

THE  
GERMAN ELEMENT  
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BY REV. J. A. WEISHAAR.

WHETHER Germans were among the 200 colonists, who, as followers of Leonard Calvert, landed here in the Fall of 1633, cannot be ascertained. Such may have been the case, as Germans participated also in the foundation of the colony of Virginia. It is however worthy of note, that only in one single instance in the history of Maryland, up to 1700, is the nationality of a German expressly mentioned. This we find in connection with the religious troubles in the colony, which led to the memorable "Battle of the Severn."

Many names of Germans in the period spoken of, were undoubtedly adapted to English pronunciation; and the mutilation was carried to such an extent, that it is now impossible to make out their original spelling, and then, too, Germans were generally termed "Dutch." As a matter of fact, however, there was no real Germany at that time; there were Bohemians, and Hessians, and Palatines, even Palatines who emigrated from Holstein (!) but seldom Germans.

It is accordingly impossible to determine with accuracy how far Germans helped to make the early history of our State. It is nevertheless proved beyond all doubt, that Germans settled here in the very beginning of the colony. But the greater part came here as indentured servants; that is to say, after having landed they were sold to cover the expense of their passage over. This was, however, until far into the 18th century, the case with most of the colonists who helped swell the population of Maryland.

Although servants were distinguished from slaves and although in general their lot may have been bearable, yet it occurred frequently that indentured persons sought to escape from servitude by flight. In the North of Maryland, on the

Delaware, were situated the Dutch settlements, where fugitives were received with open arms, and in Virginia they found protection and encouragement. This state of things caused the colonial government to enact laws for preventing the desertion of servants. These laws were rigorously enforced, but did not prove of avail to materially lessen the evil. Success was only possible when the contiguous colonies united for mutual action. Virginia gave the first impulse in the matter, by requesting the government of Maryland to reject all foreigners, i. e. servants, who should come to the province from Virginia, on the ground that such illegal emigrations would deprive the land of useful artisans and laborers. The negotiations thus initiated led to good results, as a resolution of the General Assembly of the year 1669 will show. It reads as follows:

"The freemen of the General Assembly do pray that it may be enacted and be it enacted by the Rt. Hon. the Ld. Prop. with the advice and consent of the upper and lower House of this present General Assembly and the authority of the same, that there be a logg house prison twenty foot square built at Augustyne Herman's, in Baltimore County, for the surety and safe keeping of run-aways and fugitives, as well such as shall come to us from our neighboring colonies."

It is worth mentioning with reference to this act, that at the first court session in Maryland, dealing with desertion from service, or rather with enticing to desertion, Germans were active, and that they also took a conspicuous part in the above mentioned communication from Virginia, and finally in building the first prison for deserters.

On the 12th of December 1642, that is to say only nine years after the foundation of the colony, a case was brought before the provincial court of which we have the following account:

"Came afore the court Thomas White, Thomas Allen and Francis Stoure, by warrt. to answer to such things as should be objected agst. them, and Michael = (a) Hacker spinster aged 20 years (maid servant of Jane Cockshott widd.) being sworne to give true evidence, said upon her oath, that upon wednesday evening last, this deponent

being in her maistresses house at St. Iniges, Thomas White came to this dept. and asked her whether she would see her brother in Virginia and she asking him, how she might do so, he told her that he and Francis Stoure and his wife were to go soon to Virginia she might go with them and that he would carry her downe, and she might be freed from this service."

Upon this testimony White was sentenced to thirty lashes and was compelled to furnish security in a thousand pounds of tobacco, to "keep him from seducing others." Stoure and Allen were released, which shows that they were free citizens. Stoure very likely was a German, his name having originally been spelled Stuhler or Stauer.

This petition from Virginia, which led to a species of treaty between the two colonies, claimed for its justification that the following persons had left Virginia to settle in Maryland : "Augustyne Herman, born in Prague, Bohemia; Ephraim Georgius and Casparus Herman; Anna Margarethe, Judith and Franciska, daughters, born in New York; Anna Hack, born in Amsterdam; Georg and Peter Hack, born at Accomacke, in Virginia; and John Jarboe of Dijon, France, which have for many years lived in this Province."

