

The Manor of Conestoga in the Colonial Period

By MARTIN HERVIN BRACKBILL

Three shots fired into the air shattered the quiet of a summer afternoon at Blue Rock in 1731 and set off a train of events which made the echoes of those repercussions audible in the decorous environs of the Royal Palace in London, and rang down through the years in deeds of violence, plots and counter-plots, terror and just plain villainy.

Those shots were fired by two servants of Edmund Cartlidge, English trader, who with his brother once spent several months in the jail at Philadelphia while the authorities debated what to do about a charge of murder which had been brought against them.¹ It was only through the mercy of the Iro-

¹ The two brothers, John and Edmund Cartlidge, were associated with the back country of Chester county from the beginning. Edmund Cartlidge frequently was an interpreter between the Indians and provincial officials, while John was an early Chester County justice of the peace, losing his commission in 1721 after the affair on the Monocacy River in Maryland.

In brief the story of that incident was this. The two Cartlidges with several servants were trading with Indians on the Maryland frontier when an Iroquois Indian, probably one of those who frequently made trips to the Shenandoah Valley and points farther south from the homeland of the Iroquois in New York State, demanded more rum. The request angered the Cartlidges and in the subsequent brawl, the Indian was beaten to death. The Cartlidges always claimed the Indian was not killed, but there was sufficient evidence to prove otherwise. Both were thrown in jail, first released on bail, then returned to jail without bail on murder charges. No doubt if the Indians had insisted on a life for a life, both would have been hanged for the crime, but instead the Iroquois at a conference in Albany, New York, in 1722, actually interceded for the two men and they were released. John died shortly afterward, but Edmund lived for many years more, one letter of his written in 1728 stating that he had traded farther to the west than any other trader had ever gone, and there is little doubt but what some of his trips took him as far west as the Mississippi for he speaks of buying furs of Indians from the mountains beyond the great river. The sponsor of Cartlidge, that is to say, the Philadelphia merchant who advanced him money to carry on his Indian trade, was James Logan, secretary of the provincial council. It was Logan's money which bought for Edmund Cartlidge the large tract between the Conestoga and the Mill Creek, southeast of Lancaster, where the first mill in this

quois Indians, one of whose number it was charged they had brutally murdered, that the charges against them were dismissed.

Across the river on the west bank, two men were at work building a cabin on that day in 1731. One of them was a Maryland carpenter by the name of Thomas Cressap, the other was a man who had crossed the river in Cressap's boat and was working out his ferry fare. Cressap, on hearing the shots, believed there was some one on the other side wishing to cross the river. He and his helper went to where the boat was tied up and rowed over to the other side, landing near the place where two white men and a negro, a slave belonging to Cartlidge, were waiting. The negro stayed on shore while the two white strangers climbed in the boat, and Cressap began the return trip.

Some sixty feet from shore, Cressap heard a commotion in back of him and turned about to find one of his "passengers" pointing a villainous looking pistol at his head. His helper, who had been tossed overboard, was swimming desperately for shore.

"What do you expect to do?" Cressap asked. "Murder me?"

With a curse, the leader said he had a good mind to do so. Cressap, never a man to give up without a fight, managed to grab an oar and tried to use it as a club. The oar was wrenched from his hand and he lost his balance, falling into the water. Finding the river deep at this point and unable to swim, Cressap clung to the gunwale of the boat, while his assailants hammered mercilessly at his knuckles with the butts of their pistols. Feeling his feet touch a rock, Cressap let go and the boat drifted rapidly downstream, putting him out of the reach of blows the two ruffians aimed at him with oars.

Somehow Cressap managed to reach a small island opposite the Blue Rock and remained there until sundown, when fortunately enough, a passing Indian saw him and took him to the west side in his canoe. In the meanwhile, Cressap had seen his assailants return to the east bank in his boat, where the negro slave was holding his late helper a prisoner, tie him up securely and disappear up the Blue Rock Road, with the young man slung over their shoulders as if he were a bag of grain.²

DISPUTE OVER BOUNDARY

What was all this about? Why all this violence, seemingly unprovoked?

These questions, natural enough to ask, when answered reveal a story which it is the purpose of this article to try to explain. This incident, so dramatic in detail, is but one of a series that compose the early history of this

region was built between 1712 and 1717. Logan also financed John's purchase of a large tract near the Conestoga Indian town where he lived.

² Thomas Cressap made a deposition in Maryland in 1731, a copy of which was sent to the Pennsylvania governor at Philadelphia, and is preserved in the state archives in the unpublished provincial papers.

section. Before going on, however, it is necessary to go back a few years and paint in a little of the background necessary for an understanding of what was in men's minds, that led them to such violent methods to gain what might be really credible ends.

Ever since Penn had landed on the Delaware and laid claim to the land which became Pennsylvania under his charter from King Charles, he and the Baltimore family, owners of Maryland, had been disputing the boundary between the two provinces.³

As soon as one difficulty would be ironed out, another would appear. Settlers had scarcely begun to pour into Lancaster County on the east side of the Susquehanna, before rumors were heard that Maryland intended to seize the land on the west side as far north as the mouth of the Codorus Creek. Those on the east side, many of whom lacked titles for the plantations they had carved from the wilderness, felt that if Maryland could make such a claim to the west side stick, any rights they might have on the east side, would be worthless.⁴

So bitter was the feeling which developed between the people of the two provinces, that the air was filled with clouds of mutual suspicion which lasted for generations.

Before 1729, a number of settlers from Pennsylvania already had crossed

³ The Penns and the Baltimores were unable to agree on where the boundary lay until the Mason and Dixon line was surveyed under the orders of the English king. The difference arose out of the interpretation of the terms of King Charles's charter to William Penn, which distinctly said Penn was to have the land between two degrees of latitude and three degrees of longitude. The forty degree parallel was to be the southern boundary. As a matter of fact the Mason and Dixon line is south of the fortieth degree. During Penn's second visit to Pennsylvania, he went to Maryland in an attempt to settle where the line should be, and went with the then reigning Calvert to the mouth of the Octoraro Creek, where both were reported to have agreed the line should be. The Marylanders later accused Penn of using a faulty sextant in determining the degree of latitude. Regardless of the validity of Maryland's claim, however, the choice before the English king was whether he wanted to favor a Catholic family, commonly thought to be friendly with the Pretender, or a Quaker dynasty, which at one time had also been accused of being Jacobitic. The choice fell on Pennsylvania. During the time the dispute raged, Maryland asserted that William Penn had agreed with them, that if the more southerly line east of the Susquehanna were agreed upon, so that Philadelphia would remain in Pennsylvania, Maryland would be compensated west of the Susquehanna. The Penns, of course, denied this.

⁴ John Digges, who three decades later, in 1750, figured prominently in a new outbreak of the border dispute in what is now Adams County, when his son was slain in a fight over a farm which Digges claimed under a Maryland grant, but which lay north of the Pennsylvania line, visited Lancaster County as early as 1728, telling many settlers that the titles they held to their farms were worthless, since the land really lay within Maryland. That some believed him is evidenced by the fact that Abraham Burkholder, a Swiss, who had arrived in Lancaster County in 1717 and settled at the mouth of the Pequea Creek, held some of his land under a Maryland grant.

the river to the west side, a good portion of which, in 1722, to prevent just such settlements, had been surveyed by orders from Sir William Keith, then lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, as hunting grounds for the numerous Indians on the east side, whose villages lined the river from a point near the mouth of the Pequea up to the river's sources in New York.⁵

Keith had promised no land would be sold across the Susquehanna. When the Indians complained that this promise was being disregarded, after settlers began clearing land before 1729, the provincial authorities ordered them to return, and to abandon the clearings they had made and the cabins they had built. One of the first of these settlements, in fact the earliest of which there is a record, was opposite Blue Rock. The builder, Edward Parnell, at the government's command, returned to the east side, but his cabin remained. It was into this that Cressap moved in the spring of 1731.⁶

This particularly infuriated settlers on the eastern side. Cressap by claiming citizenship from Maryland, could defy the Pennsylvania authorities and thus do what settlers from Pennsylvania could not.

⁵ Governor Keith in explaining his hasty order for a survey for the famous Springettsbury Manor in York County in 1722, wrote a letter to his council while at his frontier plantation of Newberry on the west side of the Susquehanna River, north of the mouth of the Conewago Creek. He said that he had learned that surveyors were on the way from Maryland to lay out land on the western side of the river, and acting to prevent both trouble with the Indians and to insure Pennsylvania's claims, he had the whole disputed territory surveyed for Springett Penn, William Penn's grandson, who at that time, it was believed, would succeed to the proprietorship of Pennsylvania.

⁶ Since these settlers were on the frontier where there were no courts nor titles of any kind, it can easily be understood why little is known of them. They were squatters in the first place. However, when ordered to return to the purchased lands on the east side of the Susquehanna River, they did so. Years later, the Rev. Richard Peters, secretary of the province, in searching for a precedent for the burning of settlers' cabins in Sherman's Valley, Perry County, and elsewhere, found one in the burning of cabins west of the Susquehanna River in 1722 (see the Minutes of the Executive Council for 1750), telling us that it was done without any authority whatsoever. As in Perry County thirty years later, some cabins were left standing. It was one of these that Cressap located in. Another one was located at the mouth of Kreutz Creek, south of Wrightsville. We know of this one because in April, 1722, one of the Taylors laid out the so-called Mine Land west of the river. This tract was located along the river from the mouth of the White Oak Branch (now Kreutz Creek), 1500 perches along the river to the mouth of Mine Run, (Accomac, opposite Marietta), up the Mine Run, and then southeast 900 perches to the White Oak Branch. The surveyor's draught of this tract which is included in the Land Office records, shows a cabin built north of Kreutz Creek along the river and identifies it as "first settled by John Grist, afterwards by Captain Bewer, an Indian." Grist's name appears on the first tax list for Lancaster in 1718. Later this cabin came into the possession of the Hendricks family. The map also shows that in 1722, J. Letort's cabin was located where Marietta now stands.

What was more aggravating to the authorities was Cressap's apparent disregard for promises made the Indians while settlers, such as James Patterson, a trader with the Indians, soon were quarreling with Cressap over their long-standing practice of pasturing their horses on the other side of the river. Cressap warned them they would continue to do so at the risk of losing their animals.⁷

HARBORED DEBTOR

But Cartlidge had still another reason for disliking Cressap. He claimed Cressap had harbored a man who had fled from the Lancaster jurisdiction without paying a debt owed him. This was the man Cartlidge's servants had carried away. They, who at a hearing before Andrew Cornish, a son-in-law of John Cartlidge, a brother of Edmund, a Pennsylvania justice of the peace, were found guilty of assault, stated they had been told by Cartlidge to do everything short of murder to get the missing debtor.⁸

Event after event of this nature occurred, adding fuel to the flames of border mistrust. Shortly after Cressap took up residence opposite Blue Rock, two Pennsylvanians, James Hendricks and John Wright, began making improvements on the same side of the river a short distance to the north; Hendricks building a cabin.

