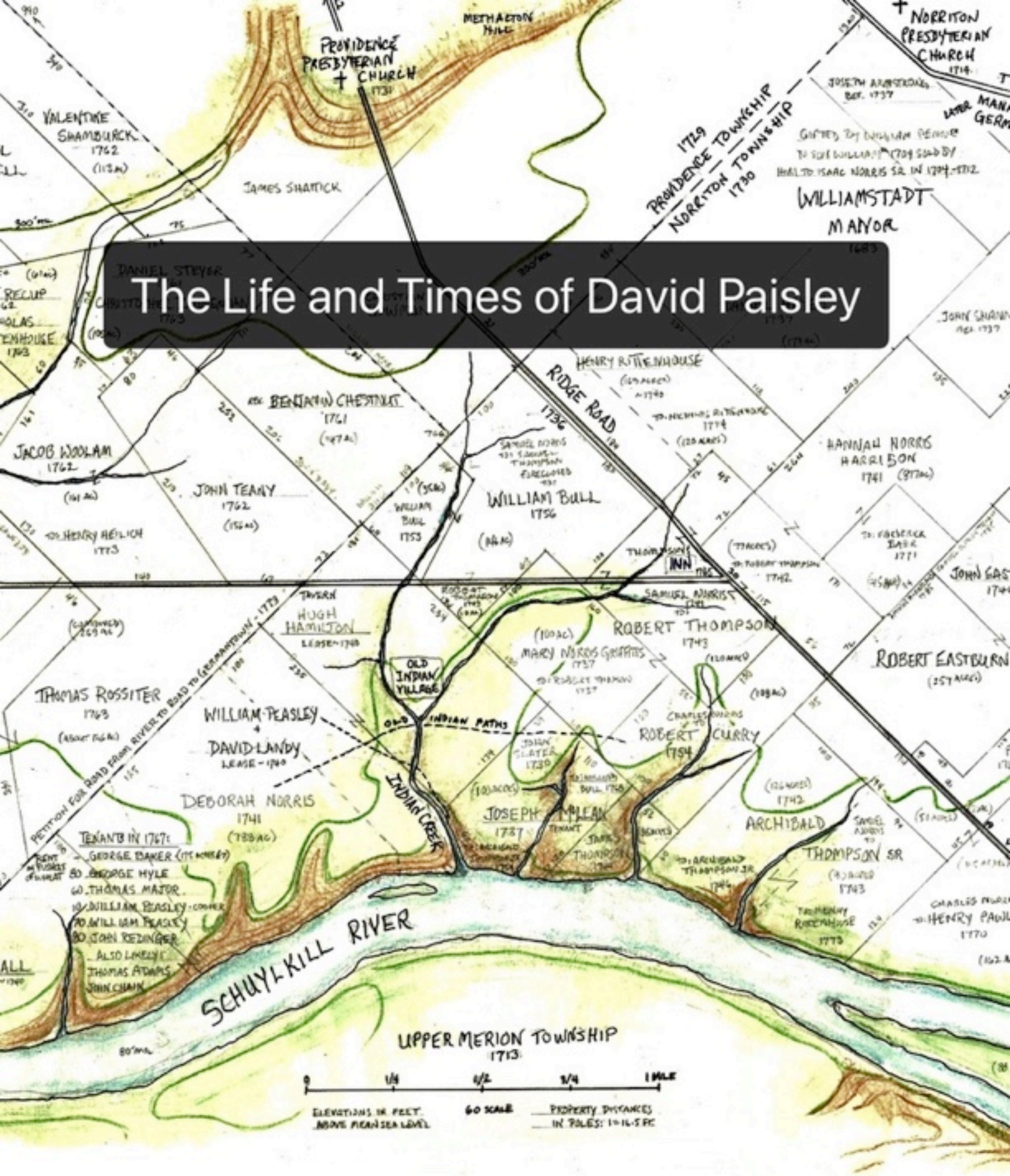

The Life and Times of David Paisley
PROVIDENCE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH 1731
NORRITON PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH 1714
PROVIDENCE TOWNSHIP 1729
NORRITON TOWNSHIP 1730
WILLIAMSTADT MANOR
RIDGE ROAD
1736
HENRY RITTENHOUSE
BENJAMIN CHESTNUT 1761
JACOB WOOLAM 1762
JOHN TEAMY 1762
WILLIAM BULL 1756
HANNAH NORRIS HARRISON 1741
THOMPSON'S INN
HUGH HAMILTON
ROBERT THOMPSON 1743
MARY NORRIS GRIFFITH 1737
ROBERT EASTBURN
OLD INDIAN VILLAGE
OLD INDIAN PATHS
THOMAS ROSSITER 1763
WILLIAM PEASLEY & DAVID LANDY LEASE - 1760
ROBERT CURRY 1754
DEBORAH NORRIS 1741
JOSEPH MCLEAN 1737
ARCHIBALD THOMPSON SR 1743
INDIAN CREEK
SCHUYLKILL RIVER
UPPER MERION TOWNSHIP 1713
PHILADELPHIA COUNTY 1683
By Mark Ulmer

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF DAVID PAISLEY

THE PAISLEY FAMILY
IN PENNSYLVANIA & MARYLAND

By Mark Ulmer

Table of Contents

Preface 3
- David 4

Part One - Frontier 5
- Indian Creek 6
  - Map of Providence 9
  - Map of Norriton 10
- Eastburn's Company 11
- On the March 14
- Under Fire 17
- Fort Duquesne 20
- Peace 22
- Immigrants 24
- Land 26

Part Two - Awakening 27
- Rev. Benjamin Chestnut 28
- Churches 29
- New Lights 31
- Great Awakening 33
- Rev. John Rowland 35

Part Three - Family 36
- Hamilton 37
- Landy 39
  - Map of Indian Creek 41

McLean 42
Sharp 45
Dilly 49

Part Four - Turmoil 52
Pontiac 53
Murder 56
Bounty Land 58
Resettlement 60
A Hand at Farming 62
Stamp Act 66
Assessment 68
Prodigal Son 72

Part Five - Maryland 76
The Border 77
The Susquehanna 80
Baltimore 83
Townshend Acts 87
New Purchase 91
North Hundred 93
Revolution 96
Association of Freemen 99
Non-Jurors 104
Conclusion 109

Epilogue 115
Loose Ends 116

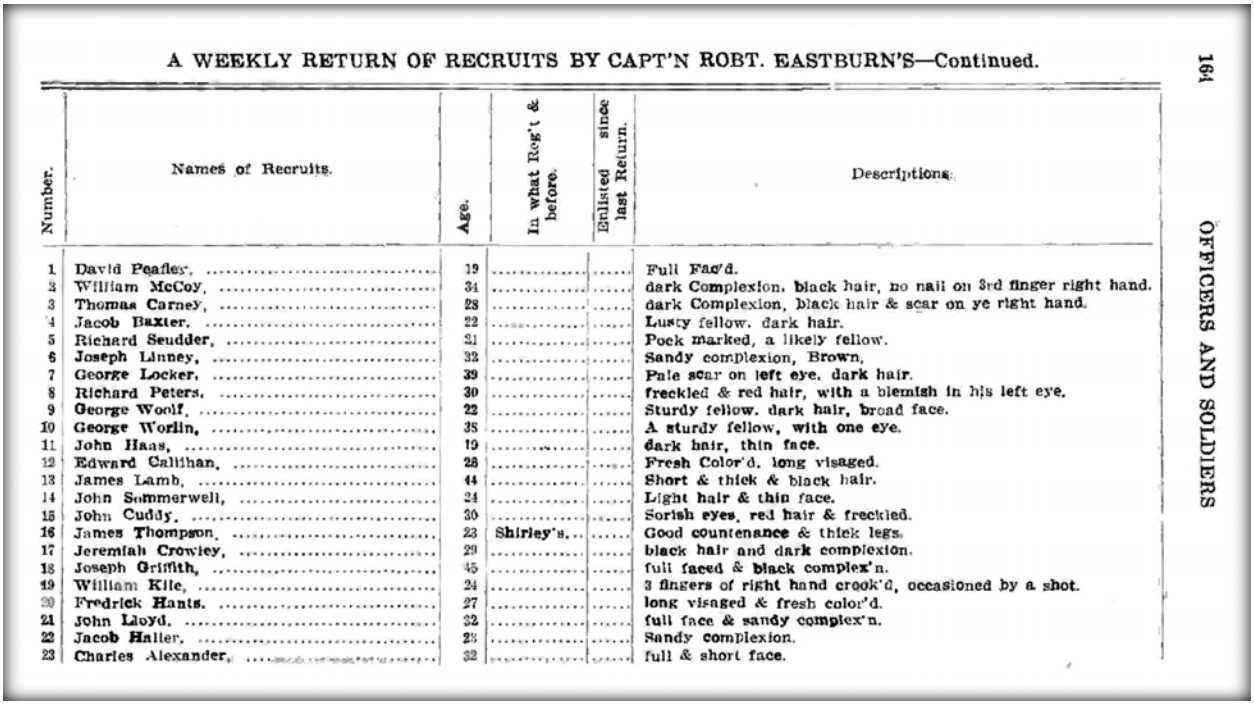
Sources 121
Bibliography 122

PREFACE

David

AT THE AGE OF 19, David Paisley was already a big man. Full-faced, and standing nearly six feet tall, he towered over the other volunteers in Captain Eastburn's Company, part of the Pennsylvania Regiment then being raised in Philadelphia. It was the end of spring 1758, and they would soon march west to the Pennsylvania frontier to fight the French and Indians in the two-year-old war people were beginning to call the Great War for Empire.

David was the eldest son of Ulster Scot immigrants and the first to be born in America. Nearing the end of a 5-year apprenticeship to become a cooper, he was ready for some excitement. And going off to war was one way of proving himself worthy of his master's daughter, and to his family and friends back home in Norriton Township. He would be defending them all from the Indian threat at their doorstep. He was off on a great adventure. Would he return a changed man?



A WEEKLY RETURN OF RECRUITS BY CAPT'N ROBT. EASTBURN'S—Continued.

164 OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS

Number.	Names of Recruits.	Age.	In what Reg't & before.	Enlisted since last Return.	Descriptions.
1	David Peafley,	19			Full Fac'd.
2	William McCoy,	34			dark Complexion, black hair, no nail on 3rd finger right hand.
3	Thomas Carney,	28			dark Complexion, black hair & scar on ye right hand.
4	Jacob Baxter,	22			Lusty fellow, dark hair.
5	Richard Scudder,	21			Pock marked, a likely fellow.
6	Joseph Linney,	32			Sandy complexion, Brown,
7	George Locker,	39			Pale scar on left eye, dark hair.
8	Richard Peters,	30			freckled & red hair, with a blemish in his left eye.
9	George Woolf,	22			Sturdy fellow, dark hair, broad face.
10	George Worlin,	38			A sturdy fellow, with one eye.
11	John Haas,	19			dark hair, thin face.
12	Edward Callihan,	26			Fresh Color'd, long visaged.
13	James Lamb,	44			Short & thick & black hair.
14	John Sommerwell,	24			Light hair & thin face.
15	John Cuddy,	30			Sorish eyes, red hair & freckled.
16	James Thompson,	23	Shirley's,		Good countenance & thick legs.
17	Jeremiah Crowley,	29			black hair and dark complexion.
18	Joseph Griffith,	45			full faced & black complex'n.
19	William Kile,	24			3 fingers of right hand crook'd, occasioned by a shot.
20	Fredrick Hants,	27			long visaged & fresh color'd.
21	John Lloyd,	32			full face & sandy complex'n.
22	Jacob Haller,	25			Sandy complexion.
23	Charles Alexander,	32			full & short face.

FRONTIER

Indian Creek

In 1758, the fledgling settlement in Norriton Township consisted of, at most, two dozen families. These settlers were scattered on the north bank of the Schuylkill River, 20 miles upstream of the provincial capital of Philadelphia. The township was midway on the road leading west from Philadelphia to Reading Town, which had only recently been established on the frontier's edge.

The Paisleys and their kin, the McLeans, had settled in Norriton two decades earlier at the mouth of Indian Creek, a spring-fed tributary of the Schuylkill, two miles upriver from the Norriton Mill. The mill was owned by the heirs of a recently deceased Quaker merchant, Isaac Norris. There, David's father, William Paisley, known as "Will," and David's uncle, David Landy, leased land on the west bank of Indian Creek that had been left by Norris in his will to his spinster daughter, Deborah. As rent, the Paisleys and Landys were required to deliver one bushel of wheat to the Norrises' mill for every two or three acres they leased, depending on the quality of the land.

On the opposite, eastern bank of Indian Creek, David Paisley's maternal grandfather, Joseph McLean, was in possession of a partially improved farmstead on land owned by another Norris heir, Deborah's brother, Samuel Norris, a Philadelphia lawyer. In November 1737, McLean had purchased a cabin and lease rights to this land from the widow of John Slater, who had recently died, leaving his wife with a debt due their landlord for several years' unpaid rent. Norris agreed to the transfer of the leasehold from Slater's widow to McLean, subject to McLean assuming Slater's delinquent rent obligation of £25, due in 1742. McLean was also to deliver an annual rent of 30 bushels of wheat to the Norriton Mill for the remainder of Slater's 21-year lease.

The Paisleys and McLeans had emigrated together from Ulster in northern Ireland in the fall of 1736. They followed in the wake of Joseph McLean's brothers, William and Archibald, who made the voyage a few years earlier, settling about a dozen miles north of Philadelphia near Abington Presbyterian Church, of which they became members. It is likely that upon landing in

Philadelphia, Joseph McLean took his extended family, including his son-in-law, Will Paisley, to Abington, where they all briefly settled in the household of Joseph's brother, Archibald, in Whitemarsh Township.