All these were naturalized in Maryland by act of Legislature in 1663, and they are, as far as known, the only persons who obtained naturalization in Maryland in this particular way. It is unfortunately impossible to say, from which part of Germany the Hacks came. One John Hack appears already as a witness at the Provincial Court at St. Mary's on the 30th of September 1647. He traded with the Indians, and though living in Virginia, he was well known in Maryland. He was probably the father of George and Peter Hack of Accomacke. He must have died before 1663. His widow and sons followed Augustin Herman to Maryland; the latter being brother-in-law to George Hack. About their life subsequent to their emigration very little is known. The most prominent among them was George Hack. He was one of the subscribers to the so-called "Engagement of Northampton" of the 25th of March 1651, by which the county took the part of the Parliament,

that is of Cromwell and the Republic. Like his father he was a merchant, and besides that a physician; for in the archives of Maryland we find under date of June 11th, 1662, the notice "That Dr. George Hack is permitted to export twenty barrels of corn." The name "Hack's Point," in Cecil County, indicates where the Hacks settled.

Other families left Virginia at this time and emigrated to Maryland. In this connection a tragic occurrence must be related, which occurred in 1661. Two Germans: Severin Hack and John Norden, together with some others, were murdered by Indians on their way to Cecil County. It is probable that Severin was a son of George or Peter Hack. As the event just mentioned characterizes the state of things in the colony at that time it may be related according to the account given in the archives of Maryland. On the 20th of April 1661 Captain Utie received the following letter from William Hellingsworth, who had settled at Sandy Point:

"These lynes of myne I am afrayd will be the intelligence of sad tidings. The 17th day of this month there depected. from hence three Englishmen, one Dutchman, their names I have not, William —, John Norden, Mr. Hack a Dutchman, and a cooper, which persons we fear are murdered by the Indians in their journey home. The Indians say their bodys lay at a place called Saquasehum."

Investigation was made immediately, which proved the intelligence to be correct. The dead bodies were found, and it was ascertained to which tribe of Indians the murderers belonged. The chief of the tribe was summoned before the court to be held at Appaquimmin, September 19th, 1661. He appeared and by his cleverly conducted defense secured the acquittal of his men. The result of the trial shows also the equity, moderation and prudence of the colonists towards the Indians. The proceedings are recorded as follows:

"Came before the Court Pinna, King of Tickhattomitta in Delaware Bay showing that whereas there had been divers men slayne by the English belonging to the Passajonke Indians now under his command; and amongst them his owne brother, in revenge of which divers Eng-

lish had been slayne by those Indians. Yet as did believe, all these outrages were committed by the English without order from Governor and Conncell soe he did assure the Governor and Councell that those revenges were taken by his Indians without his or any of his greater men knowledge, therefore did desire that all might be forgotten and that from henceforth the Indians might live in peace with the English. — To which the Governor answered that as he did desire peace, so he did desire Justice alsoe, and provided, that they would deliver up those Indians, that had killed John Norden and Severin Hack with his companions to be proceeded against according to our Justice, he would come to articles of peace with him.

Whereunto the said Pinna answered, that the English had begun the warre and first killed one of his men, as he was peaceable coming by their plantation, oversett the canowe, out of which the lost three guns. Afterward they pursued them into the woods and there shott at them, that as his Indians fled, in their way home they met the said Norden and Hack and companions, and contrary to the advise of an old man of the company that stood weeping by and perswading them to speake with the great men of the English first, did kill the said Norden and Hack and company, saying that the English would have warre. But that since that tyme the English had sett upon two canowes of Indians and killed five of them, and amongst them his own brother; all which notwithstanding he was willing and desirous to make a peace between us and his Indians, forgetting the blood of his owne brother."

This statement did not fail to make an impression upon the court, the more so as the truth of it could not be denied. The murder of the two peaceable Germans remained judicially un-avenged; for as things then were the Government could not avoid accepting the proposition of the astute Indian. The articles of peace between the two parties were signed by the English and Pinna, September 19th, 1661.

In the conflict between the religious and political factions, which checked the healthy development of the colony for years, mention is made of an unfortunate German who became the victim of party-rage. In the "Battle on the Severn" the Puritans had gained a decisive victory over the Catholics. But these pious conquerors were not satisfied with this success; having tasted the blood of their enemies they thirsted for more. Ten of the prisoners captured in the battle were condemned to be shot, a sentence which would undoubtedly have been executed, had not sundry good-hearted wives of the Puritians saved six from the hands of their cruel husbands. Three officers, however, and a common soldier, the latter being a German, were shot. John Pedro, as the name of the German is written, was the servant of Lieutenant Eltonhead, and had come from England with his master only a few months previous to the battle. He devoted himself with his master to the cause of Lord Baltimore, and suffered death at his side. What condemned just these two to the fate of those who found no mercy from the Puritans, was the fact that Lieutenant Eltonhead had brought letters from England from which Governor Stone had learned that Lord Baltimore's patent was yet in force. This knowledge led Governor Stone to send the expedition against the Puritans. They therefore regarded Eltonhead as the real originator of the conflict. While executing him they thought fit to make his brave servant share his master's fate and shot him. also.