It was here one day a short time later that James Patterson, a fiery outspoken man, met two Marylanders who had gone north to have surveys made under Maryland grants to land already claimed by Pennsylvanians.

Patterson learned that these Marylanders even questioned the legality of his right to his plantation on the east side of the river near the Blue Rock, asserting that he was unable to produce a deed. As it happened, Patterson could not. His plantation lay within the bounds of the Manor of Conestoga, and none of this land, with one or two exceptions, had been patented to anyone. Yet Patterson had lived there from 1715 on. Apparently some doubt

⁷ Those listed by Cressap, as pasturing their horses on the west side of the river, were James Patterson, Indian trader, who lived near Blue Rock, Robert Asheton, and Martin Kendig, among others.

⁸ A certain Samuel Thorne of West Chester, New York, made a deposition to the effect that after hearing a report that a man who owed him money had fled across the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, went to Cressap and paid him a large sum to capture the missing debtor, which he did. However Thorne asserted that Cressap then turned around and told the debtor that for another sum of money, he could take him, the debtor, to a place where the law would never reach him. However the debtor, instead of agreeing, told Thorne, who told the authorities.

As a matter of fact, Cressap seems to have been a sort of colonial Robin Hood, offering refuge to many persons from Pennsylvania's settled sections who faced jail sentences for debt and even more serious crimes, one pair being wanted for the murder of a child. Affidavits to these facts are contained in the Pennsylvania state archives among the unpublished provincial papers.

had begun to enter his own mind, for he wrote to James Logan, provincial secretary and agent of the Penns, about the matter. In his answer, Logan was reported to have told Patterson to hold on to his land by whatever means he could. So Patterson told the Marylanders he would fight "to his knees in blood" before he gave up his plantation.⁹

Retracing our steps a few years, it might be explained that in 1712 the Indians at Conestoga had threatened to move west because of insults they alleged had been committed against them by whites who had settled near them to trade. They charged all manner of things. For one thing, Madame Letort had insulted their queen to her face, and still another by the name of Sherrill had lived among them several years without planting any corn of his own, yet always seemed to have plenty. The Indians said he robbed their cornfields at night.¹⁰

The Quaker government had many reasons for keeping on good terms with the Conestoga Indians, so they ordered all but John Cartlidge to move away. Cartlidge was made sort of an overseer to insure the Indians protection from future aggravations. Later, surveyors laid off a large area, bounded by a line which started from a point on the Little Conestoga Creek northeast of the town of Millersville, and ran west by south to the Susquehanna, down that river and then up the Conestoga Creek to the lines of previously patented land in what is now Lancaster town. This area was called the Manor of Conestoga and was set aside as a domain in which the Indians could always live and hunt.¹¹

⁹ Patterson's statement, which was made on the western side of the river at a house near where Wrightsville is located today, is contained in a deposition made by John Ross, Gentleman, of Annapolis, a copy of which is in the state archives.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Pennsylvania Executive Council for 1712 contain a complete account of the Indians' complaints. They traveled to Philadelphia to make them.

¹¹ The order given Jacob Taylor, surveyor general, by the land commissioners, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris and James Logan, was dated February 12 (old style), 1717/18. It reads as follows:

"These are to authorize and require thee without any delay to survey or cause to be surveyed all that tract of land lying between the Susquehanna River and Conestoga Creek, from the mouth of the said creek as far up the river as the land already granted to Peter Chartier, and then by a line running from the said river to the Conestoga Creek, all of which tract of land is to be surveyed by virtue hereof, thou art to make exact returns to the secretary's office for the proper use and behoof of William Penn, Governor and chief proprietor, his heirs and assigns."

The tract actually was surveyed and two drafts of the earliest surveys are in the Pennsylvania Land Office, where the original of the survey order is also preserved. One of these drafts shows that the tract contained 16,000 acres, that along the river at the northwest corner (now Washington Boro) was the plantation of Martin Chartier (father of Peter), that also in that locality, but within the Manor itself, about a mile back from the river, was the plantation of James Patterson, and that along the Conestoga Creek, near

Perhaps it is true that such was the motive for laying out this Manor, but after Penn's death and when his three younger sons assumed control of the province in the 1730's, this Manor became their personal property and the original reason for it appears to have been lost sight of.

SOIL IN THE MANOR RICH

The land for the most part was flat and well watered. The soil was rich and fruitful. Time after time, squatters seeing this rich area uncultivated, tried to settle on it. They built cabins and cleared sections only to be summarily ejected by agents of the Penns. The proprietors had other plans.¹²

its mouth, at the southwest corner of the Manor, was the plantation of John Cartlidge.

The second draft, which like the first is not dated, shows that the northern boundary ran east by north six miles (actually the line was slightly longer), then southeast 75 perches, south 230 perches, southeast 154 perches, south southwest 134 perches, south southeast 126 perches to the bank of the Big Conestoga Creek, running along this creek to the Susquehanna, and thence north to the beginning, a locust tree standing at the corner of the Chartier tract.

This second draft also shows, that at the approximate location of Blue Rock, on the river below Washington Boro, standing between two short streams of water or runs, was an Indian fort, the name of which is not given. The property lines of the Cartlidge tract are also given, although the tract is now reduced from 500 to 300 acres. The remaining 200 acres, in this map, were included within the L-shaped tract indicated as the property of James Logan. Immediately northwest of the boundary of Logan's plantation, the surveyor located Conestoga Indiantown.

It is to be assumed that the survey of the Manor was made at the same time that Isaac Taylor, a deputy of Jacob Taylor, determined the lines of Cartlidge's plantation. The date of the latter survey was October 16, 1718. Logan's land was not surveyed until some years later, although unofficially it was indicated on the larger drafts much earlier. For instance the earlier drafts of the Manor showed this Logan tract having an area of 500 acres, yet when the official return was filed in the Land Office in December, 1737, its area was given as 700 acres, without allowance, a warrant having been issued for 660 acres in 1734. Logan obtained this land in a rather unusual way. He had previously been given a large quantity of land west of the Schuylkill at the mouth of French Creek, so-named after Peter Bezaillon, French trader, who had his first trading post there up to about 1707. However, Logan found that much of this land was hilly and barren, according to the land records, and relinquished it in exchange for an equal quantity in the Manor of Conestoga. What a bargain he obtained can be appreciated when it is realized that this offer was used not only to obtain what was officially called 660 acres adjoining Indiantown and the Conestoga Creek (actually it was much larger), but also the 200 acres and more which Patterson lived on in the northwest corner of the Manor.

¹² The Scotch-Irish who poured into Lancaster County from the New-castle region from 1720 on, finding most of the other fine land along the Pequea and Conestoga Creeks, either under cultivation by Swiss Mennonite settlers or owned by syndicates of Philadelphia and London land speculators, settled on the Manor only to be summarily ejected and their cabins burned.

The squatters ousted, were for the most part Scotch-Irish, who had begun to pour into this general region about 1720, a decade after the Swiss had first settled in the valley of the Pequea. Many of them, driven out of the Manor and their cabins burned, moved on up the river, beyond the other settlements, into the region beyond the hills of Donegal into the valley of the Swatara Creek, where by 1729, they were numerous enough to require that region to be laid out into townships, those of Paxtang and Derry.¹³

Confirmation of these facts, details of which have been handed down by tradition, are to be found in the day book kept by the Receiver General of the province, James Steel, for the years, 1730 and 1733. The first entry, dated April 15, 1730, states: "Acct. of charges dr. to cash---3 pounds, 15 shillings, pd. John Postlethwaite for John Galbreath's account of expenses in dislodging the people out of the Manor of Conestoga." And the second entry, dated 11th month, 16th day, 1733-34, states: "Acct. of charges dr. to cash 9 pounds, five shillings, paid John Postlethwaite for his expenses and service about removing the settlements that were attempted to be made in Conestoga Manor and to John Emerson for horse hire and expenses to Conestoga and Dunegall about ye disorders there, four pounds."

¹³ It must be remembered that the German immigrants from the Schoharie region of New York, which included the Weiser family, had settled on Keith's invitation in Tulpehocken, west of the Schuylkill River and thereby precipitated a dispute between himself and Logan, which ended in Keith losing his post of governor, a post which Logan had been largely instrumental in obtaining for him in the first place. This Tulpehocken settlement was earlier than those in Derry or Paxtang, although the exact date Scotch-Irish began crossing the mountains into the valley of the Swatara and beyond, will probably never be exactly determined. However, it might be said, that reports that John Harris was located at the mouth of the Paxtang Creek as early as 1718, appear erroneous. As late as 1730, when Joshua Lowe probed the murder of an Indian along the Swatara Creek (provincial papers for 1730), he stopped at Packstan or Paxton and found Peter Bezaillion and Peter Chartier there, but there is no mention of John Harris. Of course, Bezaillion's home was at Caln, near the Chester County line, but he maintained a trading post at the Paxtang Indian village at least until 1730, when the Tuscaroras, according to Lowe, were the Indians residing there. Bezaillion had obtained his trading privileges at Paxtang when Governor John Evans, about 15 years earlier, had ousted another Frenchman, named Nicole Godin from the same village, under the suspicion he was a French spy, although this evidence never proved, came from other traders, whom Godin had accused of debauching the Indians with rum to steal their furs.

What is the most probable explanation of Harris's early location on the Susquehanna at Paxtang, is that he was first an employe of Bezaillion, as all early traders had one or more servants in conducting their trading activities. Bezaillion, it must be remembered, had two trading posts along the Susquehanna, one of them at the mouth of the Conoy Creek, near Bainbridge, which he sold about 1720 to Christian Brenneman of Conestoga Township, a son of Melchoir Brenneman. This location was patented in the name of Martha Bezaillion, the trader's wife, since he was not only a Frenchman but also a Catholic, if the word of Governor Gooch (see Executive Council's Minutes) carries any historical weight. Martha, the daughter of John Comb of Philadelphia, was an English woman. Even when the patent was issued in 1728 (so that a title could be given to Brenneman) it was issued to Peter, in behalf of his wife. At the same time a patent was issued to Peter Bezaillion and John Warder of Philadelphia, for 450 acres next to the 700 acres in Donegal.