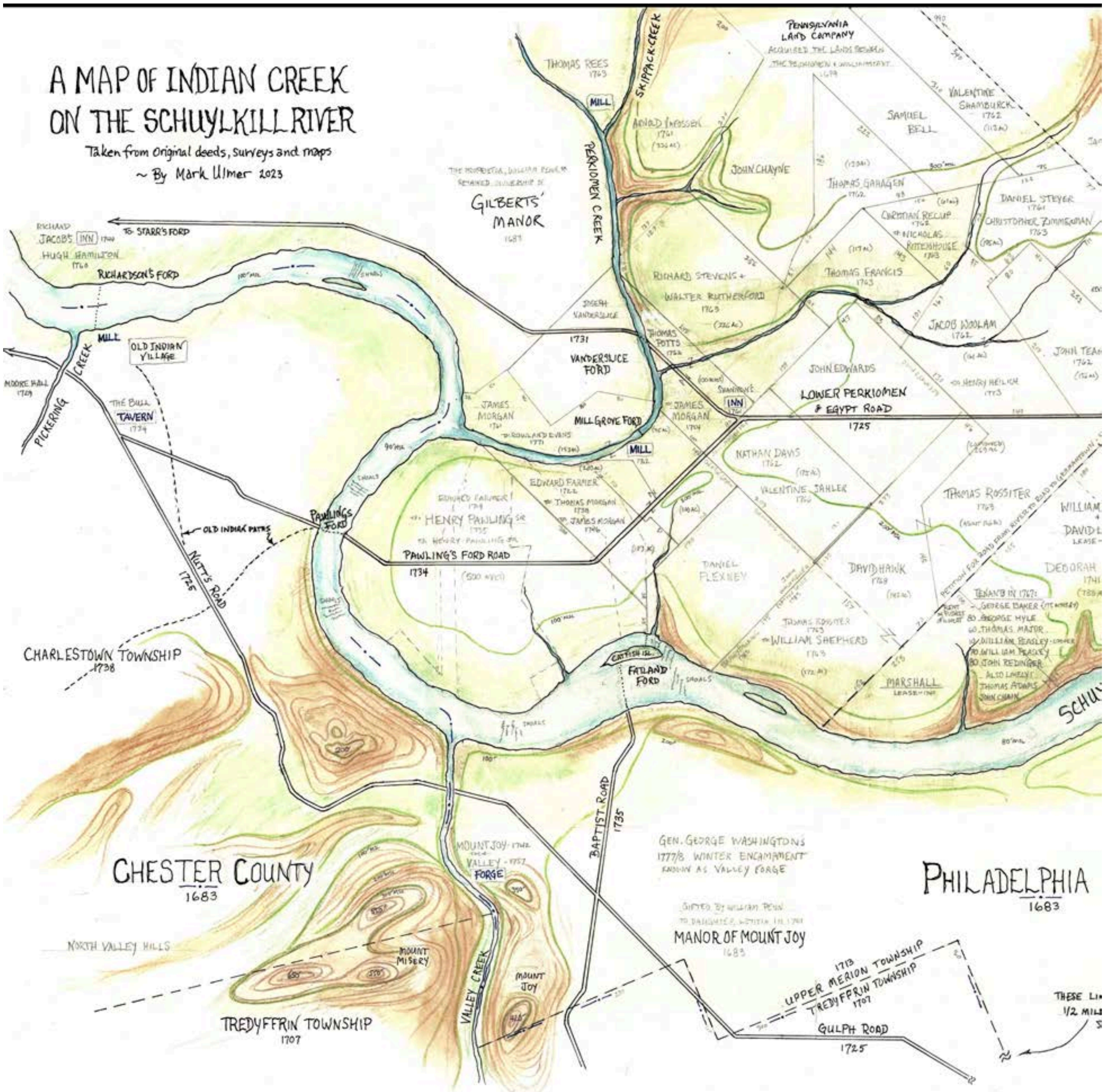
When Will Paisley and his wife, Elenor, known as "Nellie," subsequently moved to Norriton Township from Whitemarsh in 1740, the area was still mostly uninhabited oak, hickory and chestnut forest. Before Paisley and Landy could commence farming their newly leased lands, the backbreaking labor of burning the brush, girdling and cutting down trees, and clearing fields, would have to be undertaken. At least one log cabin would have to be built. Fortunately, they could enlist the help of family already living nearby: Nellie's father, Joseph McLean, and the males of his household. That would be his two teenage sons, Joseph Jr., and John, and McLean's son-in-law, Thomas Major, married to his eldest daughter, Margaret.

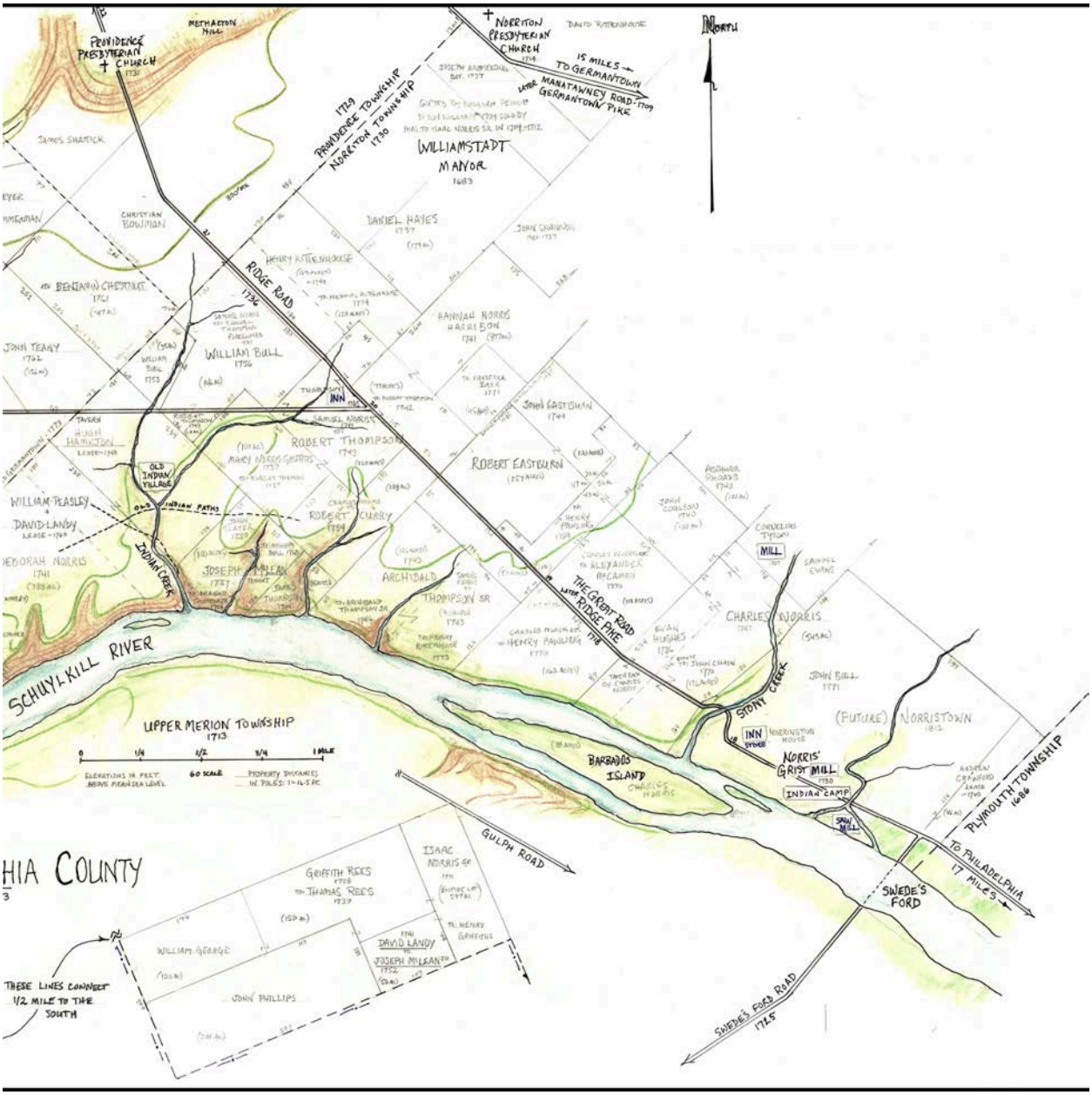
Perhaps a dozen other immigrant families had already settled within a two-mile radius of the land taken up by the Paisleys and McLeans. That would have

been the Thompsons, Eastburns, Shannons and Pawlings, and more recently, the Hamiltons and Marshalls. They likely lent a hand, too. The early settlers in this part of Pennsylvania were mostly Quakers from Wales, Anglicans from England, or, like the Paisleys, Presbyterian Scots from Ulster in northern Ireland, but they mixed easily and could generally understand each other's British dialects. Though the households functioned independently, they nevertheless formed a tight community, sharing and bartering among themselves as a matter of necessity. Those things they needed, but couldn't make or obtain through trade, they obtained from the small store maintained by the Norrises near Norriton Mill. With Philadelphia 20 miles away, they were, as they had been on the ship while making their trans-Atlantic passage, on their own, responsible for their own sustenance, government and protection.

Occasionally, "Delaware Indians" of the Unami Turtle clan of the Lenape tribe frequented the area to hunt, fish or trade. But by the late 1730s, most of the Lenape had migrated west as Europeans encroached upon their traditional lands along the Delaware River, leaving an abandoned Indian village on Indian Creek. Old Indian trails crisscrossed the land, still used by the settlers to get to the mill or church.

Several fords crossed the Schuylkill River and the nearby streams that fed it: Stony Creek at Norriton Mill; Indian Creek where the Paisleys and McLeans had settled; Perkiomen Creek to the west where the Pawlings lived; and, on the opposite bank, Pickering Creek and Valley Creek, the latter soon to be known for its forge and as the site of the Valley Forge encampment during the American Revolution. For the Paisleys, the nearest fords over the Schuylkill were Fatland Ford at Catfish Island, two miles upstream, and Swede's Ford at Barbados Island, two miles down, just east of Norriton Mill.


A MAP OF INDIAN CREEK
ON THE SCHUYLKILL RIVER
Taken from original deeds, surveys and maps
~ By Mark Ulmer 2023
PENNSYLVANIA LAND COMPANY
THOMAS REES 1763
MILL
SKIPPACK CREEK
PERKIOMEN CREEK
GILBERTS' MANOR
JOHN CHAYNE
THOMAS GARAGEN
SAMUEL BELL
VALENTINE SHAMBURCK
DANIEL STEYER
CHRISTOPHER ZIMMERMAN
THOMAS FRANCIS
RICHARD STEVENS + WALTER RUTHERFORD 1765
JACOB WOOLAM 1762
JOHN TEA
TO STARR'S FORD
RICHARDSON'S FORD
HUGH HAMILTON
OLD INDIAN VILLAGE
PICKERING CREEK
MOORE HALL
THE BULL TAVERN 1734
VANDERSLICE FORD
JOHN EDWARDS
LOWER PERKIOMEN & EGYPT ROAD 1725
JAMES MORGAN
MILL GROVE FORD
INN
NATHAN DAVIS
VALENTINE JAHLER
THOMAS ROSSITER
WILLIAM
DAVID
DEBORAH
EDWARD FARMER
HENRY PAWLING SR
PAWLING'S FORD
PAWLING'S FORD ROAD 1734
OLD INDIAN PATHS
NUTT'S ROAD 1725
DANIEL FLEXNEY
DAVID HAWK
WILLIAM SHEPHERD
MARSHALL
FATLAND FORD
CHARLESTOWN TOWNSHIP 1738
SCHU
BAPTIST ROAD 1735
GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTONS 1777/8 WINTER ENCAMPMENT KNOWN AS VALLEY FORGE
MOUNT JOY
VALLEY FORGE
CHESTER COUNTY 1683
PHILADELPHIA 1683
NORTH VALLEY HILLS
MOUNT MISERY
VALLEY CREEK
MOUNT JOY
MANOR OF MOUNT JOY 1683
UPPER MERION TOWNSHIP 1713
TREDYFFRIN TOWNSHIP 1707
GULPH ROAD 1725
TREDYFFRIN TOWNSHIP 1707


PROVIDENCE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
NORRITON PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
15 MILES TO GERMANTOWN
LATER MANATAWNEY ROAD - GERMANTOWN PIKE
1729 PROVIDENCE TOWNSHIP NORRITON TOWNSHIP 1730
WILLIAMSTADT MANOR 1683
NORTH
DANIEL HAYES
RIDGE ROAD
1734
WILLIAM BULL
INN
ROBERT THOMPSON
ROBERT EASTBURN
OLD INDIAN VILLAGE
INDIAN PATHS
WILLIAM PEASLEY & DAVID LANDY
ROBERT CURRY
ARCHIBALD THOMPSON SR
INDIAN CREEK
SCHUYLKILL RIVER
THE GREAT ROAD LATER RIDGE PIKE
MILL
CHARLES NORRIS
STONY CREEK
(FUTURE) NORRISTOWN
NORRINGTON HOUSE
NORRIS' GRIST MILL
INDIAN CAMP
BARBADOS ISLAND
UPPER MERION TOWNSHIP 1713
ELEVATIONS IN FEET ABOVE MEAN SEA LEVEL
60 SCALE
PROPERTY BOUNDARIES IN RULES: 1=16.5 PC
GULPH ROAD
PLYMOUTH TOWNSHIP 1686
TO PHILADELPHIA 17 MILES
SWEDE'S FORD
SWEDE'S FORD ROAD 1715
GRIFFITH REES 1710
THOMAS REES 1737
ISAAC NORRIS SR 1711
WILLIAM GEORGE
DAVID LANDY 1741
JOSEPH MYLEAN JR 1752
JOHN PHILLIPS
THESE LINES CONNECT 1/2 MILE TO THE SOUTH

Eastburn's Company

ROBERT EASTBURN, THE BROTHER OF a neighbor of the Paisleys in Norriton Township, had been captured by French-allied Indians while on a trading mission near Lake Ontario. He was able to make his escape after being held prisoner in Canada for more than a year. Back home in Philadelphia in February 1758, Eastburn published a memoir relating the tale of his captivity and escape. His exploits undoubtedly qualified him for the commission he received that April as one of the new captains in the enlarged Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot.

It is likely that during a visit to Norriton, Capt. Eastburn enticed David Paisley to join his company. His was one of several being raised as part of the provincial forces during the spring of 1758 for an expedition over the Allegheny Mountains against the French and Indians.

The paths of David Paisley and Capt. Eastburn had crossed due to the actions of a brash young Virginia militia officer by the name of George Washington four years earlier, in 1754. In May of that year, 21-year-old Col. Washington triggered an international crisis by attacking a camp of French colonial soldiers in the far western reaches of territory then claimed by France and the British provinces of both Virginia and Pennsylvania. The French responded by capturing Col. Washington and his companions and their hastily constructed fort, Fort Necessity, thereby igniting the Great War for Empire. This war was later known in America as the French & Indian War, an adjunct to a larger, global conflict that evolved to include Europe, the Caribbean and far-away India, known to historians as the Seven Years War.

In retaliation, the British marshaled forces, sending Gen. Edward Braddock and two regiments of British soldiers to build a road through the wilderness. The road was needed to launch a direct assault on the main French fortification, Fort Duquesne, located at the forks of the Ohio River, the site of modern-day Pittsburgh. Braddock's 1,400 British regulars and 700 provincial troops, mostly from Virginia, were ambushed en route to Fort Duquesne in the summer of 1755 by the western Indians allied with the French, primarily disaffected Delawares

and Shawnee. The British forces, unfamiliar with Indian warfare and, in their haste, having built no forward post into which they could fall back, were massacred and routed, suffering a 50% casualty rate. General Braddock was killed.