Till 1700 the emigration of Germans into Maryland was insignificant. The colony was the private property of a Catholic Lord, while the main contingent of German emigrants consisted of oppressed Protestants, who, notwithstanding the liberties granted by Lord Baltimore, preferred to settle rather in New York, Pennsylvania or Virginia, than in Maryland.

Just because Maryland was no crown-colony, it received no benefit from the exportations en masse of Germans (Palatinates) which were made by England mainly to New York at the close of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Yet like single swallows announcing the coming spring, a number of Germans settled in Maryland during that period. They either came direct from Europe or emigrated



from the neighboring colonies. The most prominent among these was the famous map-maker and Surveyor Augustine Herman, from Prague, Bohemia.

One of the first German emigrants into Maryland was Cornelius Commegys from Vienna, who settled in Cecil County. The circumstances connected with his coming here lead one to think that he had previously settled in the Dutch colony on the Delaware, where he had married a Dutch wife. On July 30, 1666, he received a patent for 150 acres of land, that is, for himself, his wife Wilhemintye, and his son Cornelius, 50 acres respectively. There is no record of him as having been "transported" and he was accordingly entitled to take possession of his land immediately. When in 1679 the two Labadists Danker-Schilders and Sluyter-Vorstmann visited Maryland, they found Commegys in possession of a large farm, and his son Cornelius was about to buy a farm for himself. His first wife Wilhemintye, however, had died, and he was married again to an English woman.

With Commegys four other Germans had arrived in Maryland, namely: Andreas Kornelius, Arian Harman (Hermann), Alice, Christian and Magdalena Henner. About the later life of these nothing is known, but Danker in 1679 met a "High-German" on the farm of Captain Miller, in Cecil County, where he lived as a Proctor or Advocate. This person was probably either Herman or Kornelius.

At Annapolis, then called "Port of Severn," John Beck landed in 1668. He was sold to a man in Baltimore County. It took him 20 years to become a landowner, for it was not until the 12th of June 1688, that a hundred acres were surveyed him in the newly formed Cecil County.

John Best and Margareth Braune landed in 1671. In the same year John Hacker with wife and four children arrived at Annapolis. The ship came from London and had on board, besides this family, a number of indentured persons. The Hackers were sold to a certain Bryan in Talbot County and had to struggle even longer than Beck, until they were able to accomplish something for themselves. On November 16th, 1696, Hacker received 250 acres in Talbot County. Eleven

years later there were surveyed in the same county 200 acres to another John Hacker, probably the son of the former.

No other names of Germans, landed here before 1680, are contained in the lists of passengers preserved at Annapolis. There occur, however, a number of names which were, probably, originally German, but wear a decided English look. Where the following persons landed, whether at Annapolis or at Alexandria, Va., cannot be stated:

Martin Faulkner, September 23rd, 1680, received 150 acres in Anne Arundel County. He called his land "Martin's Rest" and had to pay six shillings tax "in gold or silver"; Nicklas Gross made application for. and received in the same year 40 acres.

Further settled: Daniel Hast, August 30th, 1680, in Somerset County; Robert Knapp, September 22nd, 1681; Christoph Geist, August 10th, 1684, in Baltimore County; William Gross, October 24th, 1684, in St. Mary's County; Richard Schippe, the same; John Leniger, October 10th, 1683, in Baltimore County; Rudolph Brandt, June 12th, 1686, in Charles County. The latter must have been here some time before and must have become well acquainted with the colony and its laws. A certain Smith, whose land lay adjoining to Brandt's settlement, claimed 115 acres of Brandt's land as belonging to him. Thereupon Brandt had the deeds in the land office searched, and these proved Smith to be in the wrong. Subsequently the land was declared to be Brandt's property. The same process was repeated in the case of 169 acres, some years later.

Ann Gross and Thomas Rigge received land in 1685; both in Baltimore County.

There are recorded the names of two Germans, who seem to have been exceptions among their less fortunate countrymen. William Blankenstein is termed a "Gent," that is to say, he had paid for his passage and possessed some fortune after having arrived. He must have arrived about 1685 and remained for some time at St. Mary's, the residence of Lord Baltimore. His warrant dates from that year. He probably was a nobleman from Germany. In 1687 he received 400 acres in Cecil County. John Falkner was one of the few who bought their land. On June 1st, 1685, there were sold to him in Charles

County 200 acres for 5000 pounds of good and merchantable tobacco." Why this was done is not mentioned. It is strange however, as there was plenty of land, which could be had without paying for it.\*)"

Up to the close of the century the following persons received land in the ordinary way: Thomas Faulkner, June 12th, 1688, in Talbot County; William Gross, May 2nd, 1689, in the same County; William Lange, November 10th, 1691; Robert Sadler, April 4th, 1689, both in Baltimore County, and finally Francis Spermann, July 1st, 1700, in Kent County.