So it occurred, as it was to happen again, that these first settlements, beyond what was known in that era as the Lechay or Lehigh Hills, resulted from an event which occurred within the Manor. These settlements beyond the hills were, with the exception of that at Tulpehocken, the first to be made within that vast geographical region which is known in Virginia as the Shenandoah Valley, in Pennsylvania west of the river, as the Cumberland Valley, and east of the Susquehanna, the Lebanon Valley; a vast curving region pointed at the heart of the American continent through which, from those early years on, poured a steady stream of immigration into the uncharted wildernesses beyond the mountains.¹⁴

As the years went by, more and more of the arable land east of the Susquehanna as far north as the Kittatinny Mountains, and west of the river in what is now York, Adams and Franklin counties, was being placed in cultivation, while the Manor continued to be barred to settlers.

HAMILTON BUYS 1500 ACRES

Then suddenly, without any explanation which can be found in the records, a huge chunk of the Manor, 1500 acres of it on the northeast corner, was sold in 1735 to Andrew Hamilton, a Philadelphia merchant and lawyer, whose friendship was much desired by the Penns. This sale was not made by the Penns through their regular land office, for there exists no record of a patent, but as the private owners of the Manor. Hamilton, of course, had no intention of settling there himself. He immediately resold to a syndicate of Swiss farmers headed by Michael Baughman, a Swiss who had arrived in Pennsylvania in 1717, and had for years acted as an agent of his countrymen in their dealing with the provincial authorities.¹⁵

mentioned above. This land had been surveyed to Moses Comb, uncle of Martha Bezaillion. Peter Bezaillion and Warder were executors of Comb's will. Warder provides the link between Bezaillion and John Harris. He was a Philadelphia merchant, who bought some of Bezaillion's deer skins and furs, as is evidenced by the fact that he made frequent payments for Bezaillion at the Land Office. And Warder also was the man who, in 1726, asked the Land Office to permit Harris to settle on land at Paxtang, land which seven years later was patented to Harris.

¹⁴ Two streams of immigration crossed in or near the Manor in the earliest times. The first was that of the Scotch-Irish who entered the province from Newcastle, into the Octarora region, west to the river, and then north into Donegal, Derry and Paxton.

From Paxton, they crossed the river into the Cumberland Valley which was the great avenue for the Scotch-Irish settlements into Western Virginia, Western Carolina and Western Pennsylvania. On the other hand, the Germans arrived in America at Philadelphia, came west by the high road to Lancaster, thence to the river by the Blue Rock Road, where they crossed the river to settle in York County, Western Maryland, and finally the Shenandoah Valley.

¹⁵ Michael Baughman or Bachman owned enormous quantities of land for a Mennonite farmer. He had plantations in the Manor, in Manheim Town-

Baughman apparently represented a group of Swiss settlers, for we find him immediately disposing of portions of this 1500 acres to various of his neighbors. Some of the purchasers from Baughman were Christian Steinman, who operated a mill where Maple Grove now is, Samuel Oberholtzer, Henry Killeffer and others. The singular thing about these transactions, which immediately impresses the investigator, is that in the same year land in Hempfield Township, immediately adjoining, was being sold by the Land Office at 15 pounds per hundred acres, the price of this land within the Manor, was 60 pounds per hundred, or just four times as much.¹⁶

It has been the tradition among descendants of Scotch-Irish pioneers who were ousted from the Manor, that the authorities played favorites in this affair, permitting the Swiss to settle there only a short time after they had been ejected and their cabins burned. It is more likely that the Swiss were the only buyers willing to pay four times as much for this land as was being paid for other land nearby.

Years later in one of the frequent quarrels between the Penns and the Provincial Assembly, disputes which laid the groundwork in this state for Revolutionary War doctrine, it was asserted that in the financing of the French and Indian wars, the Penns sought to avoid taxation on these rich manorial holdings, while others bore the burden of new taxes. This, it was claimed, was true when the Penns had more at stake than anyone else, since all of the land west of the mountains, the prize of the wars, would be theirs if the English won. These contentions led to frequent and provocative deadlocks. The Penns always denied the charge, but the party in the General Assembly, led by the astute Benjamin Franklin, asserted that in any new

ship, in Warwick, in Cocalico Township, in Lebanon and Derry Townships. Baughman first settled in Lancaster Township, but soon sold this land and settled on a new tract on a branch of the Little Conestoga near Neffsville. He died leaving a large family, each one of his children, sons and daughters alike, receiving a handsome farm as their inheritance. Peter received the homestead, Christian a farm in Manor Township, John and Michael, Jr., large farms in what is now Annville and Londonderry townships in Lebanon County. His daughters and sons-in-law also obtained farms, one in Manor, one in Warwick, one in Cocalico, and two in Lebanon Township. During his lifetime, Baughman made frequent trips to Philadelphia, each time making payments not only on his own lands, but on those of his countrymen for miles around.

¹⁶ This was true in the case of farms adjoining each other, both of which are now actually located within Manor Township. The reason for this is rather complex. The Penns, from the beginning, had reserved to themselves the right to set aside certain areas as Manors which would be their own private property, as distinguished from the land that was for sale to any buyer who would pay the fixed price. Generally speaking, these Manors were held off the market until adjacent regions had been developed by frontier people, thus making them much more valuable. So when they were eventually sold, they brought much higher prices. In the French and Indian war period, these practices were condemned in the Assembly.

purchase of land, the proprietors always had the choicest areas laid aside for themselves as manors, keeping out all settlers, until adjacent land had been cleared and developed, when they would dispose of the manors at speculative prices.¹⁷ This certainly was the case in the Manor of Conestoga.

Whatever may have been the original motive in laying out the Manor, this region was held for years after all adjoining land even the most barren, had been surveyed and cleared. For it was not until five years after the outbreak of the French and Indian Wars in 1755, that patents to any appreciable number, were issued by the Penns and their agents, for farms in the Manor, although pioneer settlers had located there decades earlier, raised families, founded churches and built mills, and, before they could really claim that their titles to the land were clear, had graveyards with quite a few markers in them scattered throughout the region. And it was years longer before the last areas of the Manor eventually passed into the hands of private owners.¹⁸

¹⁷ The minutes of the Pennsylvania Assembly from 1755 on, while special taxes were being voted to support the war, are filled with charges and counter-charges between the Assembly and the Governors, who were the agents of the proprietors. The Assembly party refused to pass tax measures unless they fell equally on private citizens and the Penns, while the Governors rejected all measures which would place taxation on Penn family holdings, which in colonial times represented the greatest private fortune in America. As a result, only half-hearted measures were prosecuted in the war, permitting it to drag out for years. Then too, much of the frontier was left unguarded and the families of many a frontiersman were killed or captured by Indians, not to mention that everything some of them had in the world was destroyed, the survivors being reduced to the direst poverty. All these disputes led to the movement to replace the Penns with a Royal governor, caused much of the irritation which developed between Pennsylvania and the king's ministry, and finally prepared most of those on the Pennsylvania frontier for the Revolutionary movement which overthrew the King's authority.

¹⁸ A draught in the files of the Pennsylvania Land Office which was made in the year 1738, gives us some information as to how the earliest surveys were made in the Manor.

This map shows that most of the area in the Manor in that year, had already been reserved for buyers. Beginning at the northwest corner, we find that exclusive of the 200-acre Patterson plantation, 3000 acres along the river had been set aside for the Penn family. This land began at Washington Boro and extended south along the river to Turkey Hill and inland approximately two miles. At the same time, at the northeast corner, adjoining the Lancaster Township line, there was another large tract of 1500 acres reserved or sold to Andrew Hamilton, father of James Hamilton, founder of Lancaster City.

Between these two large tracts, touching the northern boundary of the Manor for two miles, and then running east by north along the southern line of Hamilton's tract to the township line, were a number of smaller tracts which had been reserved for settlers who were, without exception, Swiss Menonites who had earlier settled in Lancaster and Hempfield townships.

There were two tracts designated as those of Andrew Kauffman. Jacob Hostetter had a tract of 500 acres (actually 475 acres); John Herr, son of

This is doubly remarkable when it is recalled that even before 1717 and 1720, when the first mass movements of settlers into Lancaster County, then the land "back of Chester," began, most of the whites living in this region, with the exception of the Hans Herr and Martin Kendig colony and a few others, were in this triangular region between the Conestoga Creek and the Susquehanna River.¹⁹

James Patterson, mentioned above as arriving in 1715, was one of the first. John Cartlidge was there before 1712. Martin Chartier, a French Swiss, who traded with the Indians, lived at a Shawnee village near present-day Washington Boro, at even an earlier date. After his death in 1718, his son, Peter Chartier, followed the tribe of his Shawnee mother, north along the Susquehanna to a village opposite Harrisburg, and later still to the Ohio region, where he, as much as anyone, was responsible for leading his mother's people away from the English into a French alliance, a circumstance which culminated in the bloody wars of the Pennsylvania frontier in which the Shawnees and the Delawares were the white settlers' most dread enemies.²⁰

Abraham Herr, Sr., 500 acres; Abraham Herr, Jr., 424 acres; Michael Bachman, two tracts (later patented as one) of 260 and 404 acres; Michael Shank, 220 acres; John Shank and Christian Martin, a tract of undetermined size; Michael Myer, a tract of 200 acres; Jacob Brubaker and Michael Myer, a tract of 270 acres (this plantation was just north of Indiantown); Samuel Oberholtzer and Henry Kilheffer, a tract of 375 acres; and Rudy Herr, a tract of 150 acres. This draught also shows the location of Cartlidge's plantation, of Joshua Lowe's farm, the Richey plantation between the Big and Little Conestoga creeks, and the small plantations of Peter Leaman and Michael Kreider southwest of Cartlidge's place.

¹⁹ This was true because the first white men on the frontier were there to trade with the Indians rather than to clear land and develop it. See "New Light on Hans Herr and Martin Kendig," published by the Lancaster County Historical Society in 1935, for details of the Swiss settlement.

²⁰ Martin Chartier, who married a Shawnee woman, arrived in Pennsylvania with that tribe in 1698 from the southwest. The best source now available for a short history of Chartier and this tribe, is a letter written by Governor James Hamilton of Pennsylvania in 1750 to the London Board of Trade, in which he states:

"The Shawonese in old times lived near the Spaniards (the lower Mississippi and Gulf of Mexico region) and were always at war with them . . . were by treaty, received into this province in 1701 and placed on the Susquehanna, and afterwards removed to the Ohio." Hamilton stated that the Iroquois, Delawares and Mohickans were the other tribes in the Ohio region, and all were allies of the English, except "some of the Shawonese, who by the solicitation and under the conduct of one Peter Chartier, a freeholder of this province, deserted to the French at the beginning of the last war with France in 1745."