Emboldened by their complete destruction of this British expeditionary force, the Indians surged eastward in the footsteps of the retreating British army. They laid waste to settlements up and down the western frontier, intent on terrorizing the immigrant population into withdrawing from Indian lands. They murdered and scalped thousands of unprepared settlers in the backcountry of Pennsylvania and Virginia over the course of the next two years. The far frontier was quickly depopulated.

Pennsylvania had been founded on the Quaker principle of pacifism, and, consequently, the province had no militia, standing army or system of forts when the conflict erupted. To the dismay of the frontier settlers, most of whom were Ulster Scots or Palatine Germans, the Quakers, who then controlled the provincial assembly, refused to provide anything for their defense. Under pressure, however, a number of Quaker assemblymen grudgingly withdrew from the government, enabling the assembly to appropriate funds "for the use of the king" that the governor then spent on military defense.

Throughout 1756 and 1757, as a string of forts and stockades was built along the edge of the wilderness, Indian attacks continued throughout adjacent Berks and Northampton Counties and within 50 miles to the northwest of where the Paisleys lived. There were even reports that Indian raiding parties had been seen near Reading, a mere 30 miles away.

The following year, in response to increasing Indian raids along the frontier, and with financial assistance guaranteed by the new government in Britain under William Pitt, the new Pennsylvania Governor, William Denny, offered a bounty of £5 to any volunteer willing to take up arms in defense of the province. This was a princely sum, equivalent to the cost of a trans-Atlantic passage.

The Governor's announcement, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 4, 1758, informed the public that in addition to the £5 bounty, each volunteer would also receive a £7 advance to purchase clothing and supplies and a

monthly pay of 45 shillings (£2.5s). This was not to be a militia. The province was going to build an army of uniformed volunteers, equipped and trained for formal, regimented combat. Undoubtedly, the bounty and monthly pay were an inducement for David Paisley to enlist.

According to the initial Return of Recruits filed by Capt. Eastburn for his company, "David Peasley" was the first to volunteer, added to the roll on May 1, 1758, before the Governor's bounty offer had even appeared in print. And David was one of his youngest recruits — only seven were under the age of 19; several were in their 40s and nearly half were 30 or older.

David was also one of the few native-born Pennsylvanians in this company of 53 recruits, the others being recent immigrants primarily from Germany (16), Ireland (15), England (5) and Wales (3). Many were or had been indentured servants. The bounty was likely their primary inducement to enlist, enough to pay off their indentures or make a fresh start after their tour of duty was completed.

David was listed as having been born in Whitemarsh Township, near Abington, where he was baptized on April 8, 1739. The minister of the Abington Presbyterian Church, Rev. Richard Treat, noted in the church records that David was the "son of William Paisly." David was probably born in early fall 1738, given that his elder sister, Jane, was born in 1737 and his next younger brother, Robert, was born in late September 1739.

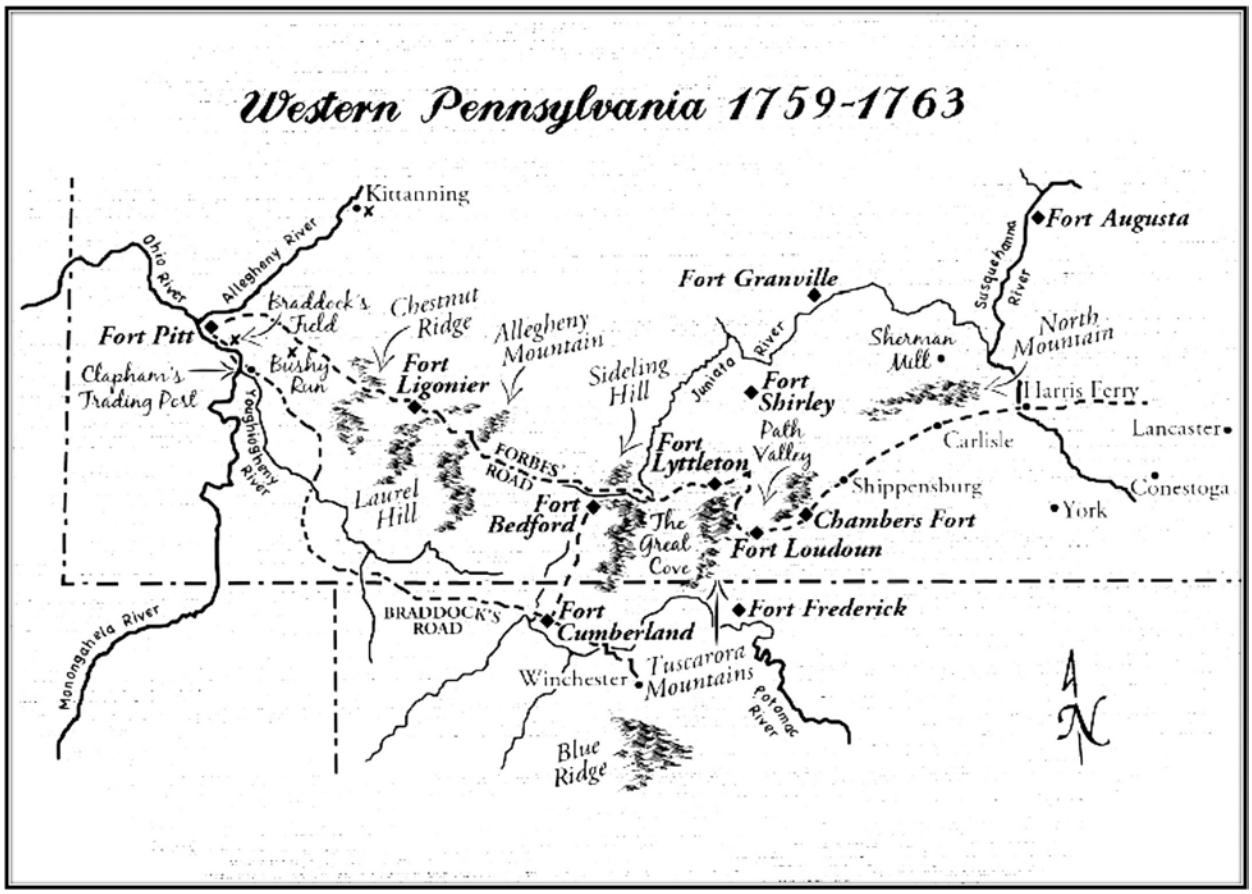
Capt. Eastburn's initial Return of Recruits also stated that David was a cooper, a trade ordinarily requiring a five-year apprenticeship and an appropriate occupation for a brawny young man living near the only mill for miles around. The mill needed barrels to pack and ship the flour it produced from grinding the wheat of local farmers like David's father. Wheat, flour, bread, timber, barrel staves and flax seed were the main exports from Philadelphia at the time. These were the lifeblood of the provincial economy, which relied on exports to England, Ireland, Portugal, the other American colonies, and, to a lesser extent, the West Indies. The hard work of cutting, splitting, shaping and fitting barrel staves, a labor involving all the muscles of the arms, shoulders and back, must have transformed David into a bull of a man and an asset to his military company.

On the March

After Braddock's defeat, British forces in America were sent a new commander, Gen. John Forbes, and this highly competent officer had a new plan for attacking the French at Fort Duquesne. Forbes would build a new road farther north, leading west from Pennsylvania from which the army would be supplied, rather than attempt to clear and improve the now dilapidated Braddock road that lay to the south, running from Virginia. Forbes would also be more deliberate, building staging posts along the road as it progressed. And Forbes commanded 6,000 men, three times more than Braddock, consisting primarily of provincial troops, including the Pennsylvania Regiment. He was also to have under his command the Virginia and Maryland provincial troops, the Royal American Regiment (made up of German volunteers in the American colonies) and over 1,000 British regular troops - Highlanders coming from Scotland and Ireland.

General Forbes arrived in Philadelphia in April 1758. While awaiting his British regulars and supplies that were in transit across the Atlantic, he ordered his second-in-command, Swiss-born Lt. Col. Henry Bouquet, to head west with Bouquet's Royal American Regiment and the provincial troops from Pennsylvania and Virginia. Because General Forbes foresaw that supply and logistics from Philadelphia were going to be critical for success, this arrangement continued for nearly the entire expedition: Lt. Col. Bouquet, as operational and tactical commander, leading from the vanguard; General Forbes directing strategy from the rear.

In June 1758, Capt. Eastburn's Company marched from Philadelphia to Carlisle where the Pennsylvania Regiment was organized into three battalions. Eastburn's company was assigned to the Second Battalion under the command of Col. James Burd who had spent the prior year completing the construction of the main Pennsylvania fortification on the frontier, Fort Augusta, located on the Susquehanna River near the Indian town of Shamokin.



At Carlisle, each private was provided a uniform that included a green jacket with red facings and lapels, and was issued a musket, sling, bayonet and cartouche box. It is likely this was David's first personal firearm, although he probably already knew how to shoot, his father likely had a gun in the family for hunting. The typical hunting gun of the period was the English-made, smooth-bore fowling piece. The rifled gun, later known as the Pennsylvania or Kentucky Long Rifle, had only recently been introduced to the province by nearby German immigrants in Lancaster, Reading and Bethlehem. Evidence that firearms were generally in use in the countryside then can be found in the 1744 inventory of the estate of David's grandfather McLean, which included a "gun and gun barrel."

In early July, Capt. Eastburn was sent north from Carlisle along the Susquehanna River with orders to detach half his company, the less fit privates, to be garrisoned at Fort Augusta and at the post at Harris' Ferry known as Hunter's Fort. David Paisley, however, strapping and motivated, undoubtedly stayed with the main body of the company, part of the 600 soldiers from the

Pennsylvania Regiment destined to take part in building the road to Fort Duquesne. Since carpenters, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, wheelwrights, coopers and other tradesmen were identified for special duty and paid an additional nine pence per day for their work, it is likely that David was occasionally detached from road-building duty alongside his unit to make barrels for provisions being hauled west with the troops. Though not glamorous duty, the work of such craftsmen was essential to the success of the expedition.

By the middle of July, that half of Capt. Eastburn's Company not on garrison duty at Fort Augusta or Hunter's fort was back in Carlisle, from which they were ordered to Raystown where Fort Bedford was being constructed by the advance troops. For the rest of the summer of 1758, the Second Battalion was engaged in cutting, clearing and building a road through the forest from Raystown westward over the Allegheny Mountains and Laurel Hill Ridge. Their destination was a staging area 50 miles west of Carlisle at Loyalhanna Creek and midway between Carlisle and their ultimate destination, Fort Duquesne. Col. Burd was sent ahead of the main body with his Second Battalion of Pennsylvania regimentals, including Capt. Eastburn's Company, the Highlanders, the Royal Americans and some Virginian provincials. They reached Loyalhanna on September 2nd and commenced building a fortification there that came to be known as Fort Ligonier. This was to be the base from which the final push and attack on the enemy would be made. The rest of Bouquet's troops followed and upon his arrival, Lt. Col. Bouquet took command of the new fort.

Under Fire

Once Fort Ligonier was completed, Bouquet sent Maj. John Grant on September 14th to reconnoiter the French position at Fort Duquesne with a force of 400 regulars, mostly Highlanders, and 350 provincials, 100 of which were selected from the Pennsylvania Regiment out of four companies. Foolishly, and contrary to orders, Maj. Grant attacked the fort, but was encircled and defeated with a loss of 300 killed or captured, including four recorded casualties suffered by the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment in the companies of Col. Burd and Captains Shippen, Jameson and Clayton during the Regiment's chaotic retreat, indicating that these were the four companies from which the 100 Pennsylvanian troops had been selected. There is no evidence either way on whether David Paisley was among those under Grant's command, but it would seem unlikely.

Encouraged by their defeat of Grant's force, the French mounted a surprise attack on Fort Ligonier four weeks later on October 12, 1758. Lt. Col. Bouquet was at that time away, inspecting damage to the road caused by recent rains, leaving Col. Burd in command of the fort. At the time of the attack, most of the troops were encamped beyond the outer defenses. David Paisley and his

companions from Capt. Eastburn's Company, however, were lucky to have been housed within the walls of the stockade, together with the rest of Col. Burd's Second Pennsylvania Battalion and the First Virginia Regiment.

The French attack, essentially a raid intended to capture British provisions and supplies in an effort to delay the advance long enough for winter to set in, began with 600 French troops, Indians and Canadian militia pouncing on a small detachment guarding cattle in a meadow one-and-a-half miles from the fort. Hearing gunfire, Col. Burd sent a troop of 200 Maryland provincials to the aid of the "grass guard," but this contingent was too small to overcome the marauders and was quickly driven back to the fort. Now realizing the attack involved a large force, Col. Burd sent 500 men from the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment who were likewise forced to retreat behind the outer breastworks.

The British then remained within the stockade, watching as the French and their Indian allies plundered their camps and stole or killed all their horses. The cattle escaped into the woods. Grape shot from artillery inside the fort ultimately scattered the enemy who retreated into the forest from which they fired small arms into the fort until cover of darkness, then returned to Fort Duquesne, many now on horseback.

The battle lasted most of the day. Of the 2,000 British troops engaged in the battle, total casualties were 12 killed, 18 wounded, 31 missing, presumed dead or captured. Nearly all casualties were provincial troops, the Maryland and Pennsylvania provincials sent from the fort to assist the grass guard suffering the worst. The professional British regulars had only a single Highlander killed. French casualties were negligible.

Because the French departed without taking the fort, Col. Burd declared victory, a technical one at best. The British outnumbered the French by nearly four to one, had artillery and a secure fortress from which they could have counter-attacked, yet they did nothing. Col. Burd later claimed that his orders did not authorize him to attack and he had the example of Maj. Grant's debacle to inform him of what could happen if he exceeded his authority. And though he was criticized for his actions by General Forbes, there were no repercussions. He had, after all, been the officer responsible for building the fort he had just

defended and it had withstood an attack by a substantial enemy force.

From the French perspective, the encounter was also nothing to celebrate. They had captured the British horses and plundered the camps, but they had little else to show for their efforts. They didn't seize or destroy any supplies, nor did they enter or capture the fort. Most importantly, they failed to delay the inevitable progress of the British advance. In fact, they expedited it because their Indian allies were convinced the British expedition would now not proceed and that the oncoming winter would halt British progress or, alternatively, that the British would quit and retreat like Braddock had done in 1755. The Indians had their loot and glory so they returned home to their villages for the seasonal hunt, leaving the French to stand alone at Fort Duquesne, which they did not have troops enough to do.