The emigration of Peter Sluyter, the founder and leader of the Labadist settlement on the Bohemian River deserves special mention. Sluyter was from Wesel in the Rheinland, his original name having been Vorstmann. But before his immigration hither he substituted the name Sluyter, more properly spelled Schluter. He was a theologian, but with his brother had joined the Labadists at Amsterdam. Whilst his brother soon left the sect, he remained and became one of their prominent members. In 1679 he and Jasper Danker (Schilders) were sent to America by the mother-colony at Wiewerd to look for a suitable place for the foundation of a daughter-colony which was then in contemplation. The two emissaries left Wiewerd on the 8th of June, 1679, and returned after a most successful voyage on the 12th of October, 1680. A suitable situation had been secured, and besides that a goodly number of adherents to the sect had been gained. Among these was Ephraim, the oldest son of Augustin Herman.

The description of the voyage, written by the learned wine-racker Danker in the form of a Journal, has been preserved and contains many interesting notes on contemporary conditions in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

On the 27th of July, 1683, Sluyter and Danker again arrived at New York, and further succeeded with the aid of Ephraim in obtaining a large tract of land from Augustin Herman on the Bohemian River. Old Mr. Herman even promised to erect the necessary buildings for the colony. The deed of conveyance of the land was executed by Augustin Herman on

\*) The simple and natural explanation is that this was improved land. *H.W.*

the 11th of August, 1684, to Peter Sluyter and Jasper Danker from Friesland, Petrus Bayard from New York, John Moll and Arnoldus de la Grange from Delaware.

Moll and de la Grange immediately released their interest in the land to Sluyter and Danker, Bayard did the same in 1688, which indicates, that they had allowed their names to be used for the purpose of deceiving Augustin Herman. (More particulars of the mutual relations of Herman and the Labadists are given in connection with the short account of the life of Augustin Herman.)

Sluyter and Danker were naturalized on September the 21st, 1684; the name of the former being given in the act as Slayter, and of the latter Dauntrees,—a fine specimen of the way in which names were adapted to the English Language.

After the possession of the land was secured, the two Labadists took measures to provide shelter for the expected colonists. Soon a company of men and women, including several families arrived from Wiewerd, and the community was inaugurated according to the rules of Labadic. Danker however returned to Holland and there conveyed his interests in the possession on the Bohemian River to Sluyter. Thus this man became sole proprietor of the whole tract, and supreme leader of the community as well. He declared himself "Bishop" under Yvon the "Archbishop" at Wiewerd, and kept his flock under the most rigorous discipline.

His wife was installed as a kind of an abbess over the female members of the community, and as far as keeping her inferiors well in hand was concerned, she seems to have been as much feared by them as was her husband by the men.

The whole enterprise however, unsound as it was in its first principles, never became flourishing. But Sluyter himself evidently liked his position as "Bishop" and proprietor not so badly, for when Yvon requested him to return to Wiewerd, he preferred to disobey his "Archbishop" and to stay where he was. In the course of time he deviated farther and farther from the statutes of Labadie. He became a successful tobacco-planter and a regular slavetrader; and he has been charged with having been exceptionally cruel towards his slaves.

The community, governed by him, never exceeded the number of a hundred members, and in a comparatively short time most of these had dispersed. In 1698 besides himself only eight male members remained, whose names were: Herman van Berkelo, Nicholas de la Montaigne, Petrus de Koning, Derick Kolchman, John Moll, jr., Hendrick Sluyter and Samuel Bayard.

Hendrick Sluyter was a cousin of Peter Sluyter, and must have emigrated shortly after the foundation of the community; for he shared with the others, when in 1698 the whole possession was divided among the surviving members.

Peter Sluyter was a wealthy man when he died in 1722. He left by will "all his estate, the plantation and land belonging to it, negroes, horses, cattle, household-stuff, and what had been belonging to his apothecary shop and chemistry" to his son-in-law, Petrus Bonchell, which indicates that he had no descendant of his name.

He had a brother living at the time of his death; but when his brother had emigrated is not known, probably after the year 1700—.

As has been mentioned before, none of the Germans who settled in Maryland in the Seventeenth century became as famous as Augustine Herman, the founder of Cecil County. In the archives of Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, there is sufficient historical material on hand to give in some degree a complete account of his life.