Conrad Weiser, in one of his letters to the Provincial Council in 1747, to be found in the minute book of the council in the state archives, states as follows in a postscript:

Even when settlers were being effectually barred from within the Manor, it was another thing preventing hunters from shooting the game which abounded in those early days in this area. To prevent this and other outlawed practices, the Penns in 1732 named John Emerson, an agent of theirs, a ranger of the Manor with powers, within that area, equal to those of a sheriff. Indeed, at one time, Emerson also was elected sheriff of the county. After his death, a strange thing occurred. His widow, Mary Emerson, actually plotted with Cressap to murder John Ross, who had become an important figure in frontier affairs, and who had succeeded Emerson in the operation of the Blue Rock ferry.

Widow Emerson told Cressap's wife that if Cressap would send someone secretly over the river to fall on Ross and kill him, she would engage him in a game of cards to lull his suspicions and make him an easy mark for the assassin. What her motive was, is not revealed. The plot failed because one of those who heard it hatched, hastened to carry the news to the authorities in Lancaster County, and Ross was warned.²¹

Sympathies were so mixed in that early border warfare, that it is hard to decide just who was who, but one thing is certain, and that is that the Swiss went about their business without taking sides.

This was natural enough, of course, for the Swiss in Lancaster County, were for the most part Mennonites, who abhorred violence of any kind. It was contrary to their most fundamental religious principles. Yet they could not entirely avoid the struggles and in the end, despite their position as non-combatants, they suffered more than those who were directly concerned in the quarrel.²²

"Scaishary (a chief from the Ohio) told Shikalamy at my house (Heidelberg) very privately that Peter Chartier and his company had accepted the French hatchet, but kept it in their bosom till they would see what interest they could make in favor of the French."

Peter Chartier, it might be added, sold the plantation on the Susquehanna River in 1719 to James Logan, and followed his mother's tribe to a new location on the north side of the Yellow Breeches Creek in Cumberland County, where he continued to live until about 1744 or 1745, long after his mother's people had taken the Allegheny trail over the mountains to the Ohio. While living at the Yellow Breeches, Chartier owned a plantation of 600 acres, which included within its boundaries most of what is now the town of New Cumberland. While at this Susquehanna location, he maintained a trading post, which the Indians always favored because of his blood relationship for them. Chartier was one of the most persistent critics of the government's leniency toward traders who debauched the Indians with rum, a laxity along with other reasons, which in the end induced him to switch allegiance to the French, as he saw the diabolical practice was destroying his mother's people more surely than anything else the advancing whites were doing.

²¹ A man named Richard Sutherland, a former servant of Cressap, made a deposition giving the details of this plot, which he heard while in Cressap's kitchen in the house opposite Blue Rock.

²² Although the Quakers were in control of the government and they too refused to use force in keeping the peace on the border, several governors

The Blue Rock Road which passed through the northern fringe of the Manor after following what today is known as the Millersville Pike to Millersville, then crossing the Little Conestoga northwest of that community, and so on to the river a short distance south of Washington Boro, was more than just another road.²³

BLUE ROCK ROAD ANCIENT ONE

It had been an Indian trail for no one knows how many years before white settlers appeared, and connected the river villages with the Delaware region all during the earliest years of the historical period. It became a trail for horsemen and traders heading west into the woods with packs of goods for exchange with the skins and furs of the Indians.

Later settlers used it to reach the river and it is significant that the first families to cross the river, of which there is a record, settled on land opposite the Blue Rock.

So it occurred that, when in 1731 and 1732, we find Cressap disputing with Patterson and others from the eastern shore, about horses left to graze along the west bank, we find the names of Robert Asheton, a trader, and Martin Kendig, a farmer, linked with that of Patterson, as owners of the horses.²⁴

expressed irritation that the Mennonites and other noncombatant Germans and Swiss would not defend themselves against Maryland.

²³ The Blue Rock Road, which is still in existence and still very much in use, was one of the most important thoroughfares in Pennsylvania in colonial times. From the opposite shore of the river, the road continued west to York, turned southwest to Hanover, into Maryland, and so to the Shenandoah region. Thus it became the earliest highway to the west, and was used by the Iroquois before the white man, as their war path from the Susquehanna to the country of their traditional enemies, the Cherokees. Proof of this appears in a letter written by Governor William Keith to the Governor of New York, July 19, 1720, in which he explained that since the Iroquois had ended their war with the Illinois, Huron and other Indians in league with the French, they had gone off to the southwest to wage war "against the Indians settled upon the lower branches of the Mississippi," and "of late on Indians in Virginia and Carolina." Continuing Keith said, "we rarely have had occasion to complain of their deportment until of late and especially this last time, when without any provocation they shot divers of our people's creatures (cattle) for their diversion only, without touching them for food and robbed one Patterson (James Patterson, who lived near Blue Rock) a trader's store, before his face of some pounds value, without pretending to make any manner of satisfaction. Some of the nation, called the Cayogoes (Cayugas) had the boldness to assert that all the lands upon the Susquehanna River belonged to them."

James Logan also reported that he had told the Indians on the Susquehanna that the Five Nations or Iroquois, "come through your towns and bring back their prisoners through your settlements. Thus they open a clear path from these southern Indians to your towns."

²⁴ Affidavit or deposition made by Thomas Cressap.

What, it will be asked at once, was Martin Kendig doing with horses on the west side of the Susquehanna at this point, so far from his plantation south of Lancaster? Was he an Indian trader also? And if not, why should he keep horses here?

The answer is that he was not a trader. He had those horses for a reason much more important historically than any petty trading with Indians in which some drink-fogged redskin lost his winter's fur catch for a gallon or two of inferior rum.²⁵ Kendig, it will be recalled, was a pioneer who had a great deal to do with the first settlement in Lancaster County. Here again, he is cast in the role of pioneer, for those horses were there to carry settlers and their household goods to far-away Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. It was in 1731 that the first stream of settlers began to trickle into that rich region from Pennsylvania and they too, like the first settlers in Lancaster County, were Swiss, continuing to be the advance guard on this frontier as they were on many more in their never-ending search for new land.

It must be remembered that for many years it was believed that the Shenandoah was really within Pennsylvania, and it was only after it was learned definitely that the land was actually in Virginia, that application was made to the authorities of that state for the right to purchase it, and when that application was made, Hans and Jacob Funk, two brothers, the former of whom had been among the first to settle along the Pequea, were among the first to own large areas in the Valley in Virginia.²⁶

²⁵ It was the practice of the traders to barter for the fur catch of an entire Indian town with as little bad rum as possible. Under the community system of the Indians, the deer skins and fur pelts, which were caught by the hunters through a winter, were the property of the whole village and not that of the hunters alone. However the traders would meet the hunters in the woods before they reached their villages, ply them with rum, and get all their furs and sometimes even the skins which they wore. The drunken warrior would then return to his village empty handed and not only he, but all his fellow villagers would suffer. Most of the tribes, which once lived on the Susquehanna River, moved across the mountains to the Ohio to get their young men out of the reach of such traders, and thus fell under the influence of the French, who made every effort to be fair with the Indians and what was more, treated them as equals, something few English were able to do.

²⁶ John W. Wayland, in his book, "The German Element of Shenandoah Valley," published in 1907, goes into some detail into the early Virginia land records. For instance, on page 29, he notes that on June 17, 1730, Jacob Stover (Stauffer) a native of Switzerland, obtained for himself and "divers German and Swiss families" a grant for 10,000 acres in the Shenandoah Valley. In 1739, a petition from the Shenandoah was signed by these among others: Henry Funk, Jacob Funk, John Funk, John Funk, Jr., Peter Stauffer, Jacob Funk, Jr., and Adam Funk. The Orange County deed book for 1735, reveals Jacob Stover selling three tracts of land in the Valley to Ludwick Stone, who earlier had lived on the Conestoga Creek in Lancaster Township. The Augusta County records show Peter Ruffner selling 271 acres of land. Ruffner was a son-in-law of Joseph Stehman of Manor Township, Lancaster County. Michael Cryter of Pennsylvania is recorded in 1736, as buying three tracts from Ludwick Stein (Stone). These are but a few of the early links between Lancaster County and the Shenandoah Valley.

Funk and Martin Kendig had arrived in America together and apparently, as is evidenced by the presence of these horses of Kendig west of the river in 1731, they were associated again in the emigration to Virginia. Those horses, it is apparent, were used to carry settlers through the woods of Pennsylvania, down through the mountains to the Potomac, and thence into Virginia, and here too, as in the back regions of Pennsylvania, the Swiss were the real although unheralded pioneers.

GATEWAY TO WEST

So it can be seen that this Blue Rock Road and the ferry which at one time was operated by Cressap, had a greater significance than first meets the eye. It was in reality, the first gateway to the West.

The Swiss first applied to Maryland for the privilege of settling in the back parts of that province, after immediate settlements across the river were stopped by Governor Keith in 1722 and later. Some Swiss did get grants from Maryland, some of these grants actually being located in Pennsylvania in the vicinity of Hanover, but the land office in that colony was in the hands of speculators, who had managed to obtain enormous grants in the western parts, and effectually prevented real settlers from obtaining land, unless they purchased from them under conditions which proved too onerous for the Swiss.²⁷ These people, then, passed on through Maryland into Virginia.

²⁷ The Archives of Maryland, Volume 37, reveal that in 1732, an investigation was ordered by the upper house of the Assembly into questionable practices of the Maryland Land Office. The archives state:

“Upon complaint made in this house that warrants have been issued out of the land office and located on vacant tracts of land and so continued without execution for a long time, whereby people willing and desirous to take up lands, have been debarred from so doing, which has retarded the settling of the back parts of the province, and occasioned several people to settle in Virginia and elsewhere who would have taken up lands within this province.”

George Noble, the surveyor of Prince Georges County, the same year gave evidence that John Diggs had a warrant for ten acres four years before 1732 and got the surveyor general to direct that it be executed by the Baltimore County surveyor (an irregularity). Since then, Noble asserted, Diggs had claimed all the vacant land on the Monocacy River and its branches (Frederick County, Maryland, on the pathway of the early Swiss who went to Virginia) and also on branches of the Susquehanna River (Diggs had a claim inside Pennsylvania under this warrant near Hanover, Pennsylvania, known as Diggs' Choice, which about 1748-49 was the cause of a bitter dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and culminated in the murder of Dudley Diggs, John Diggs' son, by a Pennsylvania settler he sought to dispossess). Noble also declared that Charles Carroll had a warrant for 10,000 acres “on the head of Pipe Creek,” which lay both in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Some Pennsylvanian Swiss did get warrants and patents from Maryland. Included among these was Christian Hershey (no close relative of the Lancaster Township Hersheys), who originally lived in Warwick Township, southwest of Manheim. Hershey's land, located near Hanover, however, was inside Pennsylvania and

Look over any list of the first settlers in the Shenandoah Valley and you will find surnames of early Lancaster County families. Indeed many pioneers there had first lived here. These men, if things had been different than what they were, might have settled in the Manor or York County, or even in Maryland. These Swiss, farmers or millers by occupation, had only one goal, the chance of obtaining a piece of land in their own right.