For David Paisley, the Battle of Fort Ligonier was undoubtedly an experience not to be forgotten. To what extent he took part in the fighting is unknown, but he and his company were certainly there at the time. It may or may not have been his first combat. Indian skirmishers had been attacking the British all along the route to Loyalhanna and at Fort Ligonier once it had been built so he had likely been fired on before. He may even have been one of the 100 soldiers from the Pennsylvania Regiment that were with Grant at his disastrous and failed attack on Fort Duquesne in September. But it was undoubtedly the first time he had heard the thunder and roar of cannon fire for hours on end, seen death and slaughter on such a scale, and watched his companions get shot and die around him.

Fort Duquesne

General Forbes arrived at Fort Ligonier on November 2nd, bringing with him the rest of the troops and artillery, followed five days later by news that a Peace Treaty had been negotiated at Easton, Pennsylvania, on October 26th between the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the Iroquois, and the Delaware and Shawnee Indians allied with the French. Though the war continued to rage in Canada, the combination of the Easton Treaty and the withdrawal of the Indians from Fort Duquesne severely crippled the French effort in the colonies west of the Allegheny Mountains.

At first, upon the advice of a council of war and due to the lateness of the season, General Forbes decided to quit the campaign for the year and hunker down at Fort Ligonier for the winter. But gaining fresh intelligence regarding the condition of the French garrison from a captured enemy soldier, he decided instead to mount a final attack on Fort Duquesne as snow began to fall. So the army marched on November 15th, led by the Pennsylvanians. By the 22nd they were within eight miles of Duquesne, preparing to attack on the 24th, when Forbes' Indian scouts reported that a great fire was raging at the French fort. Immediately, the cavalry of Pennsylvania's Second Battalion, 50 riders led by Capt. Hambright, lit out for Fort Duquesne. They arrived to find smoldering ruins where the fort previously stood. The French had blown up the fort and fled.

There is conflicting evidence about what became of David Paisley and the rest of Capt. Eastburn's Company after the end of hostilities. Some soldiers from the Second Battalion were immediately put to work building a small fort near the ruins of Fort Duquesne. Others were sent to garrison Fort Ligonier, while half the company continued to remain in garrison at Hunter's fort and at Fort Augusta where the Return of the Augusta Garrison listed 15 men from Capt. Eastburn's Company on December 1, 1758. But the complete Return for the First and Second Pennsylvania Battalions, dated December 17th, no longer listed Capt. Eastburn's Company as one of the "12 Companies" of the Second Battalion. Where did they go?

Given that most of the volunteers for the Pennsylvania Regiment signed up for one-year tours of duty, Capt. Eastburn's men were probably still somewhere in the army as they were not to be discharged until April or May of 1759, another four or five months away.

One later, undated record listing the officers of the Regiment has the curious note next to the name of Capt. Robert Eastburn stating that he was "Prisoner at Canada." Does this refer to his capture and confinement in 1756? Or was he one of those taken prisoner either during Grant's Defeat or during the Battle of Fort Ligonier? His capture then would explain his company's absence from the Returns - his men would likely have been distributed among the other companies of the battalion. In fact, the same record does show that this is what became of Capt. Eastburn's Ensign, George Price, who was transferred to Burd's Company on March 17, 1759. At any rate, Capt. Robert Eastburn, himself, never surfaced again in the extant records of the French & Indian War, although he did turn up in 1769 as the recipient of a grant of bounty land reserved for veterans.

Peace

WHATEVER BECAME OF HIS FORMER captain, it is known that David Paisley re-enlisted in the Pennsylvania Regiment on April 22, 1759. He was given an ensign's commission, making him third in command after Lt. William Darragh, in a company raised by another neighbor from Norriton Township, Capt. Robert Curry. Other Norriton men had also volunteered to serve in Capt. Curry's Company: James Shannon; and Jacob and Josiah Supplee. As a commissioned subaltern, David was now entitled to officer's pay, £6 per month for an ensign, nearly three times what he had been paid as a private. He had proven himself as a soldier and a leader of men, and he was being rewarded for it by promotion.

Military records for 1759 are nearly non-existent, so what exactly became of David Paisley and the rest of Capt. Curry's Company that year is a mystery, other than it is known that the Pennsylvania Regiment was distributed among the frontier forts, primarily to Fort Pitt which was being constructed near the site of the destroyed Fort Duquesne, ultimately growing to ten times its size. To the extent the military effort on the frontier was reported in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, coverage related to sporadic Indian ambushes on supply convoys bound for Fort Pitt on Forbes' Road and a single attack on Fort Ligonier on July 6th. In 1759, the major theater of war was to the north in Canada and New York.

Several weeks after the attack on Fort Ligonier, the war turned decidedly in favor of the British. The French forts at Ticonderoga and Niagara were captured in late July and in September the British captured Quebec, from which the French were forced to retreat. Now abandoned by the French, the Indians ceased their attacks in western Pennsylvania. By late 1759, the provincial government in Philadelphia was mainly focused on establishing trade relations with its former Indian foes, the Delaware and Shawnee, and securing the release of the many settlers taken hostage during hostilities and held in captivity or adopted into the tribes.

In December 1759, the Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly stopped funding the military effort and disbanded the Pennsylvania Regiment, leaving only 150

men to garrison the frontier forts for several months. When a smaller regiment was again raised in April 1760, David Paisley was absent from the muster and the position of Ensign in Capt. Curry's Company was now held by James Darragh, the brother Capt. Curry's son-in-law, Lt. William Darragh, James' superior officer.

In September, the French capitulated and surrendered Canada to the British. The following month, King George II died and was succeeded by his 22-year-old grandson, George, Prince of Wales, who ruled Great Britain as King George III for the next sixty years, a period including the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

For the time being, Pennsylvania was enjoying a welcome peace and its economy was booming, feeding and supplying the troops in Canada and the continuing war effort in Europe. The port of Philadelphia was alive with activity. Produce from the surrounding countryside was in high demand. In 1757, the first full year after the start of the war, wheat was selling for 45 pence per bushel; now, at the beginning of 1760, it could fetch 66 pence, an increase of nearly 50% in three years. Prices were rising for everything, land included.

David Paisley had good reason to be optimistic about his future when he was discharged from military service in the spring of 1760. The Pennsylvania frontier now seemed secure from Indian marauders and the savings from his army pay, a potentially significant amount given that inclusive of his bounty money he had earned a total of at least £70, would have provided a tidy nest egg for setting up a household and starting a family. But where?

Immigrants

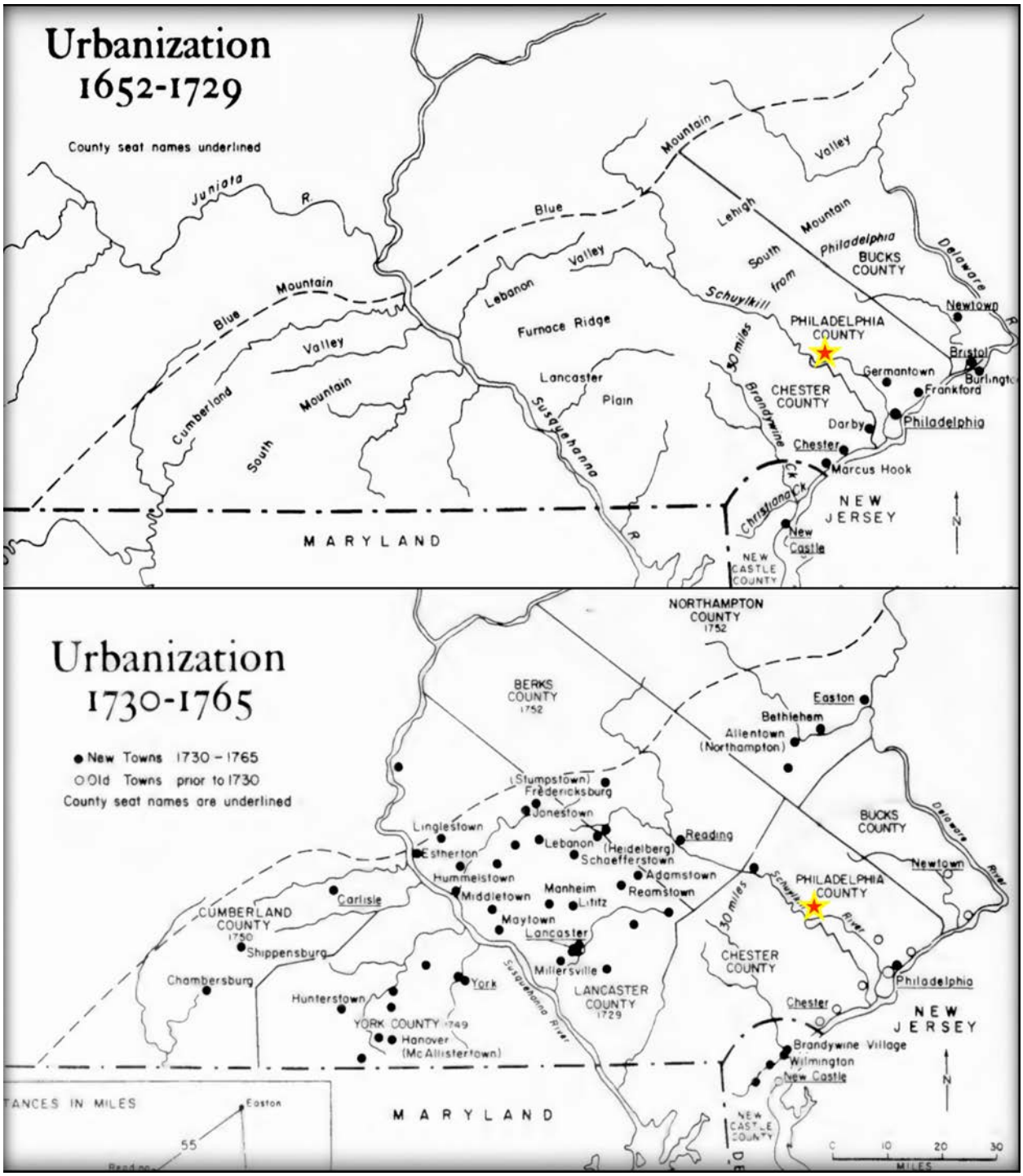
BACK HOME IN NORRITON AFTER the war, David Paisley discovered that land available for purchase was becoming increasingly scarce and expensive. Waves of German and Ulster Scot immigrants had been pouring into Pennsylvania since the late 1730s, populating the land, though not yet dramatically altering the politics of the province since only native-born or naturalized men owning at least 50 acres of land or other property worth at least £50 could vote.

The Germans tended to emigrate and settle together, forming their own German-speaking communities and even publishing their own German-language newspaper. They soon outnumbered the Quakers and far outnumbered the Ulster Scots. Germans tended to settle toward the northwest in Philadelphia, Berks and Northampton Counties, while the immigrants from Ulster tended to head southwest into Chester and Lancaster Counties and the frontier beyond.

German emigration to the province had begun in earnest in 1737. In the eight following years, ending in 1744, a total of 14,250 German immigrants landed in Pennsylvania. German immigration stalled in 1745 and 1746 with fewer than 700 arriving during those two years, but the spigot was turned on again in 1747, continuing through 1754 when the flood of immigrants abruptly ended due to reports of Indian raids along the frontier. During the eight years of 1747 through 1754, a total of 43,000 Germans came to Pennsylvania, compared to only 1,500 Germans emigrating to the province over the ensuing eight years, 1755 through 1762. Total German immigration from 1737 to 1762 was 60,000 people. Compare this to the total immigration from Ireland for the same 26-year period, approximately 28,000 people, evenly distributed at about 1,000 per year, rising in the decade after 1765 to around 1,500 annually.

To comprehend the impact of this immigration, consider that it is estimated that in 1740 the entire population of the province was just 85,000 resident colonists, growing to just under 185,000 by 1760, an increase of 100,000 people. During the 25 years bracketing that period, beginning in 1737 and ending in 1762, over 88,000 immigrants arrived and took up residence in Pennsylvania,

nearly 90% of the increase! And virtually all these people settled in the countryside beyond the city of Philadelphia. Although immigration temporarily halted at the outset of the war with France, all those immigrants arriving before the war had now spread out and taken up the available land.



Land

Between 1740 and 1760, the Norrises had slowly been selling off their sizable holdings in Norriton, taking advantage of the increasing demand as prices for their land rose from £1.10s per acre in the 1740s to £3 per acre in the 1750s and £4 per acre by the late 1760s. At one time, the patriarch of the family, Isaac Norris, had owned the entire township, nearly 7,500 acres, purchased from the founder and proprietor, William Penn in 1704. But by 1760, most of the Norris heirs had sold their holdings; all but siblings Deborah and Charles Norris who held on to their inheritances, content being landlords.

The only other large tract of land near the Paisley homestead on Indian Creek that had not yet been broken up and sold was the 5,000-acre tract owned by the Pennsylvania Land Company adjacent to the west of Norriton in Providence Township. In October and December of 1760, the Company advertised that it was going to auction off its holdings situated between Perkiomen Creek and the line separating the two townships.

The Pennsylvania Land Company, a consortium of investors in London, had also purchased its property years earlier from William Penn and held those lands ever since acquisition in 1699 as a long-term investment and for rental income, leasing to settlers moving into Providence Township beginning in the 1730s. But the Company was now winding up its affairs, divesting assets and liquidating.

The advertisement for the upcoming auction listed the tenants then occupying the Company's lands by name, including several of German descent, and nearly every tenant ended up as the successful bidder when the properties they leased came up for auction, prices averaging £1.10s per acre, less than the Norrises had been getting for their better situated land. But the Company's tracts were mostly much larger than 100 acres and nearly all the properties sold for more than £200, well out of David Paisley's reach, a result he likely anticipated from speaking with neighbors. Frustrated and unable to find land in Norriton or Providence Township, David's only option for putting down roots near family at Indian Creek was to look south across the Schuylkill River.

AWAKENING

Rev. Benjamin Chestnut

One of the Pennsylvania Land Company's tenants and successful bidders was the Rev. Benjamin Chestnut, an Englishman in the first class to graduate from the College of New Jersey, today known as Princeton. Rev. Chestnut had been ordained by the Presbyterian Church in 1751, then sent to various churches in New Jersey and Pennsylvania as a "supply" for those congregations lacking a permanent minister. During these travels, he became acquainted with the Rev. James Davenport, an evangelist who had been installed in 1754 as minister at the Maidenhead and Hopewell Presbyterian churches near Princeton, New Jersey, previously two of the churches Rev. Chestnut had supplied.

In 1756, Rev. Chestnut was offered the ministry of two of the four Presbyterian churches along the Schuylkill River beyond Philadelphia: Providence in Philadelphia County on the northern bank; and Charlestown on the southern bank in Chester County. He accepted the charge and moved to Providence Township that year, leasing 147 acres from the Pennsylvania Land Company north of the Egypt Road and adjacent to Providence Church elder, Hugh Hamilton, where the reverend and his wife carried on a boarding school less than half-a-mile from where the Paisleys lived and farmed. Two years later, he also became the minister at nearby Norriton Church. In November 1761 he purchased the property at the first of the Company's auctions for £221.