Bohemians, Hollanders and Germans claim him as theirs; German and Czech-Bohemians still wander to his ancient settlement on the Bohemian River to gaze with reverence on the spot where he lived and died, though neither the time of his death nor the place of his burial are known.

Augustine Herman was of German nationality and was born at Prague, Bohemia, 1631. The year of his birth is erroneously given by others as 1605. But in his last will, written September 27th, 1684, subscribing his name, he gives his age as follows: "Augustine Herman, Bohemian, aetatis 63. The time of his arrival in America can only be approximately estimated. What we can say with certainty is that he lived

sometime in Amsterdam, Holland, and in the service of the Dutch-Westindia Company arrived at New Amsterdam (New York). Here he soon gained a reputation in political affairs, although in a contemporary register of citizens he is classified as belonging to the second or smaller citizen-class. When the Dutch colonists on the Hudson despatched nine delegates to Holland to complain against the Governor and the above named Company, Herman was one of the nine men. He never reached Holland, however, but married in 1650 Janekin Verlett, the sister of a wealthy merchant and a relative of Governor Stuyvesant.

Herman made common cause with the discontented colonists and thus incurred the hostility of Stuyvesant; the autocrat even cast him into prison as a traitor. Yet in the course of time circumstances must have brought the two into friendly relations again, for in 1659 we find Herman as Stuyvesant's Ambassador to Governor Fendall of Maryland. A dispute had arisen concerning the Dutch Colony on the Delaware. Captain Utie had in brutal language declared that a part of the colony in question belonged to Maryland, and he demanded with threats of the alarmed colonists, that they should either leave the district or subject themselves to the authority of Maryland. Stuyvesant accordingly sent a military expedition to the Delaware with strict orders to seize Utie as a spy. But when the Dutch arrived there, Utie had repaired to a safe place, having gone back in time to Patuxent. Notwithstanding the failure of his military expedition, Stuyvesant hoped to accomplish his purpose by sending an embassy. But the negotiation conducted by his delegates failed also to lead to an agreement; this, however, must not surprise us since in the council, which had to decide the matter, the same Utie, who was the real originator of the whole trouble, was sitting as a member.

This was on October the 6th, 1659.

After the delegates had been answered by a refusal, Herman instructed his colleague Resolved, (or Rosevelt) Waldron to return to New Amsterdam and to deliver there the unpleasant message, whilst he went to Virginia, pretending to ask the advice of the Governor of Virginia, as to how an agreement between the Hollanders and Marylanders could be arrived at.

But in reality he seems to have become utterly tired of living among the heavy and sluggish Mynheers on the Hudson and desirous of acquiring a new homestead.

After visiting George Hack, his brother-in-law at Accomacke, he returned to Maryland in the Spring of 1660 and decided to settle here.

He was documented as a Denizen already on January 14th, 1660, but his naturalization dates from September 17th, 1663, and was ordered by an act of the Upper House of Maryland, the following being a literal copy of the document:

"Then was read the pet'n of Augustyne Herman for an Act of Naturalization for himselfe, children, and his brother-in-lawe George Hack. ----- Ordered likewise that an Act of Naturalization be prepared for Augustyne Herman and his children and his brother-in-lawe, George Hack, and his wife and children."

Besides this there is extant a notice under date of 1666, which declares that the naturalization of Herman was affirmed. This circumstantiality is explained by the fact that Herman was afraid of being claimed by the Dutch as a subject of theirs; and we may well believe that he never returned to New York as long as that place was a Dutch Colony.

A legend that has long been in circulation in the upper part of Cecil County, however, seems to point to the contrary.

After having settled in Maryland, Herman is said to have returned to New York to arrange his affairs, but for some unknwn cause was soon imprisoned. In order to gain an opportunity for escape he feigned madness, and begged to be allowed the company of his horse, a fine gray charger. This peculiar petition was granted; but no sooner had the horse been brought to him than he mounted and took his way through the windows of the prison, twenty feet from the ground. Closely pursued by his enemies he reached New Castle on the Delaware. The horse swam the river with his rider and died from over-exertion after he had brought his master in security to the further shore.

This legend may be based upon a real occurrence, for Herman possessed a painting, commemorating a similar event. Of this picture two copies are yet extant.

These very disputes about the Colony on the Delaware had taught Herman how valuable a good map, comprising the whole section of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, would be. He offered his services to Lord Baltimore to make a map of the colony, if His Lordship would grant him a certain amount of land with the privilege of a manor. Lord Baltimore gladly accepted the offer and in a letter of September 18th, 1660, he instructed his Governor to assign to Herman 4000 acres of land.