Cressap soon realized this. He told would-be settlers, passing by his door, that if they would swear allegiance to Maryland, they could have land in York County, which in reality, as he asserted, was part of Maryland and eventually would be recognized as such. Many believed him and paid him varying amounts for surveys of land. Transporting their families over the river, they would set to work clearing farms and building cabins, only to discover in a year or so, that any claims Cressap might have had were worthless, and thus their rights amounted to nothing.

They went to Annapolis to inquire about their titles, but could obtain no satisfaction, except confirmation of their worst fears, namely, that Cressap had cruelly tricked them.²⁸

years after a temporary line was established in 1737, Pennsylvania surveyors encroached on Hershey's land. Because of his religious beliefs, he refused to go to court to protect his rights under a Maryland title, and thereby suffered a loss of part of this land. (Penna. State Archives.)

²⁸ In December, 1736, Balser Spengler (now Spangler) made a deposition before Justice of the Peace Hendricks, to the effect that after coming from "high Germany," he, about 1733, built a "house in order to settle with his family on a tract lying on the Codorus Creek, twelve miles west of John Hendricks (at York)." Soon after he refused to permit Thomas Cressap to survey the land for him, so Cressap then surveyed the house and farm to a John Keller, who came and lived there after ousting Spengler. Spengler carried a complaint against Cressap's action to Annapolis, and reported that "Governor Ogle and Thomas White, surveyor general of Baltimore County, told the deponent in the hearing of many persons that Cressap had no authority to survey lands."

The Pennsylvania governor also wrote to the Maryland governor in 1736 that "three score innocent families have been imposed on by Cressap to believe that the river is the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland."

Frederick Ebert, another German, said in a deposition that he had moved from the east side of the river in 1735 and taken up land near the Codorus Creek, cleared and sowed a field in wheat and intended to build a house. Then a surveyor named Franklin surveyed Ebert's land and sold it to Felty Shultz, after throwing down the fence and destroying the corn. Ebert had got a warrant from Cressap in the first place, but Franklin told him it was worthless.

Michael Tanner, who states about himself that he came to Philadelphia from Manheim, Germany, nine years before 1734, first lived among his countrymen near the Susquehanna, and then moved to the west of the river, applying for a license to settle there "as several of his countrymen (Swiss Mennonites) had done." He got a license from Samuel Blunston in September, 1734, with the promise of a regular grant as soon as the Indian claim was released.

Most of these settlers had relatives living east of the river in Lancaster County. For years they also had believed that the Susquehanna was the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, so lacking was general knowledge of rudimentary geography in those days. But now the people east of the river were learning differently from the authorities in Philadelphia, and so told their kinfolk in York County. As a result, in 1736, the Swiss and Germans, settled in the valleys of the Codorus and Kreutz creeks, sent a renunciation of their Maryland allegiance to the governor of that province.²⁹

Then Cressap prevailed on him and many of his neighbors to take grants from Maryland, telling them that Pennsylvania had no claim to the land. For these grants, which they later found to be of no value, Tanner or Danner, states in his deposition they paid "divers sums of money."

²⁹ Although the "renunciation" as recorded in the Maryland Archives, stated the German and Swiss settlers made it of their own free will without aid from any official of Pennsylvania, an unsigned paper in the Pennsylvania Archives shows this was not entirely true.

To get a clearer understanding of what the dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania was about, two important facts must be borne in mind, first, that Penn's charter for Pennsylvania defined it as beginning at the 40th parallel of latitude, and running three degrees north, and second, that the 40th parallel of latitude, as any map will show, actually crosses the Susquehanna River at Washington Boro, some distance above the famed Blue Rock and also several miles above the present city of York.

After wading through reams of claims and counter claims between Maryland and Pennsylvania over the location of the boundary, Pennsylvania's claim seemed to rest principally upon the fact that one of the Calverts had agreed with William Penn about 1700, that the boundary should be at the latitude of the mouth of the Octoraro Creek. Maryland, however, claimed that Calvert had agreed in the belief that the latitude of the Octorara was the 40th parallel, relying on a sextant provided by Pennsylvania, which later was proved to be inaccurate. Actually, what seems to have occurred was that the English court, which settled the dispute in Pennsylvania's favor, was swayed somewhat by the fact that the Calverts were Roman Catholics, and persons of this faith were very much in bad odor in England in the first half of the eighteenth century, because the rightful heir to the English throne, the Pretender, Stuart,—barred, due to his Catholic faith,—was very popular among the English, who heartily disliked the German king, given them by the Hanover House.

As far as the German settlers west of the river were concerned, they were only too willing to be counted as Pennsylvanians, for as freeholders of this province, they were not required to pay tithes to the Church of England or serve in the militia as they had to in Maryland. When they learned that the Pennsylvania government was prepared to receive them as citizens, they readily sent the Maryland governor their renunciation.

The form of this "renunciation" was suggested by the Pennsylvania government, probably through the good offices of Samuel Blunston, who acted as the authorities' agent in the back sections of the province for many years.

These suggestions were offered in the form of a letter, a copy of which is to be found in the state archives. It reads, in part, as follows:

"That being greatly oppressed in our native country on account of our religion, we resolved, as many others, to fly from it to the justice and mildness

The governor was infuriated. He termed this action nothing short of treason, and placed prices on the heads of all who had signed the renunciation. This failing to bring them back, he ordered out the militia in Baltimore County with orders to seize the goods of those who refused to pay taxes to Maryland and tithes to the Established Church. Some 300 men, armed in the fashion of the provincial militia with cutlasses, broadswords, pistols and long guns, made the march, and did seize a lot of goods, most of it pewter and linen, carrying the loot off to Maryland.³⁰

HARDSHIPS OF SETTLERS

Later others came and arrested many of the settlers, who because they belonged to non-resistant creeds, refused to defend themselves, much to the chagrin of the Pennsylvania authorities, who up to this point had offered them no protection in their homes. Many of them fled back to the homes of relatives and friends on this side of the river, and pathetic stories are told of the hardships suffered on both sides of the Susquehanna River that winter, stories which historians seem to have neglected.³¹

of the government of Pennsylvania, and embarked in Holland for Philadelphia. We swore allegiance to King George, and repaired to the great body of our countrymen settled in the county of Lancaster, on the east side of the Susquehanna River. As the lands there were generally taken up and possessed, therefore some of them by license from the proprietors went over the river and settled there. Others, according to the common practice then obtaining, sat down [settled] with a resolution to comply as the others should, with the terms of the government when called on. . . .

"But Cressap with pretended authority from the governor of Maryland, insisted on it that that country was in the province of Maryland, and by threats or actual force, or by large promises, led them to submit to the governor of Maryland." At this point the writer enclosed these words in parenthesis: "But in this part they [the settlers] must speak for themselves, for we are not sufficiently acquainted here [in Philadelphia] with their case to put it into words for them."

³⁰ John Ross, sent by the Pennsylvania authorities into Maryland, to learn the truth of reports that the militia had been called, later reported in a deposition, that he met a body of 300 men on horseback, a mile and a half from Wright's farm (Wrightsville). Ross added that he learned from the militia commanders that they wished "to speak to the Dutchmen, particularly Michael Tanner and Peter Gartner," and that he feared they intended to carry them off into Maryland, "because they would not acknowledge jurisdiction of Maryland in those parts, where they were settled."

The Maryland militia went as far as Wright's house and remained there some time, apparently undecided what measures to take. Ross states that "toward evening, people came over the river in three flats" (the Scotch-Irish settlers from Donegal in and near the Marietta section), which caused the Marylanders to retreat although Cressap cursed the commanders for cowardice.

The militia then separated into two bodies, Ross states, one going to the houses of the "Dutchmen" and taking linen and pewter from them "in the pretence of collecting publick dues owing to Maryland."

³¹ Robert Anderson and John Montgomery, two residents of Chester County, made a deposition April 2, 1737, before Chief Justice Clement Plum-

Meanwhile as these events were taking place, more and more land was being sold within the Manor itself. One of the earliest sales on record, was a conditional one made to Peter Leaman of Lancaster Township, for one of his sons. Michael Moyer and Jacob Brubaker had taken up a tract near Indian-town in 1730.³²

stead, about later events which followed the destruction of Cressap's fort opposite the Blue Rock and his arrest. A new scourge for the Germans appeared in the person of Charles Hickenbottom, who with a commission from Maryland, organized a sort of bandit band with headquarters at a place called "Conejohola" in York County. Anderson and Montgomery met Hickenbottom at the tavern of Colonel Nathan Rigby in Maryland, in December, 1736. He told them that he was enlisting men to serve in turning out some persons from possession of lands "above Conejohola," and offered to give each 200 acres if they would enlist. He said he had a list of 56 persons who were to be arrested, and for whom Maryland was offering handsome rewards. A price of 100 pounds, or approximately \$500, was on the heads of John Wright, Samuel Blunston, Edward Smout, Sheriff Samuel Smith of Lancaster County, and John Ross, all leading citizens.

When the two men refused to enlist, they charged Hickenbottom with threatening to throw them into jail on a trumped up charge, because he did not intend they should return to Pennsylvania and give away his plans. So rather than rot in a Maryland jail, the two men joined up and traveled with him and some others to Conejohola, forty miles above Rigby's. A few days later, they were with Hickenbottom when he captured six Germans "as they were burying a child." Other records show the child was that of Henry Smith, a son-in-law of John Shenk of Lancaster Township, one of the earliest of the Swiss Mennonite settlers. These two men were then made part of the guard, which took these men and others the forty miles to Rigby's. As it happened, it was in mid-winter and the snow was deep on the ground. The poor Germans were on foot; their captors on horseback. They fell many times before they reached that journey's end, as their tormentors urged them on with bared cutlasses and broad swords, cursing and poking ribald jests at them. In one case, as a deposition in the archives shows, a Hickenbottom gangster knocked the wife of one of the prisoners down into the snow, simply because she ran after her husband with a heavy coat, which she wished to give him to protect him against the weather. Nor was their lot any easier in Annapolis. All were crowded into one filthy room with no sanitary accommodations worthy of the name, and the poorest kind of food. A smelly floor was their bed; the drunks and thieves of Annapolis their cellmates. Words hardly describe their misery.

