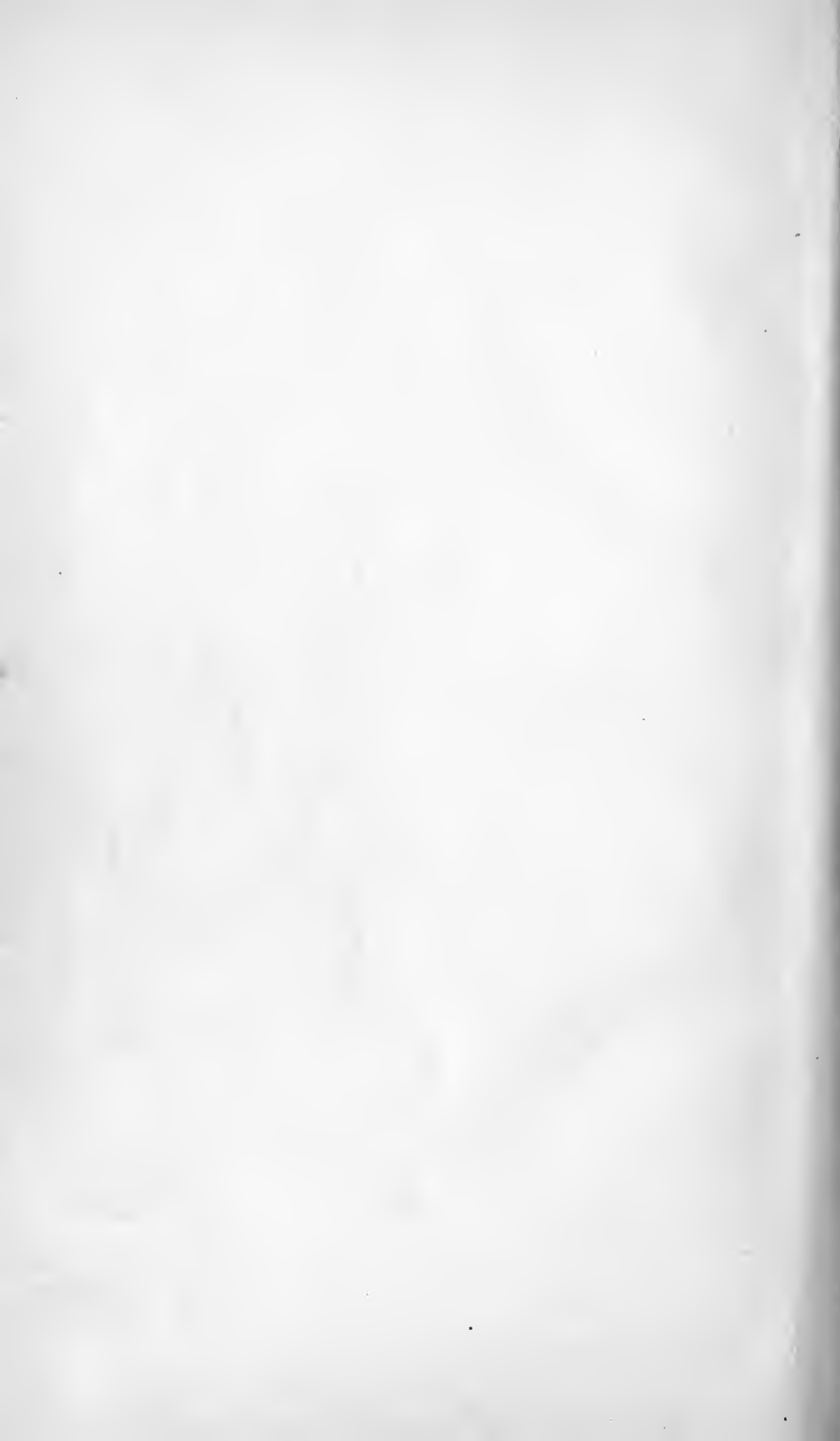
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