Herman was now entitled to select the land where he deemed best; the only stipulation being that it should not comprise tracts which had already been surveyed for other colonists. This he carefully avoided. He chose his land on the Elk River, where scarcely the foot of a white man had ever trod. There the silence of the dense primeval forest was disturbed only by the music of nature: the sigh of the wind, the lively call of the wippurwill or mocking bird and the rustle of the dry leaves under the foot of the roe or bear. Unmolested by the plough and the axe of the white settlers, there yet stood the wigwam of the red man, and the chief with his warriors held council about the next deerhunt. The land belonged to the wild and warlike tribe of the Susquehannocks, and, as it was dangerous to wander within their domain, the 4000 acres were superficially estimated, and Herman was left to come to an understanding with the savages. But Herman on his voyage as Ambassador had already taken a view of the land and had probably even smoked the peace pipe with the chief of the Susquehannocks.

In the early days of 1661 he started for his intended new Homestead and on January 14th bought from the Indians the whole complex lying east of the upper part of the Chesapeake Bay. After the conclusion of his treaty with the Indians, Herman communicated his success to Lord Baltimore, who was highly pleased with the intelligence and promised Herman in a letter of September 18th, 1661, every privilege he should need; His Lordship having understood the communication as though it were the intention of his new vassal to build a town, he decided as a special favor that the place should be called Cecilton, and the country around it Cecil County. But this was far from Herman's purpose: he rather wished to keep his



Manor solitary, and like the barons in Europe, to make his life as independent and distinguished as possible.

Though Lord Baltimore was somewhat disappointed in his expectation, yet from the above named letter originates the formation and name of Cecil County, Herman planted his new Home in the forest wilderness, and having things settled fairly, he betook himself to the work of making the promised map of Maryland.

About this time must have occurred the death of his wife, his Janekin; for in the act of his naturalization all the members of his family are mentioned, except Mrs. Herman, which would not have been the case if she had been still living at that time. The name of Mrs. Herman is likewise still missing in the first will of Herman, made May 24th, 1661; and a disposition concerning his grave and burial, dated 1665, gives undisputable evidence that Herman was a widower at that time; he wrote:

"I do appoint my burial and sepulcher if I die in this Bay or in Delaware, to be in Bohemia Manor in my garden by my wife Johanna Varlett's, and that a great sepulcher stone shall be erected upon our graves three feet above ground like unto a table with engraven letters, that I am the first seater and beginner of Bohemia Manor, A. D. 1660 and died ....."

While at work on his map, Herman was chosen Representative of Baltimore County to the General Assembly. This is shown by a resolution of that body in the month of October 1663. There was ordered:

"That every County shall satisfye unto their Representative Burgesses All their necessary Expenses for meate, drinke and lodging for themselves and charges of Boate and hands for this ensuing cropp, As also one hundred pounds of Tobacco unto Lieutenant Coll. Jarboe----- one thousand pounds of Tobacco to Mr. Augustyne Herman."

In a comparatively short time Herman was able to complete his map of Maryland. Besides the territory now included in that State, it comprised also the whole section

between North Carolina and the Hudson River. After the fashion of the time he embellished the map with his own portrait. This picture is the only one we possess and has been published in several historical works. The map, although in some respects deficient, was a fine specimen of workmanship and obtained ample recognition and praise.

In 1670 he sent his proud work to Lord Baltimore, who was at that time residing at London, England. In a letter accompanying the map he stated that in addition to his own labor he had incurred about 200 pounds Sterling expenses, but history is silent as to whether he ever received any further compensation. In a flattering letter addressed to him, however, it was stated:

"That His Lordship had received no small Satisfaction by the variety of that mapp, and that the Kings Majesty, His Royall Highness, and all others commended the exactness of the work, applauding it for the best mapp, that ever was drawn of any country."

Herman had gained a prominent position in the political affairs of the Colony. It has been previously mentioned that the first prison for the accommodation of fugitives and runaways was erected on his plantation. He also filled the office of a sheriff in Baltimore County. Under date of March 6th, 1669, we find among the proceedings of the General Assembly the following passage:

"Upon reading of the Act preventing Servants and Criminal persons from running out of this province, the House thought fit to add this Provisoe in it: Providing always that til Seals from each Several and respective County Court Can be had to seal passes As is aforesaid, that all passes sealed with the Seal of Augustine Herman, aforesaid and signed by him, which he is hereby authorized, from time time to sign and seal for the fee of one Shilling for each pass."

Further, on July 4th, 1665, he was sworn in as one of the Lieutenants who were to be at the disposal of Captain Sibrey, Commissioner of public security.