³² Peter Leaman's land was surveyed in May, 1737, by a proprietary order. It consisted of 125 acres and it adjoined the plantation of John Cartlidge on the lower Conestoga Creek, then owned by Andrew Cornish. The property was laid out for one of Peter Leaman's step-sons, a son of Yost Lichty, whose widow Peter had married. In later years, it became the farm of Jacob Wissler, who came from the east side of the Conestoga Creek to the Manor. Next to it was a farm of 140 acres which was surveyed to Michael Kreider of Lancaster Township. Kreider's farm was sold to Valentine Miller, one of the sons-in-law of George Kendig of Conestoga Township. By 1760, Wissler, Miller and a Jacob Eshelman owned all the land along the river and the Conestoga Creek at this point. Even as early as 1760, Wissler had a "fishing place" along the river.

Jacob Brubaker and Michael Moyer, both of Lancaster Township, and

neighbors if not relatives, in 1730 took up some 270 acres in the Manor, according to Land Office records, although the actual survey of the lines was not made until 1737. At that time, Moyer obtained a warrant for 131 acres, but no return was made on Brubaker's portion. In 1745, Brubaker sold his Manor land to Peter Witmer, who obtained a warrant and a survey, and received a patent for 132 acres. It was located southwest of Millersville, near Letort.

It might be well to explain that Jacob Brubaker bought this land for his son, John Brubaker, who died intestate in 1743, when the Manor was still considered to be part of Hempfield Township, while the records are incomplete and meagre, this John Brubaker was probably the son-in-law of Isaac Herr of Martic Township, and left three sons, Isaac, John and Jacob Brubaker. His father, Jacob Brubaker, arrived in America in 1717 with his brother, Hans, and together they purchased 700 acres of land northwest of Lancaster, although only Hans' name appeared on the patent. After Hans' death in 1725, his heirs transferred to their uncle, Jacob, his share of the original tract. In this connection, this writer wishes to correct an error made in a previous paper, "New light on Hans Herr and Martin Kendig." In that paper, this Jacob Brubaker was identified as the son of Hans Brubaker, who died in 1725, when in reality he was his brother, as early deeds on record at Lancaster show. The Hans Brubaker who died in 1725, also had a son, Jacob, but he was a nephew of the Jacob previously identified as the son. Also in addition to these two pioneer Brubakers, was a third, Hans Brubaker, who with Christian Hershey purchased 1000 acres adjoining the land of the two brothers referred to above. This Brubaker died in 1748, leaving a large family.

John, the eldest son of this last named Hans Brubaker, was born in 1720 (family records), and died in Warwick Township in 1804. The family tradition is that he returned to Switzerland after his father's death and fell in love there, married and brought his wife and several of his cousins to America with him. The ship which brought him back to America, if this tradition is accurate, was the Saint Andrew, which reached Philadelphia, Sept. 9, 1749. On the same ship, were Benedict Mellinger, who married the widow of Jacob Musser and lived near Creswell, in the Manor; John Correll or Carl, who bought the Joshua Lowe plantation in the Manor; and others who settled in this region.

Although it may seem as though the writer is straying from the subject in adding this further reference to two other passengers on board the Saint Andrew (see "Pennsylvania German Pioneers," by William Hinke), they offer a good example of the thesis that the Swiss pioneers, whether they arrived in 1710 or decades later, belonged to the same family groups. These two men were Christian Groff and Jacob Hertzler. The next we hear of them is when in the same year the aging James Logan, of Philadelphia, sold them 400 acres of land in Donegal Township on the Susquehanna. Both men then lived in Salford Township, Philadelphia County, where they had gone from their ship.

The land was described as being the place where Thomas Wilkins, an Indian trader, had lived and where Henry Miller, now (in 1749) dwells. Hertzler in 1751, sold his half of the 400 acres to Michael Groff, miller, of Martic Township (near New Providence), who was a son-in-law of Christian Herr, early Mennonite preacher of Lampeter Township. Christian Groff, who in 1754 lived in Martic Township, sold his portion, or 224 acres, to Henry Miller, along with a ferry flat and a "cunue" (canoe). Hertzler in 1751, was living in Hempfield Township, Lancaster County. He was described as a weaver and Groff as a "husbandman." Henry Miller was a step-son of David Martin, of Earl Township, and grandson of Abraham Herr, Sr. He later sold his farm on the east side of the river and moved to Newberry Township, York County.

In fact, it is interesting to note that almost without exception it was the settlers of what we know as Lancaster Township, who had taken up land there in 1717 and 1718, who were the first to purchase land in the Manor, beginning about 1737.

While this article is primarily about Manor Township, it is not out of place to consider a few of the family names of first settlers in the adjoining townships of Hempfield, Lancaster and Conestoga, who had representatives in the earliest days in Manor Township.

The name of Michael Baughman already has been mentioned. He lived in none of the townships above, but in Manheim Township, although it is true that the first land he owned in Lancaster County, was near the Conestoga Creek. His son, Christian Baughman, and his son-in-law, Christian Hershey, were among the young men who at an early date built log cabins in the Manor, however with the permission and sanction of the authorities.³³ The Swiss, it might be stated, were always careful that they held title of some sort to the land they improved, and never felt easy in their minds until all doubts were cleared away.

EARLIEST LAND OWNERS

The earliest land owners in Lancaster Township included: Henry Funk, Rudy Moyer, John Moyer, Michael Moyer, Jacob and Michael Kreider, Christian Hirschi, Johannes Brubaker, the two brothers, Hans and Jacob Brubaker, the two Hans Shenks, Durst Ebi, Jost Lichty, Christian Musselman, Ludwig

³³ Christian Bachman, the son, inherited a farm near Letort, northeast of Indiantown, and part of 689 acres patented to his father, Michael Bachman, in 1737. Of the remainder, 200 acres was sold by Bachman in 1738 to Abraham Stoner, a blacksmith. Stoner also owned land in Warwick and Lebanon townships. After his death, Stoner's eldest son, Abraham, Jr., obtained new patents for all this land, because his father had been an alien. This son married Mary, the widow of John Miller, of Manheim Township, and obtained a patent for Miller's land in trust for his children, Christian, Jacob, Martin, Abraham, Tobias and Anna Miller. Years later he sold his properties in Lancaster County and went to Bethlehem, Pa., apparently having become a Moravian. Of the rest of the 689 acres, Christian Bachman was given 244 acres, and Christian Hershey, who married Elizabeth Bachman, received 240 acres. This Christian Hershey was the son of Andrew Hershey and grandson of Christian Hershey of Lancaster Township. He died in 1806. Two other Christian Hersheys also resided in Manor during the same general period. The eldest of the three was Christian Hershey, the son of Andrew Hershey, Sr., who died in Hempfield Township in 1755, and the son-in-law of Christian Steinman or Stehman, builder of the mill on the Little Conestoga Creek at Maple Grove. This Hershey lived on land which his wife inherited from her father's estate in the 1500-acre Hamilton tract. This land had been sold to Michael Bachman, who sold two tracts of it to Stehman. Part of this became this Hershey's home. He died in 1795. The third Christian Hershey, was the son of Christian Hershey of Manheim Township, who died in 1745, and grandson of Christian Hershey, Sr., of Lancaster Township. He married a daughter of Rudolph Herr, of Manor Township, and received a farm there from his father-in-law.

Stone, Isaac Herr, and Abraham Herr, his brother, Andreas and Isaac Kauffman, Daniel Eshelman, Melchoir Erisman, Hans Witmer, Jacob Hostetter, Jacob Nissley, Hans Tubi, Henry Bear and Francis Neff.³⁴

³⁴ Most of those listed here obtained land grants in Lancaster Township in 1717 or 1718, although patents were not issued until many years later in some cases. Almost all had sons or other kin among the first settlers in Manor Township. Henry Funk's son, Martin, got a warrant for 237 acres there in 1741, while two other Funks, called Henry Funk, Jr., and Henry Funk, were original patentees in the Manor. Both were relatives of Henry. The Moyers or Myers owned farms in and around Lancaster. In the Manor, Michael Moyer owned three tracts, including the one which in 1761 was laid out as the town of Millersville, by John Miller, who used a lottery scheme to market the five-acre lots into which it had been divided. Miller, a blacksmith, went bankrupt in 1767, and was arrested for a debt he owed Jacob Witmer. The Kreiders, who were brothers, lived along the Conestoga Creek in Lancaster Township, Michael's son-in-law, Jacob Mumma, lived in the Manor, southeast of Millersville, along the Conestoga. Another tract surveyed to Michael, below John Cartlidge on the Conestoga Creek, became the home farm of Valentine Miller. Jacob Kreider's only daughter, Anna, married the only son of Isaac Herr of Martic Township. Christian Hershey's two grandsons have already been mentioned. A third grandson, Bishop Benjamin Hershey, Jr., of Lancaster Township, married a daughter of Ulrich Roth or Rhodes, and inherited a part of the land which his father-in-law had cleared on the northern line of the Manor, and within the present township of Manor. This farm became the property of a son of Benjamin Hershey.

Brubaker has also been mentioned. To this might be added the fact, that on December 28, 1732, he made a deposition before John Wright and Samuel Blunston, the original of which is in the state archives, and a portion of which follows:

"John Brubaker, County of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, yeoman, on his solemn affirmation, saith that he had occasion to go over the Susquehanna River to the house of Thomas Cressap on the 21st of November, last, and at the house of James Hendrix [Hendricks' house was in Conestoga Township, on the Conestoga Creek between Rockhill and Slackwater], he met Daniel Calvert and Josiah Arnold of Chester County, who were coming over from the west of the river in their return home, . . ." and then follows the story of the killing of mares and horses by the Low brothers in York County. This Brubaker, it might be explained, was one of the first purchasers of land in the Shenandoah Valley, although he never lived there. No doubt this interest in Virginia land had something to do with his intended crossing of the Susquehanna in 1732.

The other Brubakers have also been mentioned in a previous note. The Shenks included Michael Shenk, who in 1738, had 220 acres southwest of Millersville, west of the Little Conestoga Creek, allotted to him. This land was patented to John Groff, 106 acres, and John Kreamer, 134 acres, in 1761. A tract of 265 acres, first laid out for John Shenk, was taken up by Christian Martin of Earl Township, and patented by his eldest son, David, after his father's death.