The good reverend, known as a "humdrum preacher," favored a "ponderous, white [Rambouillet] wig which [aroused] more attention [than] his preaching." Such quirks may have appealed to the more staid congregation at Norriton, but they do not seem to have endeared the reverend to his Providence congregation which was increasingly late in paying his annual salary of £44, of which he complained to the Presbytery in May 1763. The Presbytery left it to the congregation and the reverend to work things out, to no avail, and the congregation ultimately stopped paying Rev. Chestnut altogether, causing him to resign from the three churches the following year.

Churches

RELIGION AND CHURCH ATTENDANCE WERE central to people's lives in those days. Sunday was not only a day for rest and revival of the spirit, it was also a day for socializing. Most people spent the week hard at work on the farm, or "plantation," as they tended to call it, and going to church was the highlight of the week, a time to see friends and neighbors, to catch up on the latest news and gossip. But church was much more than a community gathering. The church also served as law-giver and enforcer, the minister and elders adjudicating, among others, the crimes of "slandering," "being a notorious lyer," "cheating," "being intoxicated with liquor," and "being guilty of the abominable sin of fornication."

When David Paisley's grandfather, Joseph McLean, moved to Norriton Township in October 1737, there were only two Presbyterian churches in this part of the province. The older and more established of them, the Great Valley Church, was about nine miles away on the south side of the Schuylkill River in Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, but its members were Welsh, as was their minister, Rev. David Evans. Since Rev. Evans preached in Welsh at Great Valley, it's unlikely the McLeans or Paisleys ever attended that church.

The other nearby congregation was the Norriton Church, two miles distant from the McLean's farm to the north-northeast on the Manatawney Road running west from Germantown, reachable by trail through the woods from Indian Creek. The members worshiped together in a log cabin, but had recently purchased land upon which they intended to build a stone meetinghouse. There is a record of an ancient tombstone inscribed "McLean" in the church's adjacent graveyard, indicating that Joseph McLean probably became a member of the Norriton congregation; the tombstone may even mark Joseph's grave or that of his wife.

In all probability, Will and Nellie Paisley moved from Whitemarsh to Indian Creek and attended the Norriton Church with Nellie's father and siblings in the spring of 1740. The Norriton Church, just two miles away and with a congregation of mostly Ulster Scots like themselves, was really their only option.

Had the Paisleys still been members of the Abington Church in 1740, their second son, Robert, born in September 1739, would have been baptized there by Rev. Treat and noted by him in the records of that church, as had been the case with his elder brother, David, the prior year. The absence of such a record is evidence that the Paisleys no longer attended Abington Church.

Unlike the Abington and Great Valley churches, the Norriton congregation did not have a permanent minister until 1753 and the arrival of Rev. Chestnut. Instead, the Norriton congregation had to rely on itinerant ministers sent by the Presbytery in Philadelphia to supply its needs as they were available. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is no record of Robert Paisley's baptism at the Norriton Church; there was no minister there to keep church records.

New Lights

Prior to 1740, the Presbyterian Church in America was united under the umbrella of the Synod of Philadelphia, all of its ministers following the traditions and doctrine they had carried with them across the Atlantic from Scotland and Ulster, which is also where the ordained Presbyterian ministers all came from up until that time. There were no colleges in Pennsylvania and the Synod required its ministers to have a classical education which they could only attain in Great Britain or from one of the three provincial colleges, two being in New England, known today as Harvard and Yale, a third in Virginia, William & Mary. The result of this policy was a scarcity of ministers able to fill the needs of the growing congregations in Pennsylvania.

In an attempt to solve this problem, one of the early immigrant Ulster Scot ministers, Rev. William Tennent, Sr., took in several young men for religious instruction at a log cabin next to his home where he had schooled his sons with the assistance of their elder brother, Gilbert. But an education at the "Log College," as it was derisively referred to by the Synod, was generally considered unsatisfactory for qualifying candidates for ordination. Nevertheless, Gilbert Tennent, the Log College founder's son and a graduate, was ordained by the Philadelphia Presbytery in 1727 after he received an honorary Master of Arts degree from the Collegiate School (Yale) in Connecticut.

A natural leader and powerful orator, in little more than a decade, Rev. Gilbert Tennent rose in stature sufficiently to convince the Synod to create a new presbytery in August 1738, the New Brunswick Presbytery, to include the churches under the influence of his father's Log College. Rev. Tennent's first act as leader of the New Brunswick Presbytery was to license another of his father's recent graduates, John Rowland, to preach. The Synod was not pleased and censured the Presbytery for this action which it deemed contrary to the Synod's rules, but Rev. Tennent was undeterred and sent Rowland off to supply the congregation at Maidenhead, New Jersey.

Gilbert Tennent, John Rowland, James Davenport and a number of other

ministers of the New Brunswick Presbytery developed an evangelic preaching style that entranced listeners. Their sermons called for Presbyterians to throw off the dull traditions of the old church and establish a personal relationship with God. They exhorted their parishioners to accept man's sinful nature, seek redemption and change their lives in conformity with the teachings of the bible; to seek nothing less than a spiritual conversion and rebirth.

This message resounded with the settlers on the frontier who felt they had been abandoned by the established clergy that seemed more interested in debating fine points of Scripture than saving souls. The evangelists' message lit a fire that soon turned into a conflagration. This was the beginning of a "Great Awakening" that would captivate thousands and cause a schism in the Presbyterian Church between these "New Lights" and "Old Lights" that would last nearly 20 years.

Great Awakening

In November 1739, as the Paisleys were preparing for their move to Norriton, a charismatic, itinerant preacher from England, Rev. George Whitefield, arrived in Philadelphia where he was greeted by the Tennents, father and son. Finding them to be kindred spirits, and with their help, Rev. Whitefield immediately set off to spread the Word at churches in New Jersey in the company of Rev. Gilbert Tennent and, on occasion, licentiate, John Rowland.

Benjamin Franklin, publisher of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, had whetted the appetite of his fellow Pennsylvanians for Whitefield's visit by printing reports of the celebrity the reverend enjoyed in Great Britain where he was reported to have raised a crowd of 50,000 at one of his appearances in London. And the Tennents had cleared the way for Whitefield in Pennsylvania and New Jersey by arranging for sympathetic ministers to make their pulpits available to him.

After New Jersey, Whitefield continued his tour into Pennsylvania and on November 23rd, made his way to Abington Presbyterian Church where he drew a crowd of more than 2,000 people from the countryside. It is very likely that Nellie and Will Paisley were in attendance.

After preaching at Abington, Rev. Whitefield spoke at Germantown and then in Chester County. He was then joined by William Tennent, Jr., Gilbert's brother, for a tour through the Delaware counties, before continuing south to Georgia where he intended to establish an orphanage. After several months there, Whitefield returned to Philadelphia, then went back to Abington on April 17, 1740, at the invitation of Rev. Richard Treat, where he drew a crowd of more the 3,000 people and delivered such a powerful message that Rev. Treat himself was converted. Again, it was likely Nellie and Will Paisley were there, even if they had to return the 17 miles from Norriton to attend. Many traveled greater distances to hear the famous preacher, perhaps the greatest celebrity of the time.

In company with the Tennents, Rowland and Davenport, Rev. Whitefield continued his revivals throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York for the rest of the year, before departing again for Georgia in November 1740.

By June 1741, the Synod had enough of the New Brunswick Presbytery ministers flaunting tradition, deriding the old side ministers and encroaching within the bounds of their congregations. Especially galling to the old side ministers was a sermon preached by Rev. Gilbert Tennent in Nottingham, Pennsylvania, proclaiming that ministers who had not experienced a personal conversion were not fit to preach. The result was the expulsion of the New Brunswick Presbytery from the Synod.

This schism between the Old and New filtered down into the congregations, several of which separated along the same lines. The first to split apart was the Maidenhead congregation under Rev. John Rowland, the original, Old Light members expelling him and his followers from their meeting house. As Rowland's New Lights from Maidenhead attempted to build their own church, he was sent by the Presbytery to supply the New Lights calling from Norriton and, because he also spoke Welsh, Great Valley Presbyterian Church in Chester County.

Rev. John Rowland

Rev. John Rowland's effect on the congregations of Norriton and Great Valley was the same as it had been on that of Maidenhead, the Old Lights expelled him and his followers. In both instances, Rowland and his New Lights created new churches. From the Great Valley Church in Tredyffrin Township, his followers found a place to worship in adjacent Charlestown Township. From the Norriton Church, two-thirds of the congregation left to establish a New Light church in Providence Township atop Methacton Hill on the newly-cleared Ridge Road, about a mile-and-a-half to the north of the Paisley's farmstead on Indian Creek.

In May 1742, the congregations of Providence and Charlestown sent a plea to the New Brunswick Presbytery for the installation of Rev. John Rowland as their permanent minister. The Presbytery deferred action, but directed Rowland to continue to supply both churches. In October, Providence Church Elder Hugh Hamilton attended the meeting of the New Brunswick Presbytery to personally plea for Rowland's assignment; this time it was approved. Rev. Rowland continued from that time until his death in April 1745 to serve as minister at both Providence and Charlestown.

In all probability, the Paisleys were members of the Providence Presbyterian Church from its formation in 1741 until their migration to North Carolina in the 1760s. They were certainly followers of the New Light evangelical Presbyterian ministers. Shortly after their arrival in North Carolina, Will Paisley and his son, Robert, became elders of the Alamance Presbyterian Church, a New Light congregation, the minister there noting in the church records that Will had already been ordained in Pennsylvania, meaning he had been an elder at Providence Church.

FAMILY

Hamilton

When David Paisley returned home to Norriton in early 1760, the Paisley farmstead was undoubtedly improved from its humble beginnings. Surely one or more cabins had been built from logs and stones on the property; fields cleared, fenced and producing crops of wheat, oats, rye, Indian corn and flax; meadows flush for grazing; three or four horses, half a dozen cows, a dozen sheep; perhaps even a spring house and rudimentary barn. Will Paisley, Sr., had been toiling on the property for two decades now with the help of four, or possibly five, sons. David, now returned home from the war, was 22 years old; Robert was 21; William Jr., 19; and, John, 15. Will's three daughters, Jane, 23, Margaret, 13, and Mary, 10, were old enough to cook, keep house, help with the chores and tend the dairy cow and chickens. Nellie, the children's mother, had died, it was reported, in 1750, likely either during childbirth with Mary or, perhaps, from the smallpox epidemic known to be spreading in Philadelphia that year.

Will soon remarried to Catherine Hamilton, undoubtedly a relation of his "next-door" neighbor, Hugh Hamilton. They had been married for a decade now and she was the only "mother" that John, Margaret and Mary had ever really known. The older boys, William Jr., Robert and David, had been 9, 11 and 12, respectively, when their birth-mother had died, so Catherine would have been the one that nurtured them to manhood. Since their biological grandfather, Joseph McLean, Sr., had died in 1744, they probably considered Hugh Hamilton their grandfather, their old "granda."

Rather than being Hugh's daughter, Catherine may have been the widow of one of Hugh's sons, and, if so, the mother of one or more of the Hamilton boys, John, Henry and Archibald, likely "adopted" now into the household of her new husband, Will Paisley. This seems likely, given that Archibald Hamilton and Robert Paisley, Will's second son, purchased land together in North Carolina in 1766. And the dates fit for Henry and John, too. They are buried next to each other in the old graveyard of Providence Presbyterian Church, their tombstones establishing their years of birth as 1741 and 1742, respectively. Also buried in the

same plot is “Catherine Hamilton,” born 1719, died 1763, the same year that Henry, then 21, was robbed and murdered on the road to Philadelphia. Is this the same Catherine, their mother, married to Will Paisley, but interred in her former husband’s family plot with two of her sons? Was she overcome by Henry’s violent death? The answer to these questions will likely never be known.

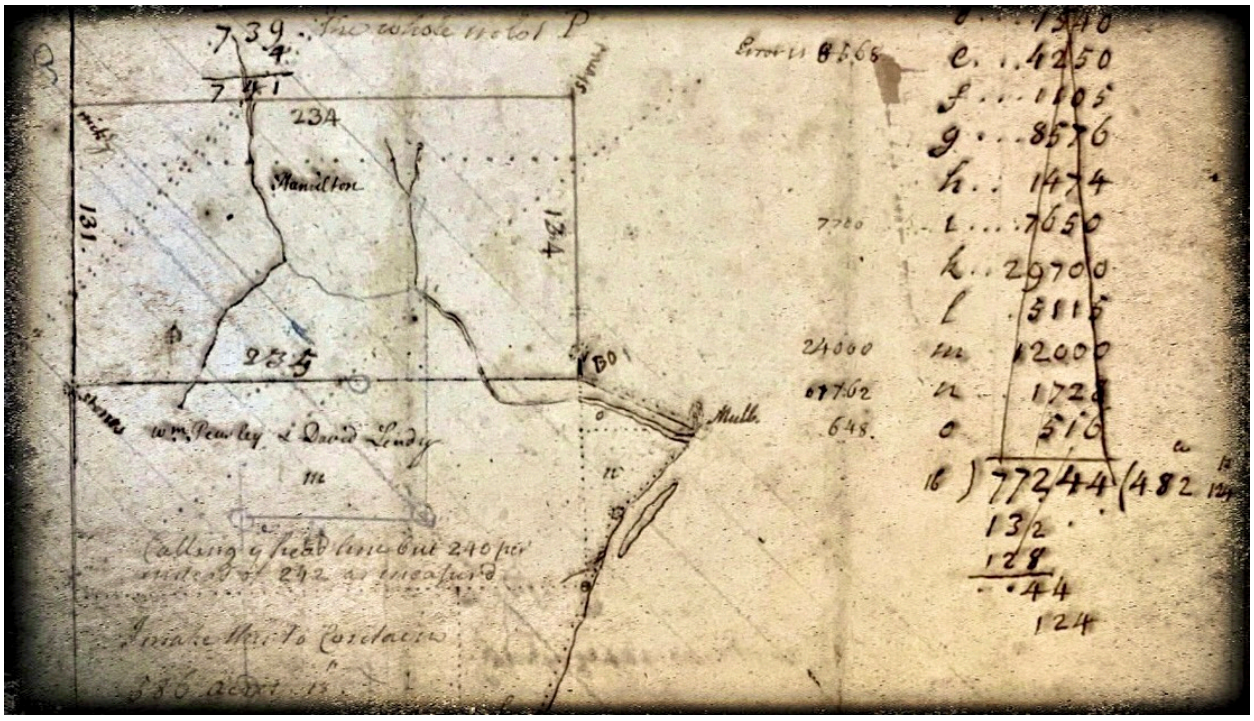
It is known with certainty, though, that Hugh Hamilton was a neighbor of the Paisleys and that both he and Will Paisley were elders of the Providence Presbyterian Church. Hamilton’s land was adjacent to the north of the Paisleys and the western boundary of both tracts was the line separating Norriton and Providence townships. Hugh kept a tavern at his house on the Egypt Road and in October 1760, “Hugh Hamilton of Norriton, ... Innkeeper,” bought Jacobs’ Tavern and 170 acres in Providence Township from Richard Jacobs for £425 and moved there.