In building the "logg house prison" and in keeping prisoners he believed himself to have lost money (that is to say tobacco) and in a "remonstrance" of the 8th of April, 1671, he petitioned for a further subvention by the Government. He did not succeed, however, for the Lower House resolved as follows:

"This house having perused this Remonstrance and demanded An Account of Augustyne Herman for 10,000 lbs. tobco. raised by Act, and what tobco. he hatt received of and for Prisoners and he having sent the same as inclosed: This House not being therewith Satisfyed have thrown the same out of this house as not conceiving the Remonstrance or the Proposals herein necessary ore reasonable. They judging his Prison a Charge to the County."

This resolution was submitted to the Upper House, which quite naturally approved it, leaving Herman to come to an understanding with the county authorities of Baltimore County.

It would appear that in all Herman did for the public good, he acted upon the principle of looking out first for his own welfare, and in the administration of his office as County Commissioner he was never over-scrupulous. Some years after the affair of the "Remonstrance" he became involved in a far more serious case, which was brought before the Legislature on May 19th, 1676. On that date a certain Mr. Frisbe appeared before the Lower House as plaintiff against the County Commissioners of Cecil County. From the decision then made by the House we may learn the nature of the complaint. This is the purport of it:

"This House upon full examination of the business between Mr. Frisbe and the County Commissioners of Cecill County are of Opinion that Augustine Herman, Abraham Wilde and Henry Ward are guilty of a Ryott in cutting Mr. Frisbe's Timber off his Land by force and under Collour of authority."

This decision was sent to the Upper House for approval, which on the same day issued the following order:

"That the papers between Mr. Frisbe and Mr. Harman etc. be Sent to the Attorney Gen'll, and that an Indictment be by him drawne Upon the Same."

The weak side in Herman's nature was evidently a too great eagerness to accumulate earthly possessions. In the course of time he had brought his holdings of land in Cecil County to nearly 20,000 acres; besides this he owned land in New York. (A parcel near the Bowery was called long afterwards "Herman's Orchard.") This vast amount of land caused him endless troubles and disagreeable suits at law. On one occasion he ascertained that a piece of land transferred to him was swampy and unfit for cultivation; and again that a tract was not as extensive as his titles indicated, and that he accordingly was overtaxed. Thus, new titles had to be made out, or the old ones amended. And finally it occurred that other colonists came and settled on his land, obstinately refusing to acknowledge his ownership. There is especially one case, which deserves mention. A certain Browning insolently claimed 1400 acres of Herman's land as belonging to him. Naturally the matter had to be brought before the court. But the old Patriarch, lying sick and weak at home, was unable to undertake the journey to Patuxent in order to present his case personally. So he put down his complaint, and credulously entrusted the delivery of the paper to the very same Browning, against whom it was directed. Browning did nevertheless actually deliver it, but intercepted the answer which Governor Hewellin had written for Herman and disappeared somewhere in Virginia. During the summer Herman recovered from his illness sufficiently to be able to risk the journey to Patuxent. Arriving there, he was greatly surprised at learning that his affair had been long ago settled.

To make things sure, Governor Hewellin issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas John Browning of Bohemia with George Holland have privatly and secretly shared and surveyed thirteen or fourteen hundred Acres of Laud out of Herman's Bohemia River Middle Neck with intend to snip also a Quantity out of the Manor itself under false, deluding pretence and coulour:

There are therefore to warn and forewarne every one whom it may concern, not to buy or to meddle with the

said Land, for that Augustine Herman shall maintaine and make appeare that both the said tracts of Land are to him a proper gift of and from the Rt. Honor'bl Lord Proprietor (for making the Mapp of Maryland) of about twenty years standing and ever since confirmed."

*"EVERY ONE BEWARE OF A CHEATE."*

But Herman was not at all satisfied with this proclamation and would not return to Bohemia Manor until an entirely new title had been made out for him.—

The dispute between the Hollanders and Marylanders for the possession of the Dutch colony on the Delaware, in the course of which Herman had come to Maryland as Ambassador, had not yet been decided. At this point James II. of England brought the quarrel to a summary close with one stroke of the pen by donating to his brother, the Duke of York, the whole district between the Connecticut and the Delaware.

Stuyvesant may have been angry with his Ambassador Herman, because the latter had not exercised more energy and perseverance in defending the cause of the Dutch: what good was it for? On September the 8th, 1664, Stuyvesant was himself obliged to surrender New Amsterdam ingloriously to the British, because his mutinous and sluggish Hollanders refused to fight.