Durst Ebi, or as he is better known, Theodorus Eby, owned 300 acres on the west side of the Conestoga Creek in what is now Lancaster, before he settled on the Mill Creek at the site of the famous Dutch Mill, called successively, Eby's Mill, Rhein's Mill, and finally Hoover's Mill. The 300 acres were surveyed to Ebi in 1718 and after Ebi's death in 1727, was sold by his

sons to John Musser, who got a patent under the name of Hans Moser. Musser had a number of sons, among them being Jacob Musser, who married Elizabeth Hershey, a daughter of Benjamin Hershey, the famed Mennonite bishop who lived in Lancaster Township. Jacob Musser purchased 167 acres in the Manor from John Wistar, Germantown merchant, and son of Caspar Wistar. John Wistar had bought this land from Henry Bossler or Bassler, as part of 500 acres surveyed to Bossler in the Manor in 1740. This tract was located immediately north of Indiantown, between the Conestoga Indians' lands and the farms of Abraham Stoner and Michael Bachman. The remainder of the tract was divided between Jacob Koontz or Kuntz, who got 166 acres, and Nicholas Bettikofferin, whose land, after his death, was sold by his widow to Peter Leaman.

Jacob Musser died in 1756. One of his sons, Benjamin Musser, became a noted physician in the Manor and the ancestor of a long line of Doctor Mussers, many of whom lived and practiced their profession at Lampeter and Strasburg. His widow, Elizabeth, married again to Benedict Mellinger.

Jost or Yost Lichty's widow was married again to Peter Leaman, Jr., son of a pioneer of Lampeter Township. Leaman in 1737 was one of the first to apply for land within the Manor, apparently for one of his step-sons, for several decades later, we find a Henry Lichty owning a farm along the Susquehanna near Creswell.

Christian Musselman lived in Lancaster Township, along the Conestoga Creek near Wabank. He died in 1734, leaving among other children, two sons, Peter and David Musselman (the name in German was spelled Mossermann). Peter purchased land from Christian Herr in the Manor southeast of Millersville. David moved to Hempfield Township, where he owned large farms.

Ludwig Stone never actually lived in the Manor, but rather had land adjoining Christian Musselman, which was the first residence of Isaac Herr in Pennsylvania; Isaac being one of the five Herr brothers. Stone was one of the first settlers in the Shenandoah Valley. Isaac Herr, after disposing of his improvement on the Conestoga Creek, moved to a new location along the Beaver Creek, near New Providence. At the time of his death about 1748, he owned almost 900 acres of land. One tract, composed of more than 600 acres, was divided between his only son, Henry, and his son-in-law, John Groff, who had married a daughter, Anna. Groff, after his wife, Anna Herr, died, married Catherine Eshelman. His second wife, after his death, married Benjamin Groff, who was no close relative.

A second daughter, Elizabeth, married a John Brubaker, presumably the son of Jacob Brubaker, Sr., of Hempfield Township.

Abraham Herr, eldest brother of Isaac Herr of Martic Township, had four sons, all of whom, at one time or another, owned land within the Manor. Abraham Herr, Jr., had 424 acres patented to him, of which a part, 163 acres was actually for Jacob Martin, an early Mennonite preacher of the Manor.

KEY TO MAP OF OLD CONESTOGA

See opposite page.

Earliest settlers in the Manor of Conestoga, from 1715 to 1729: 1, James Patterson; 2, The Proprietors' 3,000 acres; 3, vacant; 4, Andrew Cornish, later John Shank and Martin Funk; 5, Andrew Coffman; 6, Abram Stoner; 7, Michael Bachman; 8, vacant; 9, Jacob Hostetter; 10, John Herr; 11, Abram Herr; 12, Michael Bachman; 13, Michael Shenk; 14, Jacob Bropather, Michael Moyer; 15, Thomas and Reese Price; 16, Indiantown; 17, Andrew Cornish, later James Logan; 18, John Cartlidge; 19, Peter Leaman; 20, Michael Creiter; 21, Andrew Hamilton; 22, Samuel Oberholtz; 23, Henry Kilhaver; 24, Rudy Herr; 25, John Shenk and Christian Martin; 26, Alexander and Samuel Ritchey; 27, Michael Moyer, later tract of Millersville; 28, Joshua Low; 29, Dan McConnell; 30, John George Seeger; 31, Abram Herr; 32, Christian Herr. Towns: A, Washington Boro; B, Creswell; C, Safe Harbor; D, Windom; E, Letort; F, Millersville; G, Rock Hill. For further information, see article by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., in Vol. 19, pp. 270-292.

The earliest land owners in Conestoga Township included: George Kendig, Jacob Eshelman, Hans Moyer, Hans Cunradt Moyer, Melchoir Brenne- man, Jacob Miller, Abraham Blazier or Blosser, Martin Harnish, Hans Kagy, Jacob Behm, Jacob Moyer, Martin Kendig, John Burkholder, John Newcomer, Frederick Menart, Jacob Kendig, Michael Shank, John Bear, Joseph Stehman and others.³⁵

Some 500 acres were surveyed to John Herr, although he soon sold his rights to it to others. Of this tract, Rudy Herr, his brother, took 179 acres; David Martin, his brother-in-law, 204 acres for his step-son, Abraham Miller, and 152 acres more were sold to two brothers, John and Jacob Witmer. Christian Herr, a third son of Abraham, Sr., had some 339 acres at the southeast corner of the Manor along the Conestoga Creek, although he sold parts of it to Peter Musselman and Philip Kuntz, even before it was patented. Christian Herr also bought 159 acres between the Big and Little Conestoga creeks for his son, David, while David Herr, son of Rudy Herr, patented 195 acres west of the Little Conestoga. Still another Herr to patent land in the Manor, was Samuel Herr, who operated a mill in 1760 along the Blue Rock Road.

The Kauffmans were among the first to enter the Manor. Andreas owned some 500 acres, which were split among his four sons, Christian, John, Jacob and Michael Kauffman. Isaac Kauffman, a son of Isaac, Sr., also owned land in the Manor on the Conestoga Creek, next to the plantation of Christian Herr.

Daniel Eshelman,—whose eldest son, Daniel, Jr., of York County, married the only daughter of Hans Brubaker, who died in 1725,—had several sons-in-law who became interested in Manor property, while the Jacob Eshelman, who in 1771 had 346 acres near Safe Harbor patented to him, was probably a grandson.

Melchoir Erisman's home farm was located on the line of the Manor next to the Hamilton tract. He also purchased from Bachman some of Hamilton's 1500 acres. One of his sons-in-law, Joseph Habecker, inherited land from his father-in-law, which had been bought from the estate of Thomas Ewing, Ewing had married the widow of the famous trader, James Patterson, and had obtained a patent for some 300 acres along the northern line of the Manor near Habecker's church. Hans Witmer, who died long before the Manor was opened to settlement, had a son-in-law, George Kendig, Jr., who owned a part of the Hamilton tract, northeast of Millersville.

Jacob Hostetter bought 475 acres of the Manor, which was divided between his two sons, Jacob, Jr., and Abraham Hostetter. This land was surveyed in 1741, although it had been reserved at least four years earlier. Jacob Nissley's son, Jacob, Jr., married a daughter of Christian Herr of Manor Township.

³⁵ While it seems apparent that the settlers from Lancaster Township had first choice of lands within the Manor and got the lion's share, many also moved in from across the Conestoga Creek, coming from some of the oldest settlements in Lancaster County. At Rockhill, for instance, was the inn or tavern of John Postlethwaite, where Lancaster's first court sessions were held. Postlethwaite's son, John, was one of the sons-in-law of William Wright, who about 1770 was one of the largest land-owners in Manor Township, having among other lands, purchased the old Carlidge place.

George Kendig, apparently a cousin of Martin Kendig, had two sons and at least two sons-in-law, who were among the first settlers in the Manor. His eldest son, George, has previously been named. He first lived on the

Among the first to settle in the southern part of Hempfield Township were: Ulrich Roth, Christian Beidleman, Gerhart Brenner, Henry Charles, Hans Neff, Henry Neff, Hans Hiestant, Christian Bumgardner, Joseph Habecker, Joseph Sherk, Michael Witmer, Christian Huber and others.³⁶

These lists are not complete by any means. There were of course many other settlers in all three townships mentioned, but only those who had some

Richey plantation between the two creeks, selling out to Peter Snyder, Christian Herr and Benjamin Miller, after buying other Manor land. A son-in-law, Valentine Miller, lived at Safe Harbor, at the juncture of the Conestoga and the Susquehanna. Another son-in-law, John Frantz, although not an early buyer of land within the Manor, also had property in it. John Kendig, another son, had more than 500 acres at Turkey Hill patented to him about 1770.

Among the others listed, Hans Kagy's son, John, who married a daughter of Jacob Moyer of Conestoga Township, owned about 400 acres of land on the river at Washington Boro, including the original Patterson plantation.

A grandson of Martin Kendig, named Henry Kendig, had a farm of some 200 acres in Manor Township, just north of the Manor boundary, given to him by his father, John Jacob Kendig. John Stehman, a son of Joseph Stehman, Sr., who died in the Manor in 1756, inherited 400 acres from his father, most of it being the original Chartier plantation which was probably the oldest plantation in that locality. It was sold to Stehman by Edward Smout. Jacob Newcomer, a son of John Newcomer, was given a farm north of the Manor, which in later years became part of the township.

³⁶ Ulrich Roth's plantation touched the Manor at the northeast corner and his neighbors were Christian Beidleman and Gerhard Brenner. Roth, who also owned a large farm in Lebanon Township, near Michael Bachman's lands, was an early Mennonite preacher. One daughter married Bishop Hershey's son, Benjamin, the other Christian Ellenberger. These two sons-in-law divided the Manor Township farm, Benjamin Hershey's share of 160 acres being given to his son, Christian.

Beidleman had no sons, but several daughters. They were Mary, who married Jacob Sechrist; Anna, who married Jacob Shelly, Jr.; Barbara, who married Hans Klugh; Magdalena, who married Christian Shelly; and Elizabeth and Eve, spinsters. Sechrist, who was the son of Michael Sechrist of Hempfield Township, inherited Beidleman's farm. Brenner bought land, 294 acres, from John Bumgardner, as did Ulrich Shoop and Henry Charles. Charles, a weaver, frequently had orphans bound over to him to teach them his trade.

The Manor Township Neffs are for the most part, descendants of Henry Neff or Neave, who had a large tract surveyed to him, his two sons, Henry, Jr., and John and John Heistant, in 1736. These farms lay between the Manor proper and the Columbia Pike.