There is no record that Hugh Hamilton obtained a tavern license for Jacobs’ Tavern in 1761, at least not in his own name. But a Samuel Paisley did obtain a tavern license in Providence that year, though there is no record of any Paisley ever owning a tavern there. Samuel Paisley could have been another son of Will Paisley, perhaps born in 1740, thus making him 21 years old in 1761 and of an age to be of assistance to his step-grandfather, Hugh Hamilton, at Jacobs’ Tavern in Providence, potentially having already learned the trade at the tavern Hugh kept adjacent to the Paisley farm at his house in Norriton. There are later records of Samuel in Norriton Township in 1769 as a “freeman,” that is, single, but landless, and in 1770, elected Constable of the township, a post that a gregarious tavern keeper would be well suited for.

Landy

THE FARM OF WILL PAISLEY is estimated to have been 200 acres in land area, based on the rent he paid to Deborah Norris, his landlord, who lived in Philadelphia near the new State House in the household of her brother, Charles, now the owner of the Norriton Mill. The Norris family had been one of the wealthiest and most politically powerful families in Philadelphia for more than 50 years. In 1760, the family sat atop Pennsylvania's political pyramid with Isaac Norris II, the elder brother of Deborah and Charles, holding the office of Speaker of the Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly, a post he had held since 1750.

According to the map used by the Norrises to keep track of their holdings in Norriton, Will had originally leased this property as virgin forest with David Landy, his brother-in-law, the husband of Will's sister, Mary, most likely in 1740.



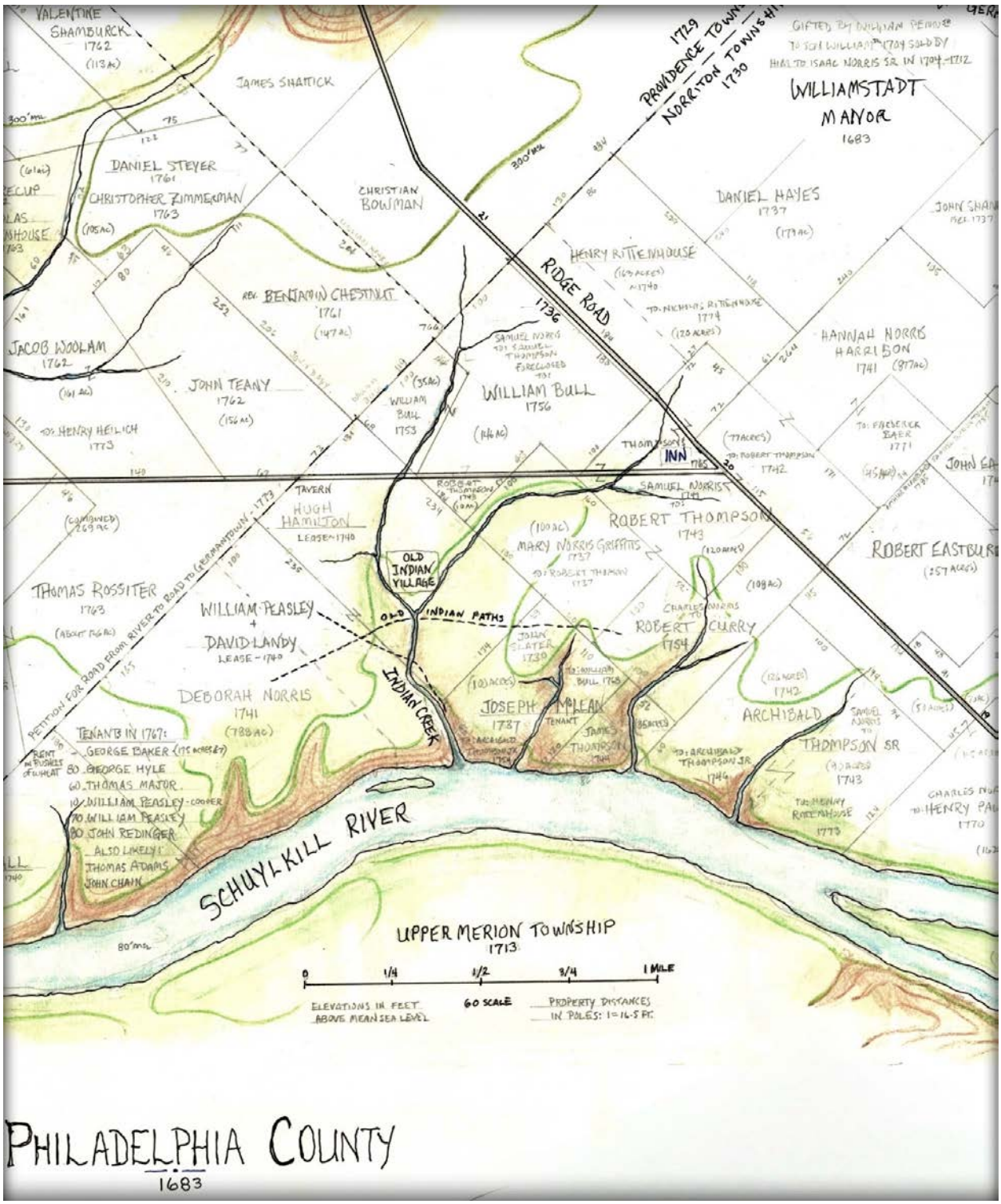
David Landy and Mary "Peasley" had been married in March 1737 in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, shortly after she and Will had emigrated to

Pennsylvania with the McLeans, most likely in September 1736. Their ship likely departed from Londonderry in Ulster, Ireland, possibly stopping in New Castle in the Lower Counties on the Delaware to disembark indentured servants before ending their journey in Philadelphia in late November. Since no Landys have been located in the records of Pennsylvania prior to their landing in Philadelphia, it would appear that David Landy was also a passenger on the ship.

Although he was shown on the Norrises' map to be a co-tenant with Will on Deborah Norris' land, David Landy, a cordwainer (shoemaker) by trade, did not stay in Norriton to farm; perhaps he had merely been a guarantor of the lease. Instead, in 1741 he purchased 50 acres of land three miles to the south in Upper Merion Township on the other side of the Schuylkill River, part of a 600-acre tract originally owned by Isaac Norris I abutting the "Welsh Tract" in Chester County. The southern boundary of this 50 acres was the line separating Upper Merion Township, Philadelphia County, from Tredyffrin Township, Chester County. By 1745, David and Mary (*née* Paisley) Landy were living there, as evidenced by a petition David signed that year in opposition to construction of a new road to connect to the Gulph Road that ran near his property.

Things apparently did not go according to plan for the Landys. In 1752, they sold their 50 acres in Upper Merion to Joseph McLean, Jr., for £64 and moved back north across the Schuylkill River to Providence Township. Perhaps David Landy was in poor health or injured, necessitating the need to be closer to relatives for support and care, given that he died just four years later, leaving his estate to his widow and their only daughter, Jane, then 14 years old.

David Landy's will, dated October 26, 1756, connects together in a single document four men important to this narrative, evidencing their close proximity to one another. First, of course, is David Landy, himself, the testator. The other three were the witnesses to his will: 1) Rev. Benjamin Chestnut, Landy's minister; 2) Will Paisley, Sr., Landy's brother-in-law; and, 3) Thomas Major, Will's neighbor and brother-in-law. Will Paisley, it will be recalled, was married to Nellie McLean and Thomas Major was the husband of Margaret McLean, Nellie's sister. Their brother - and, consequently, David Paisley's uncle - was Joseph McLean, Jr., the purchaser of the Landy's 50-acre farmstead in Upper Merion.


VALENTINE SHAMBURCK 1762 (113 AC)
JAMES SHATTICK
DANIEL STEYER 1761
CHRISTOPHER ZIMMERMAN 1763 (105 AC)
CHRISTIAN BOWMAN
REV. BENJAMIN CHESTNUT 1761 (147 AC)
JACOB WOOLAM 1762 (161 AC)
JOHN TEANY 1762 (156 AC)
TO: HENRY HEILICH 1773
WILLIAM BULL 1753 (35 AC)
WILLIAM BULL 1756 (146 AC)
SAMUEL NORRIS TO THOMPSON FORECLOSED 1751
1729 PROVIDENCE TOWNSHIP — NORRITON TOWNSHIP 1730
GIFTED BY WILLIAM PENN TO SON WILLIAM IN 1704 SOLD BY HEIR TO ISAAC NORRIS SR IN 1704-1712
WILLIAMSTADT MANOR 1683
DANIEL HAYES 1737 (179 AC)
HENRY RITTENHOUSE (163 ACRES) 1740
TO: NICHOLAS RITTENHOUSE 1774 (120 ACRES)
RIDGE ROAD
1736
HANNAH NORRIS HARRISON 1741 (817 AC)
TO: FREDERICK BAKER 1771
THOMPSON'S INN 1785
TO: ROBERT THOMPSON 1742
SAMUEL NORRIS 1741
ROBERT THOMPSON 1743 (100 AC)
MARY NORRIS GRIFFITS 1737
TO: ROBERT THOMPSON 1737
ROBERT EASTBURN (257 ACRES)
TAVERN
HUGH HAMILTON LEASE 1740
OLD INDIAN VILLAGE
OLD INDIAN PATHS
THOMAS ROSSITER 1763 (ABOUT 156 AC)
WILLIAM PEASLEY & DAVID LANDY LEASE - 1760
PETITION FOR ROAD FROM RIVER TO ROAD TO GERMANTOWN - 1773
DEBORAH NORRIS 1741 (788 AC)
INDIAN CREEK
JOHN SLATER 1730
TO: WILLIAM BULL 1745
JOSEPH TYLEE 1737 TENANT
JAMES THOMPSON 1744
TO: ARCHIBALD THOMPSON JR 1744
ROBERT CURRY 1754
CHARLES NORRIS
ARCHIBALD THOMPSON SR 1743
SAMUEL NORRIS TO THOMPSON SR 1743
TO: HENRY RITTENHOUSE 1773
CHARLES NORRIS TO HENRY PAUL 1770
TENANTS IN 1767:
GEORGE BAKER (175 ACRES)
80 GEORGE HYLE
60 THOMAS MAJOR
100 WILLIAM PEASLEY - COOPER
70 WILLIAM PEASLEY
80 JOHN REDINGER
ALSO LIKELY:
THOMAS ADAMS
JOHN CHAIN
RENT IN BUSHELS OF WHEAT
SCHUYLKILL RIVER
UPPER MERION TOWNSHIP 1713
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 MILE
ELEVATIONS IN FEET ABOVE MEAN SEA LEVEL
60 SCALE
PROPERTY DISTANCES IN POLES: 1 = 16.5 FT.
PHILADELPHIA COUNTY
1683

McLean

JOSEPH MCLEAN, JR., SPENT HIS teen years on Indian Creek helping his father farm the former Slater homestead when his nephew, David Paisley, was still an infant. The Norrises' land holdings map and an earlier survey clearly show the property, formerly under lease to John Slater and assigned in October 1737 to Joseph McLean, Sr., as being just under 100 acres, bounded: on the south by the Schuylkill River; on the west by Indian Creek (and, on the other side of the creek, by the lands of Deborah Norris leased to Will Paisley and Hugh Hamilton); and, on the north and east by lands owned by other Norris heirs, Deborah's sister, Mary Norris Griffitts, and their brother, Samuel Norris, Esq.

Just before Joseph McLean, Sr., took over the Slater leasehold, the Norrises sold 126 acres to the east of the Slater property to Archibald Thompson, Sr., and leased 100 acres to the north to Archibald's son, Robert, upon which they each built log cabins. Other than Slater's widow, the Thompsons were the only people living anywhere near the mouth of Indian Creek when the McLeans and Paisleys

arrived in 1737 and 1740, respectively.

The 100 acres leased by McLean had been surveyed in 1730 when Slater originally leased it from the Norrises. The survey shows that there were two springs on the land that flowed into each other and then into the Schuylkill, creating a ravine through the middle of the property which sat on a bluff overlooking the river. Years later, in 1788, the property was described by a subsequent owner this way:

> "There is on this place a log house and barn, the ploughland is good, near 80 acres of excellent woodland, there is three acres of meadow, with the advantage of water to make a very considerable quantity more. This plantation has the advantage of a shad fishery, supposed superior to any on the Schuylkill for many miles."

Joseph McLean, Sr., was only able to farm and live on this land for five years before going into arrears on his rent, just as Slater had done, and being sued in November 1742 by the Norrises to recover on the £25 bond Joseph had given them to secure his purchase of Slater's rights. It seems that regardless of McLean's and Slater's farming skills, the property was never very productive, probably due to its topography, nor was much of it ever cleared of timber and farmed, apparently a mere 15 acres. Joseph's brother, Archibald "McClean," came to the rescue and paid off Joseph's bond and settled the lawsuit. He was likely a surety on the bond.

Joseph McLean, Sr., packed up his farming implements and furniture and moved south across the Schuylkill, then a little west to Pikeland Township in Chester County, with his wife, Mary, and their four children still in the household: eldest son, John, 20; second son, Joseph Jr., about 19 years old who has already been mentioned; and younger daughters, Mary Jr. and Isabella. Their eldest daughters, Margaret and Nellie, were married and living with their husbands, Thomas Major and Will Paisley, on Indian Creek in Norriton Township. Joseph Sr. made another go at farming in Pikeland, but died intestate just two years later in September 1744.

After their father's death, the McLean children and their widowed mother, unable to continue the farm in Pikeland, must have returned to Indian Creek. As

discussed above, son, Joseph Jr., bought David Landy's 50-acre farm in Upper Merion in 1752 when he was 27. He moved there after marrying his neighbor from Norriton, Nancy Marshall.