In the meanwhile new quarrels had arisen, this time concerning the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and in these also Herman in his old days became involved. His house was designated as a meeting place where the negotiations between Lord Baltimore and Governor Markham of Pennsylvania should take place. In the Spring of 1682 the first meeting was to be held, but as Lord Baltimore was having trouble with his own obstinate colonists and the hostile Virginians, he sent commissioners in his stead. Owing to Markham's double dealing and his failure to appear, no agreement could be arrived at. In the Fall of the same year Lord Baltimore was twice at Bohemia Manor and on both occasions he was disappointed by the Quaker Markham. Thus the regulation of the boundary between the two colonies had to remain for the present unsettled.

After these visits of Lord Baltimore to Bohemia Manor, Herman meddled no further with public affairs. The evening of his life was now approaching, but by no means an unclouded and peaceable one, such as he might seem to have deserved after a life so full of action and rich in experience. Domestic cares and troubles darkened the evening-sky of his life. According to a report of the Labadist Jasper Danker (Schilders), he had after the death of his first wife married an English woman. Although a second marriage of Herman can not be proved by any official record, yet the account of Danker deserves full credit, as it is based upon personal acquaintance and observation. Danker mentions twice this second wife, and, according to him, she must have been an extremely wicked person, a regular "böse Sieben."

On page 195 (English translation by Murphy) of the journal he writes: "His (Herman's) plantation was going much into decay, as well as his body for want of attention. There was not a Christian man, as they term it, to serve him; nobody but negroes. All this was increased by a miserable, doubly miserably wife, but so miserable, that I will not relate here. All his children have been compelled on her account to leave their fathers' house. He spoke to us of his land and said he would never sell or hire to Englishmen, but would sell it to us cheap, if we were inclined to buy," etc.

This entry in the journal dates from the 3rd of December, 1679, when Danker first became acquainted with Herman, Mrs. Herman had very probably favoured the Labadists with a stormy reception. But Augustine Herman also receives his share from the pious Danker. On page 230 of the journal of December 26th we read:

"Ephraim Hermans is the oldest child of Augustine Herman; there are living two brothers and three sisters, one of whom resides now at Amsterdam. They are all of a Dutch mother, after whose death their father married an English woman, who is the most artful and despicable creature that can be found. *He is a very godless person*, and his wife, by her wickedness, has compelled all these children to leave their fathers' house and live elsewhere."

These "eulogies" must not surprise us and can hardly be taken as according with the facts; for Danker in his journal seems to consider all people wicked, who showed no inclination to embrace the doctrines of the Labadists. Those who did are praised as pious, godly, tender-hearted, etc.

Mr. and Mrs. Herman were among the former class, and therefore had to submit to be thus censured. Indeed, the very worst of the evils that befell the old Magnate on the Bohemian River, came in the train of the Labadists with their intrigues and machinations.

It had always been the proud endeavor and favorite wish of Herman to be the founder of a new Noblefamily, which through his oldest son Ephraim should be linked to coming generations. But herein he had to experience the bitterest disappointment of his life. Shortly after his marriage to Elizabeth van Rodenburgh, Ephraim had met Danker and Sluyter in New York, and in their company brought his young wife to New Castle, where he was at that time clerk of the Court. He and his wife were soon caught by the cunning Sluyter for the Labadist sect; and by the aid of Ephraim these intruders succeeded in obtaining almost 2000 arces of Herman's best land.

Herman found out too late with whom he had been dealing; even the Court, to which he applied in the matter, decided against him. In 1684 he made his last will, and the affixed codicil shows clearly his sentiment towards the Labadists; he wrote:

"Whereas my eldest Son Ephraim Herman on the other side above named, hath engaged himself deeply unto to labady faction and Religion, seeking to persuade and entice his brother Casparus and Sisters to incline thereunto alsoe, whereby itt is upon good ground suspected that they will prove noe true executors of this my last will-----"

Herman's apprehensions that his whole possession might fall to the Labadists were well founded; he accordingly directed in the codicil, that after his death the Court should appoint three persons, whose duty it should be to attend to the lawful

execution of his will. This codicil, however, was declared void, having been subscribed to by five men who where no free citizens and therefore could not take a legal oath.

This will was opened August 10th, 1686.

In accordance with the confused ideas of the Labadists concerning married life, the weak-minded Ephraim abandoned his wife, though he had had two children by her. He is said, however, to have repented later on and to have returned to his wife; but his fate was an almost literal fulfillment of his fathers' course, that he should not survive his adherence to the sect for two years; for he soon fell sick, lost his mind and finally died in 1689.

Thus ended the "Second Lord of Bohemia Manor," three years after the first Lord-Pioneer Augustine Herman had been freed from all Labadist and terrestrial evils. Of a third Lord of Bohemia Manor the history of Maryland knows nothing.