Christian Bumgardner had a farm surveyed to him which was located to the west of the Neff farms, and next to that of Joseph Habecker, son-in-law of Melchoir Erisman. In the same locality were other farms surveyed to Michael Witmer, who died leaving many daughters, but no sons; Joseph Sherk or Shirk, an early Mennonite preacher in the Manor, and a brother of Ulrich, John and Peter Shirk, who settled in Cocalico Township, and Casper Shirk, who settled in Bethel Township, Lebanon County, after first living on a farm adjoining his brother in Hempfield. Two brothers, Ulrich and Peter Shallyberger, also located on land in the vicinity of Habecker's church.

connection with the Manor's settlement are mentioned. Durst Ebi, for example, while he never himself lived in the Manor, sold his land along the Conestoga Creek to Hans Moser or Musser and moved to the valley of the Mill Creek near New Holland. Musser's son, Jacob, became one of the first settlers in the Manor.

Isaac Herr, although he did not reside in the Manor, when he first came to America, owned land along the Conestoga Creek very close to the line of the Manor, before he moved to the valley of the Beaver Creek in old Martic Township. Stone, who also settled near the Manor line at an early date, sold out about 1730, and went to Virginia, where he was one of the first settlers in the Shenandoah Valley.

LOCATION OF EARLY FARMS

However space does not permit a review of each individual's connection, even in the most brief form. It is more important to outline some of the land development which gained great momentum after 1737.

The 1500 acres surveyed to Andrew Hamilton and sold to Michael Baughman, has already been mentioned. Adjoining this large tract on the south, were numerous smaller plantations. Beginning at the east, was the farm of George Zeigler, who married a daughter of Jacob Moyer of Conestoga Township. Next came 217 acres patented in 1738 to Michael Moyer of Lancaster Township, upon which much later, John Miller founded the present town of Millersville. Adjoining this farm was nearly 400 acres surveyed to Henry Kilhover or Kilheffer, which when it was patented, was returned as two farms, one of 177 acres being owned by Henry Funk, and the other of 195 acres, being the property of David Herr. The Little Conestoga Creek was the dividing line between the two farms when they were patented in 1760.

South of the Kilheffer tract was a 150-acre farm surveyed to Michael Moyer in 1737. At that date, Moyer's neighbors, in addition to Kilheffer, were Samuel Oberholtzer, also on the north; Abraham Herr, Jr., on the west; John Shank and Joshua Lowe, on the south; and his own farm of 217 acres, mentioned above, to the east.

The Shank tract, adjoining Moyer, was sold in 1737 to Christian Marti or Martin, who moved to the Manor, from Earl Township, where he had settled many years earlier near his brothers, David, Henry and Jacob Martin, all of them early arrivals in Lancaster County from Switzerland.

The farm of Abraham Herr, Jr., which included 424 acres, was split up the same year, a portion being sold to Jacob Martin, Christian's brother. North of this plantation was another one of more than 500 acres, surveyed to John Herr, brother of Abraham, Jr., both of whom were sons of Abraham Herr, the pioneer, who had died in 1725.

This John Herr farm was also cut up, more than 200 acres of it passing into the possession of David Martin of Earl Township, who had married the

widow Barbara Miller, a daughter of Abraham Herr, Sr., and a sister of John Herr. Of the remainder, part was sold to Rudy Herr, another son of Abraham, Sr., and the rest to Jacob Witmer. When patents were eventually issued for this John Herr tract, Rudy Herr patented his share himself, two sons of Witmer patented theirs in two 75-acre farms, while Abraham Miller patented the 200 acres on which David Martin paid interest and principal up to 1756, when he assigned his equity to Miller, who appears to have been his step-son.³⁷ John Herr, the original warrantee, settled in Donegal Township, where Rudy Herr and David Martin also owned land.

THREE CHRISTIAN HERSHEY'S

Southwest of these Herr farms was a tract of 689 acres which was surveyed and patented to Michael Baughman. This land was deeded to his son, Christian, and his daughter, Elizabeth, who married Christian Hershey. To avoid confusion, it might be well to point out that three persons named Christian Hershey, all of the same generation, resided in Manor Township about this period. Christian Hershey, son-in-law of Michael Baughman, was the son of Andrew Hershey, the younger, and a grandson of Christian Hershey who settled in Lancaster Township in 1717. The second Christian Hershey, who married a daughter of Rudy Herr, was also a grandson of the original Christian Hershey, his father being Christian Hershey of Manheim Township. The third Christian Hershey, who appears to have been the eldest of the three, was the son of Andrew Hershey, the elder, of Hempfield Township (near East Petersburg), and a son-in-law of Christian Steinman, the miller on the Little Conestoga Creek. He lived on a farm his father-in-law had purchased from the Hamilton tract, northeast of Millersville.

North of Baughman's land was a tract surveyed to Andreas Kauffman and patented after his death by his four sons, Christian, Jacob, John and Michael. Above Kauffman's land, was a tract of 197 acres patented to John Shank, Jr., whose father had lived in Lancaster Township, and another farm improved by Martin Funk, son of Henry Funk, also of Lancaster Township. Henry Funk owned the next farm to the east, while adjoining the last on the east, was 247 acres patented by Samuel Herr. These patents were issued after 1760 and the original owners' names are not revealed.

³⁷ The Martin or Marti family has had historical connections with the region northwest of the Conestoga Creek from the earliest times of the white settlements within that region. As early as 1722, we find in the Land Office records that Jacob Kreider paid to the Land Commission money for Peter Martin, who the records states "holds part of the land of Jacob Hostetter" on the Conestoga Creek, southwest of present Lancaster.

Later we find three brothers owning land within the Manor itself, when settlement was first permitted there. They were Christian, David and Jacob Martin. All three had first settled in Earl Township, at and near Blue Ball. David, while a Manor landowner, continued to reside in Earl Township; the others sold the farms they owned in Earl Township, and settled anew in the Manor where they left numerous descendants.

South of Funk and Herr, were 475 acres owned by Jacob Hostetter of Lancaster Township, and farmed by his son, Abraham, which completed the settlement of the northeastern half of the Manor. Practically all of these original farms were taken up in 1737 or within a few years of that date, and included some of the richest land in the Manor. The development of the remainder of the Manor was much slower.

At a later period, settlers began moving across the Conestoga Creek from Conestoga Township and adjacent sections. These settlers located in the southwest section of the Manor, for the most part. They included Christian Stoner, Jacob Wissler, John Kendig, Jacob Eshelman, George Kendig, Jacob Kagey, John Stehman, Valentine Miller and others.

At the same time, settlers from the Hempfield area, were moving down the river from the north, these including William Wright, Jacob Sherk, the Habeckers, Shellenbergers, Neffs, Witmers and others.

MANOR INDIAN RESERVATION

Through all these years, there was one thing which made the Manor different from other localities in Lancaster County, at least until the winter of 1763; it was still, to a partial extent, an Indian reservation. For while farm after farm was surveyed and put into cultivation, and the hunting grounds laid out was progressively reduced in extent, it was not until the time of the famous massacre, when the Paxton boys rode out of the north one wintry December day, that the last reason for the reserved area, was finally gone.³⁸

However, it was David's relationship with the Herr family, one of the most important in the development of the early Manor, which accounted for his brothers' removal there. David Martin married Barbara Herr Miller, the daughter of Abraham Herr, Sr., and the widow of Henry Miller. Miller, the land records show, had purchased an improvement made by David Priest, near the Conestoga Creek in Earl Township, and lived there until his death in 1728 (Chester County records). David Martin married Miller's widow and eventually patented Miller's farm, although he had almost doubled its area. Meanwhile he took over the some 500 acres originally allocated in the Manor to his brother-in-law, John Herr, who then moved to Donegal Township. His marriage made him the step-father of Miller's three children, Henry, Mary, and Abraham Miller. When these children reached their majorities, Henry and Mary received their shares of their father's estate in cash, while Abraham Miller was assigned 200 acres of the Manor land and obtained the patent for it.

³⁸ The raid of the so-called Paxton boys on the Indian village, without a doubt, is the most dramatic incident within the whole history of the Manor of Conestoga. There are so many versions of what happened, who the persons were, and what their motives were, that to tell them would require the pages of a book. The bare details of the tragedy, which occurred in the miserable cabins of the remnants of the once-proud tribe of the Conestogas, variously called Mingos and Susquehannas by their English contemporaries, hardly do the white men who participated any credit. In fact, most reputable men of their era condemned them roundly for thus taking their vengeance for the

And all during those years, when the first large plantations were being cut into smaller and smaller ones to accommodate the growing families of the pioneers, the Manor still had a special, although decreasingly important, place in provincial affairs of state.

Many are the memorable and important conferences held between government and Indians of many tribes within the Manor at Conestoga Indiantown. Emissaries of the powerful Iroquois of the far-off Mohawk Valley frequently smoked the pipe of peace and traded gifts with governors, not only of Pennsylvania but of other colonies as well, here. And even later, when the actual conferences were held in Lancaster so that better accommodations could be provided for the white visitors, the Indians, who attended, were still provided for at old Indiantown.

And yet all this seems somehow separate and distinct from the lives of those pioneers who began tilling the soil of the Manor. Although they worked almost within sight of this Indiantown, the conferences and peace treaties held there, had no more special meaning to them than to Pennsylvanians one hundred miles away, unless perhaps they were able to sell a few extra bushels of grain or some cuts of beef to feed the visitors they brought.

Even when that most dramatic and tragic event of all, the Conestoga massacre, took place, to end forever the Indian history of the Manor, the connection of the Manor farmers in it, was nothing more than that of bystanders. They perhaps saw the Paxton boys ride to the town and away again, but had no share in the plotting of the slaughter.

But although their roles in this drama were innocent ones, it is nevertheless true that this event completed the conquest of this fertile area for agriculture, the real destiny of this rich area, a conquest which began as the first Swiss settler turned the first furrow within the Manor.

border murders of the redskins during the French and Indian wars on these poor creatures, the majority of whom were old men and squaws. Yet the careful historian must admit that whatever the wrongdoing of the whites undoubtedly was, the aged and helpless Indians among those slaughtered, were suffering for the misdeeds of a few among them. There is no doubt whatsoever, and records exist in the state archives to sustain this, that several of the Indians living at Conestoga Indiantown were spies for the Senecas, Shawnees and Delawares, who year in and year out were giving information to the enemy tribes of the movements of provincial troops, so that the Indians could fall on unguarded frontier farms. The most notorious of these was Billy Sock. The most ironic twist to the whole horrible episode was the fact that only a few years before the massacre, in the winter of 1758, the Conestoga Indians actually announced their intention of leaving forever the town near the Conestoga for a new town on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, near present-day Wilkes-Barre, but were dissuaded by the pleas of the government, which also was using the tribe as spies on the estranged Indian tribes. So while the murders in all their enormity were committed by frontier men, part of the blame also falls on the Indians themselves, and upon an unthinking government.