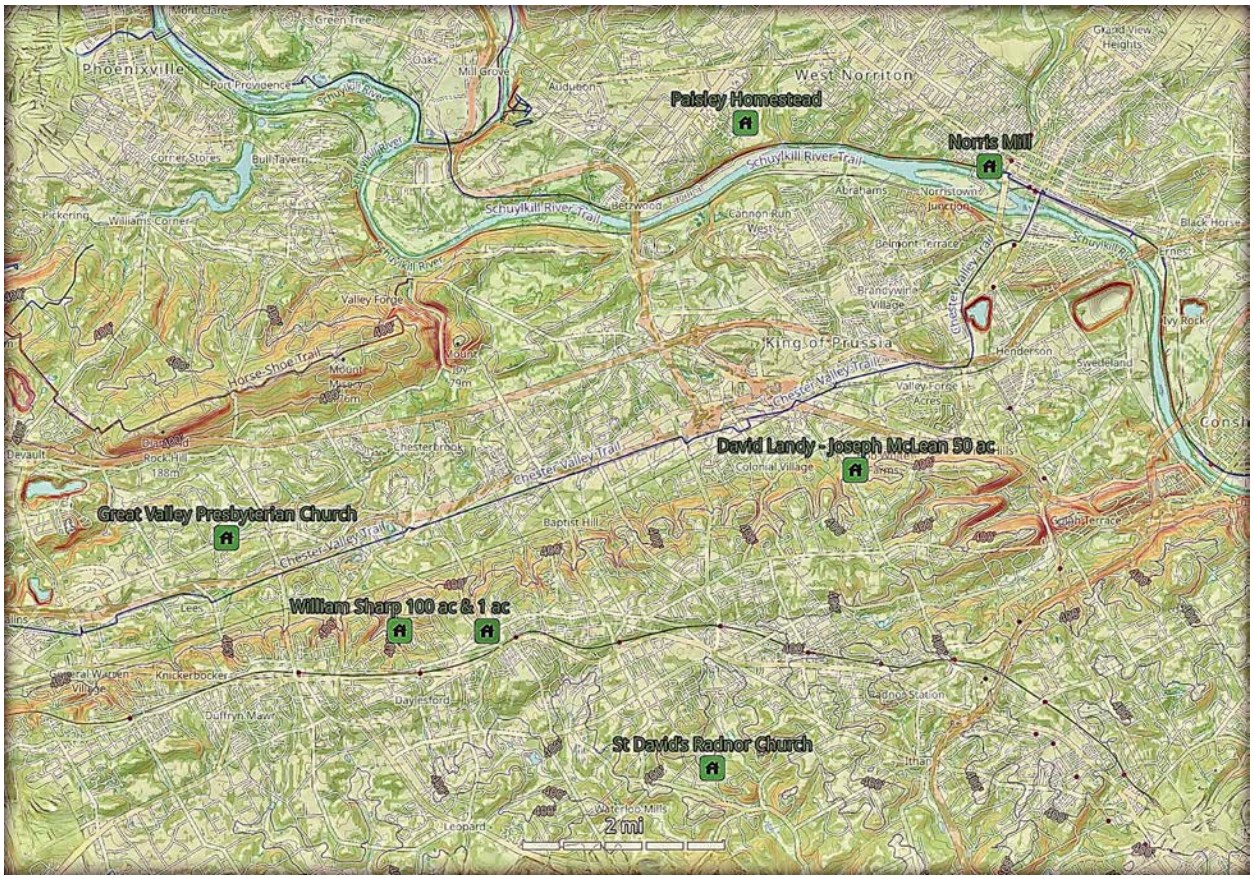
Joseph Jr.'s older brother, John, married Nancy's sister, Jane Marshall, and moved to North Carolina. It has been asserted that little sister, Isabella, also moved to the Carolinas.

Their sister, Mary Jr., married a neighbor of the Paisleys in Norriton, Thomas Adams, around 1747 and they remained in Norriton the rest of their lives. Thomas died there in 1775 with an estate valued at £220; he was buried in the Providence Church graveyard. The executors of his will were his widow, Mary Jr., and her neighbor and brother-in-law, Thomas Major, husband of her eldest sister, Margaret.

It should be apparent by now that the Paisleys, McLeans, Landys, Majors, Hamiltons, Marshalls and Adamses were tightly bound together as an extended, intermarried and inter-dependent family. This was the norm in those years, a time when people rarely traveled during their lifetime more than a few miles from home, except when they migrated in search of opportunity for their growing clan, and then they usually all moved together.

Sharp

DAVID PAISLEY MOST LIKELY LEARNED the cooper's trade as a teenager apprenticed to William Sharp in nearby Tredyffrin Township. Sharp was a yeoman farmer, who, like many of his neighbors, supplemented his income by conducting a trade on his farm, 100 acres nestled in the hills forming the southern edge of the Great Valley of Chester County on a branch of Valley Creek. Sharp's farm was six miles south of where the Paisleys and McLeans had settled in Norriton Township, Philadelphia County.



Like the Paisleys and McLeans, William Sharp was an early Ulster Scot immigrant, arriving in Pennsylvania sometime before 1740. Unlike the Paisleys and McLeans, however, he was not Presbyterian; he was Anglican.

It was not uncommon for coopers in those days to travel to their customers to make repairs and take orders for new work they would deliver on their next visit. Farmers like the Paisleys needed tubs, churns and buckets; millers and brewers needed kegs, barrels and pipes. It was probably while making a circuit of his customers that cooper, William Sharp, stopped at the Paisley plantation and agreed with Will Paisley to take on his eldest son, David, as his apprentice.

An apprentice was expected to train and work under a master craftsman for five to seven years, typically until turning 21. He would also live in his master's household and help around the master's farm. Thus, when David joined Capt. Eastburn's Company at the age of 19 and went off to fight the French and Indians in May 1758, Sharp probably expected him to return after his military service was over to complete his apprenticeship. After all, a master's consent to his apprentice's enlistment was required by law.

Meanwhile, to fill the vacancy left by his departure, David's younger brother, William Paisley, Jr., may have taken David's place as Sharp's apprentice, given that subsequent records establish that he, too, became a cooper. Since William Jr. would have been 16 in 1758 when he likely began his apprenticeship, he would have been expected to work in Sharp's cooperage and live in Sharp's household until he, likewise, turned 21 in December 1762. Since William Jr. would have been needed at home for the harvest, his apprenticeship may have been limited to the winter months.

An advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in August 1765 noted that Sharp then had "Wheat and Rye in the Stack, Oats and Hay in [the] Stack, [and] Indian Corn in the Ground." The plantation, itself, was described as

> "having a square Log-house, with a Stone Gable End, with 2 Orchards of Vandevier and other Sorts of Apples, with 8 Acres of watered Meadow; the Upland in tolerable Order, being near to the Great Valley, where the Premises may be manured with great Ease, and small Expence, by liming of it."

When the property was added to the National Register of Historic Places Inventory in 1973, the original house was described as being 24 feet by 20 feet and having two stories, the ground floor being stone (shale) and the second being built of round logs.

In addition to the farm, Sharp also owned a one-acre lot at the intersection of nearby Conestoga Road, the heavily traveled way between Philadelphia and Lancaster, and the Valley Road that ran north to several mills and a foundry on Valley Creek near its confluence with the Schuylkill River. While this property may have been used in conjunction with Sharp's cooperage (the advertisement described it as "suitable for a Tradesman or Shopkeeper"), all or most of the work was probably conducted at Sharp's plantation.

Sharp's farm was ideally located for a cooperage. He could deliver casks to his mill customers by floating them down Valley Creek; or, he could deliver tubs and pails to local farmers or staves to merchants in Philadelphia by cart or wagon via the Conestoga and Valley Roads. He also had a ready customer on the Conestoga Road, the owner of the Halfway House tavern, so-named because of its location halfway between the two nearest Anglican churches, St. Peter's and St. David's, the church the Sharps attended.

William Sharp and his wife, Mary (*née* Malloby), had four children, two sons and two daughters, all close in age to David Paisley and his siblings. The Sharps' eldest son, John, returned to Ireland when he came of age. Their second son, Thomas, about two years younger than David, remained at home helping on the farm and, like David, apprenticed to be a cooper under his father's tutelage. The Sharps' daughters, Margaret and Mary Jr., were both unmarried and living at home while David lived in the Sharp household during his apprenticeship.

Upon the successful completion of his training, an apprentice became a journeyman, able to go into business for himself should he not continue with his master as a paid craftsman. A journeyman could also take on apprentices of his own.

Since apprentices normally lived in their master's household, it was not uncommon for an apprentice to end up marrying one of the master's daughters, which is what happened between David and Sharp's eldest daughter. Margaret Sharp and David Paisley were most likely married in 1760 in Tredyffrin, shortly after David returned home from the war. David was certainly married by December 1760 when he was assessed as an "inmate" in Tredyffrin Township for the County Tax ordered to be raised there in 1761. An "inmate" is a married man,

living either in the household of someone else or as a cottager on the land of another.

Also assessed on that tax roll were William Sharp, as a head of household, and Thomas Sharp, a "freeman." The freeman designation related to landless males having reached the age of 21 that were living in the household of someone else, often a parent, but occasionally an employer. In Thomas Sharp's case, it was both.

Apprentices and those under 21 are were not listed separately on the tax rolls. For tax purposes, they were considered to be part of the master's family. Thus, as an apprentice, William Paisley, Jr., would not have appeared on the rolls in 1760 or 1761. The fact that David Paisley *was* listed on the tax roll in December 1760 indicates that he was no longer an apprentice, likely completing his training and having become a journeyman cooper while serving in the military during Forbes' campaign.

Ringing in the New Year together in January 1761 at the Sharp's farm would, therefore, have been: William Sharp; his wife, Mary; their son and daughters, Thomas, Mary Jr., and Margaret; and two Paisleys, Margaret's husband, David, and his brother, William Jr. The men all worked together in Sharp's cooperage: William Sharp, master cooper; his son, Thomas, and son-in-law, David Paisley, journeymen; and William Paisley, Jr., apprentice. Such was the state of affairs throughout 1761 and 1762, but change was in the offing.

Dilly

EVER SINCE THE PAISLEYS FIRST moved to Norriton, it had been relatively easy to travel back and forth between Tredyffrin and Norriton townships. Rudimentary roads connecting the two townships had been blazed by 1735. From Tredyffrin on the south side of the Schuylkill, both the Gulph and Baptist Roads led north to Fatland Ford and across the river. From the north bank of the Schuylkill, an old Indian trail could be followed east from the ford along the river to Indian Creek and the Paisley homestead, a distance of less than three miles from the Tredyffrin township line, a little over a mile in a direct line.

Alternatively, a shorter trail could be taken due north from Fatland Ford to the Egypt Road and from there to the Ridge Road, a distance of five miles from the township line. Norriton Mill and Providence Presbyterian Church were each on the Ridge Road about two miles from the intersection of the Egypt and Ridge Roads, in opposite directions.

This latter route, along the Egypt Road, is undoubtedly the path followed by Rev. Chestnut as he rode horseback to preach in Chester County to his congregation at Charlestown Church. It's also the route most likely followed by William Paisley, Jr., in the opposite direction went he went a'calling to Rev. Chestnut's house.

William Paisley, Jr., met and courted one of Rev. Chestnut's student boarders, "Dilly" Paine, most likely when he was home in Norriton to attend church at Providence Presbyterian where his father was an elder and Rev. Chestnut was the minister. William Jr. would not have attended church with the Sharps in Tredyffrin because they were Anglicans.

Dilly was then about 15 or 16 years old. She had been sent to Rev. Chestnut's boarding school near Indian Creek, most likely on the deathbed request of Rev. James Davenport, Rev. Chestnut's acquaintance and co-religionist from New Jersey. In his youth, Rev. Davenport had been an evangelical firebrand, but he mellowed with time. He was known to have an affinity for the Indians, always engaging them and seeking to add them to his flock.

It is well established that "little Dilly" had been rescued by Rev. Davenport from the Indians while he was the minister at Maidenhead and Hopewell near Princeton, about 45 miles up the Delaware River from Philadelphia, which would have been sometime between November 1754 and Rev. Davenport's death three years later. These, of course, were the years that Delaware and Shawnee Indians were plundering Pennsylvania's western frontier at the outset of the French & Indian War.

The story that was told is that Indians appeared in Princeton with the little girl in tow, but running low on provisions, they traded her to Rev. Davenport for "a loaf of bread and a bottle of rum." It was said she had no recollection of her parents and "never spoke of her captivity," but everyone believed that her parents had both been killed by the Indians and she had been taken captive. Rev. Davenport took her in as his charge, naming her "Deliverance Paine," her surname being his wife's maiden name, her forename to commemorate the fact she had been delivered from captivity.

The likelihood is that Dilly's parents were German settlers from nearby Northampton County and that they had been attacked and killed in 1756 when the raiding parties were everywhere in that part of the province, murdering and scalping, in particular, the passive German Moravians around Bethlehem. This would explain why Dilly, though old enough to remember what had happened, didn't initially speak of her captivity. She probably didn't speak much at all. English was likely not her native tongue.

Dilly lived and went to school in New Jersey for a few years, long enough to be remembered years later by her teachers and time enough to have developed a close relationship with Rev. Davenport's wife, whom she visited from North Carolina many miles and years later. Likely with some regret, the widow Davenport sent Dilly off to Rev. Chestnut's boarding school in Pennsylvania, when she moved in with her daughter and her daughter's new gentleman husband after his graduation from the College of New Jersey at Princeton in 1760. Rev. Chestnut's school was less than a half-mile from the Paisley's farm.

William Paisley, Jr., was still single at Christmastime 1762 when he turned 21, living in Tredyffrin Township in the Sharp household where he was assessed as a

freeman for the provincial tax levy for 1763. But the Provincial Court later discounted that tax when it was shown on September 1, 1763, that William Jr. was no longer in Chester County. He had completed his apprenticeship and he and Dilly had gone to Philadelphia County to obtain a marriage license, issued to them by the Pennsylvania Governor on September 20th. They had to go to Philadelphia because Rev. Chestnut would not marry them in Norriton, purportedly because they refused to publish their banns of matrimony, that is, they refused to seek the consent of their Providence Church congregation.

Given that Rev. Chestnut was then in the process of attempting to recover his back pay from that very same congregation under threat of resignation, there may have been more going on at the time than meets the eye. Recall that Will Paisley, Sr., and Hugh Hamilton were elders of Providence Church. William Jr. and Dilly may have simply been unwitting pawns in a game being played by the good reverend and his flock. Or it may be that Rev. Chestnut considered himself not only Dilly's teacher and pastor, but also her guardian. After all, she had been sent from New Jersey to board with him by the widow of his friend, Rev. Davenport. Perhaps he felt that without widow Davenport's consent, he could not permit the marriage, and she resided miles away at Princeton. But, then, Widow Davenport wasn't really her parent and he wasn't really her guardian.

Whatever the case, Rev. Chestnut did not perform the wedding and William Jr. and Dilly eloped to Philadelphia where they were married in November 1763 by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent at the Second Presbyterian Church where he was minister. Rev. Tennent did not seem too concerned about them not publishing their banns of matrimony; they weren't even members of his congregation.

William Paisley, Jr., was a journeyman cooper now and had no need to return to William Sharp's cooperage. Instead, in 1764 he and Dilly moved to adjacent Charlestown Township, Chester County where William Jr. was a cottager working as needed on the farm of his landlord while contracting out his labor to others as a cooper or farmhand. William Jr.'s landlord may have been his brother-in-law, John White, married to William Jr.'s eldest sister, Jane, given that they were all in Charlestown in December 1764, as evidenced by William Jr. and John each being assessed there at that time for the 1765 Provincial tax levy.

TURMOIL

Pontiac

The treaty negotiated with the Indians at Easton in October 1758 that brought an end to hostilities on the Pennsylvania frontier included a promise that the British would stop the settlers' encroachment into Indian territory west of the Allegheny Mountains. This was critical to the western Indians, especially given that a road suitable for wagon traffic, Forbes' Road, had now been constructed from the towns of eastern Pennsylvania all the way to the Ohio Valley.

It was also of great concern to the Indians that the British had so quickly built Fort Pitt at the Forks of the Ohio in 1759 and that the fort grew larger every day; a town of more than 100 houses had sprung up there that the white men were calling Pittsburgh. These were not signs of a British intent to live up to their promise to halt and, indeed, reverse, settlement on western Indian lands.

General Forbes had been ill throughout the campaign in 1758 and died shortly after his return to Philadelphia in the spring of 1759, likely from stomach cancer. Now fully in charge of British forces in America was Forbes' commander, Lt. Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, a man with little regard for the Indians and no obvious diplomatic skill.

Amherst's view was that the Indians were a conquered people. He thus instituted military rule in the occupied Indian territories and canceled the policy of giving the Indians "presents," that is, trade goods, believing it to be a waste of money. But with the French now gone from the Ohio Valley, and the fur trade drying up, the Indians living there had no way to obtain the European-made goods they now depended upon for sustenance. Items such as gunpowder, rifles, knives, iron pots and the like. Their only source was a handful of Pennsylvania traders licensed by the governor in Philadelphia. By the beginning of 1763, the Indians were becoming concerned, and a little desperate.

In Europe, the signing of the Treaty of Paris in February 1763 brought the Great War for Empire between Great Britain and France to a close, with the British victorious. The treaty ceded Canada and all French territory in North America east of the Mississippi River to the British.

But fed up with Amherst's oppressive policies in North America, a rebellious Ottawa chieftain known as Pontiac rallied various tribes around the Great Lakes. They attacked the British military post at Detroit on Lake Michigan in May 1763 in an effort to drive the British out of the western territories. After capturing several other small British forts, he then encouraged the Indians in the Ohio Valley to join him and to renew their raids along the Pennsylvania frontier. Accordingly, the Delaware and Shawnee, together with a few other western tribes, laid siege to Fort Pitt in June 1763.

At the time, smallpox was a problem in the fort due to its crowded conditions, and, in what may be one of the first recorded instances of biological warfare, at a parley, the commander of the fort made a peace offering to the besieging Indians of several blankets that, unbeknownst to the Indians, had been exposed to the disease. Whether this had the intended effect or not is unknown, but smallpox was spreading among the western tribes that year and the next. It was prevalent in Philadelphia in 1763, as well, where a number of neutral, eastern Delaware Indians had fled for shelter from frontiersmen who now looked at every Indian as an enemy.

Amherst was summoned back to England to explain why the Indians were on the warpath again and Gen. Thomas Gage took over as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. Learning of the Indians' complaints, King George III issued a Proclamation on October 7, 1763, forbidding both settlement and sale of "any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantick Ocean from the West and North-West, or upon any Lands whatever, ... not having been ceded to, or purchased by Us," concluding that, such lands "are reserved to the said Indians...." This "Royal Proclamation Line of 1763," as it came to be known, effectively ran along the ridge of the Appalachian and Allegheny Mountains. Unfortunately, in those days of sail, it took a while for news of the king's Proclamation to reach the American colonies. It wasn't until December 8th that the Proclamation was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

Meanwhile, hostilities had intensified. In August 1763, a column of Lt. Col. Bouquet's Royal Americans and Highlanders on its way from Carlisle to the relief of besieged Fort Pitt was attacked by a band of Delaware, Shawnee, Mingo

and Huron warriors. This "Battle of Bushy Run" ended with about 50 casualties on each side, but neither was victorious. After the battle, Bouquet continued to Fort Pitt where he took over command. He subsequently launched an offensive from that fort into Indian territory, taking the war to the enemy.

Settlers were again being attacked and killed along the Pennsylvania frontier, and, once again, the provincial assembly failed to come to their defense. This time, however, the frontiersmen were not going to wait idly by for the assembly to act. Instead, in December 1763, they took up arms and went on the offensive, hunting down and murdering any Indians they could find. Unfortunately, they did not discriminate, killing a number of peaceful Delaware Indians in Lancaster County, including women and children, that had been converted to Christianity by the Moravians.

Named for the village in western Pennsylvania from which they came, these "Paxton Boys" then marched on Philadelphia in February 1764 to hunt Christian Indians that sought sanctuary there and to press their demands with the assembly. The Paxton Boys wanted the frontier counties to have greater representation in the government of the province. They also demanded an end to trade with the Indians and for the "savages," whom they considered the enemy, to be expelled from the province. They halted in Germantown when they learned that a force from Philadelphia was coming to confront them, and Benjamin Franklin and Rev. Gilbert Tennent were sent by the assembly to negotiate with them there. On February 7th, the Paxton Boys agreed to disburse and submit their grievances to the assembly in writing. As the assembly considered what to do, the conflict on the frontier continued.

Murder

THE WINTER OF 1763 WAS obviously a very dangerous and violent time in the countryside outside of Philadelphia. All sorts of armed men were wandering the roads and backcountry lanes: army deserters; active military troops; marauding Indians; vigilantes like the Paxton Boys; discharged, diseased and wounded soldiers; fleeing Indians; and, any number of vagrants, rogues and ruffians. As mentioned previously, one of these scoundrels had taken the life of a member of the extended Paisley clan, 21-year-old Henry Hamilton.

On November 24th, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published a proclamation issued by then-Governor John Penn, that read:

> "WHEREAS, Information hath been made to me, not only that divers Attempts have of late been made to rob, but that several Robberies have been actually committed on His Majesty's Subjects, traveling on the Highways, near the City of Philadelphia, by Persons unknown, one of which Robberies was committed on Saturday last [November 19, 1763], on the Wissahiccon Road, and was accompanied with the Murder of Henry Hamilton, the Person robbed, to the great Terror and Annoyance of the said Subjects, ... I HAVE therefore thought fit, with the Advice of the Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby offering a Reward of TWO HUNDRED POUNDS to any Person or Persons, who shall make known, and cause to be apprehended, all or any of the Persons, who were concerned as Perpetrators or Accomplices, in the Robbery and Murder of the said Henry Hamilton; ...."

In a footnote, it was added: "The above Robbery and Murder was committed between the Hours of One and Two in the Afternoon, by a middle sized Man, who wore a light colored Coat, and had black Hair, or a Wig." Publication of this proclamation and reward continued for the next four weeks.

Undoubtedly, the entire extended Paisley clan gathered together shortly thereafter at the Providence Presbyterian Church for Henry's burial service. Somber discussions most likely took place concerning the family's future.

Things seemed dreadfully out of control and now the chaos had directly

impacted them by the taking of one of their own. The Indian raids had resumed and were continuing on the frontier. Would they never end? Would the savages fight to the last man? The provincial assembly was in disarray. The government of the province seemed completely inept and incompetent. Smallpox was being spread everywhere by the soldiers returning from the field. Rev. Chestnut had threatened to abandon his congregations. Who would replace him as their minister? Land was so expensive now there seemed no possibility for the young men of the family to ever own their own farms. The family didn't own any land in Norriton as it was, so there was nothing tying them to this place other than kin. The war with the French was over. Would that affect the market for the wheat they grew and sold in Philadelphia? And recently there had been rumors that the British Parliament might soon impose taxes to raise money to pay off the war debt, thereby putting the financial burden of the British military adventures in Canada onto the shoulders of the colonists, raising the ire of rich merchants in Philadelphia. Who knew what they might do?

Maybe it was time to think about leaving Pennsylvania for other more peaceful pastures.

Bounty Land

British military spending in the American colonies from the time of Braddock's failed expedition in 1755 through the fall of Quebec in 1760 created a booming wartime economy in the middle provinces, particularly in Pennsylvania and its commercial hub, Philadelphia. During the war, British regular troops had to be housed, fed, clothed and provisioned, which injected specie from Great Britain into the colonial economy, that is, highly sought-after gold and silver coinage, the lubricant of commerce.

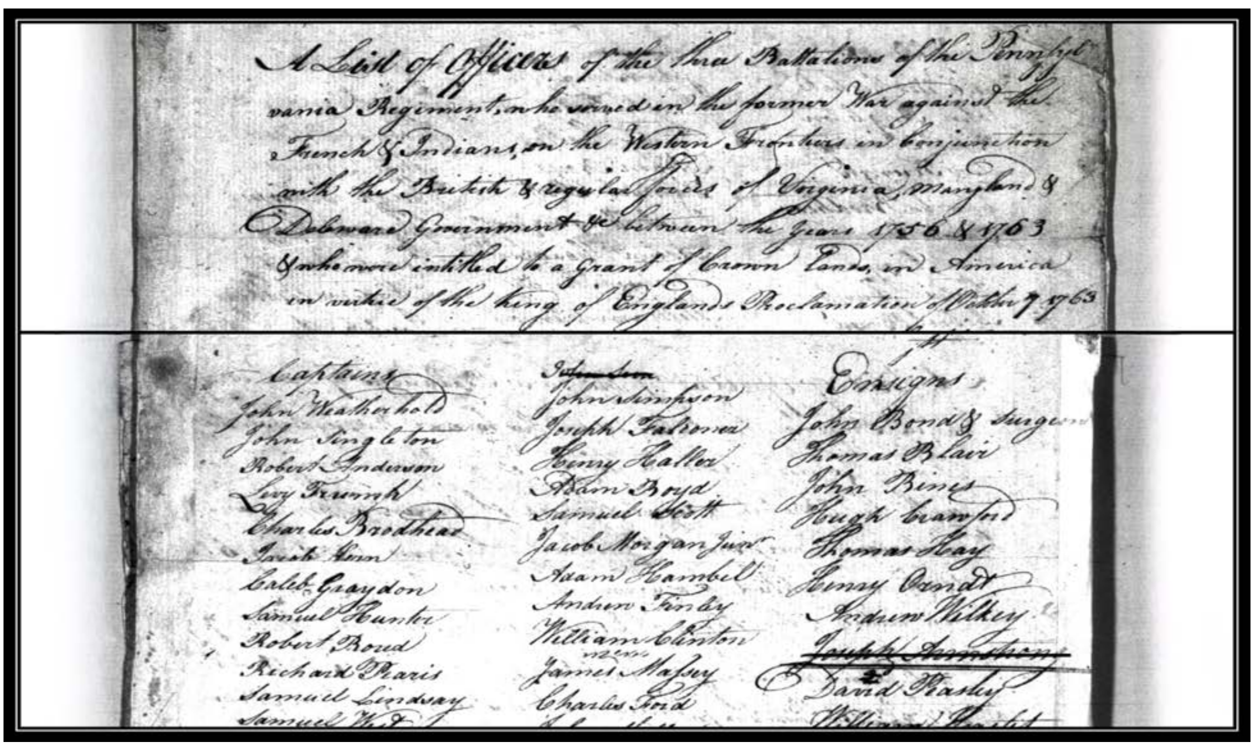
After the French surrender of Canada, many British soldiers were transferred from North American to the West Indies to fight the Spanish in 1762 when they entered the war on the side of their failing Bourbon cousins. With most British troops gone, demand in America for both colonial produce and British manufactured items declined precipitously. In Philadelphia, merchants found themselves over-stocked with English goods purchased on credit from London. Many went into default, resulting in a credit crisis in England and the colonies, followed by declining prices for both imports and exports. Farming became less profitable and many merchants faced bankruptcy.

Although trade in goods slowed after the war, ships still sailed, but the holds of many ships inbound to the colonies from Great Britain were now loaded with human cargo as immigration from Ireland and Germany resumed. Upon landing, these new immigrants found little opportunity in and around Philadelphia, given the depressed state of the economy, so they headed west to the Allegheny Mountains, the boundary set by the Royal Proclamation. As the western Pennsylvania counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland were taken up, settlers flowed south into the piedmont of Maryland and Virginia.

On the final day of the year 1763, David Paisley appeared once more on the provincial tax rolls of Pennsylvania as an inmate living in Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, this time for the tax levy for 1764. It would be the last time David Paisley would appear in the provincial records of Pennsylvania by name, with one exception.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 is best remembered for establishing the boundary limiting western settlement, but it contained another provision of significance to this story, a grant of bounty land in favor of the soldiers, including provincial troops, who fought for the Crown in the recent war in America against the French. Privates were to be awarded 50 acres of Crown Land, location to be determined; non-commissioned officers, sergeants, for example, were each to be given 200 acres. But the grant to officers was far more generous. Field Officers were awarded 5,000 acres; Captains 3,000; and, for "every Subaltern or Staff Officer," which included Lieutenants and Ensigns, the bounty was 2,000 acres!

It took time for the soldiers and officers entitled to the land bounty to be identified, confirmed and notified, but when the list was completed, there was David Paisley's name, *Ensign David Paisley*. All he had to do was apply for his bounty once the land was made available and the application process established and he could hope to be a wealthy man.



A List of Officers of the three Battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment, who served in the former War against the French & Indians, on the Western Frontiers in Conjunction with the British & regular forces of Virginia, Maryland & Delaware Government &c between the Years 1756 & 1763 & who were intitled to a Grant of Crown Lands, in America in virtue of the King of Englands Proclamation of October 7 1763

Captains
John Weatherhold
John Singleton
Robert Anderson
Levy Trumph
Charles Brodhead
Jacob Kern
Caleb Graydon
Samuel Hunter
Robert Boyd
Richard Pearis
Samuel Lindsay
Samuel West

~~John Lee~~
John Simpson
Joseph Fatzoner
Henry Haller
Adam Boyd
Samuel Scott
Jacob Morgan Junr
Adam Hambell
Andrew Finley
William Clinton
James Massey
Charles Ford

Ensigns
John Bond & Surgeon
Thomas Blair
John Biner
Hugh Crawford
Thomas Hay
Henry Ornodt
Andrew Wilkey
~~Joseph Armstrong~~
David Peasley
William Knight

Resettlement

By the fall of 1764, Will Paisley, Sr., had decided to move his family to the Carolinas. His eldest daughter and sons, with the exception of John, the youngest, would have to decide whether to join the family migration or remain in Pennsylvania. John and his two younger sisters, Margaret and Mary, were all under 21 and unmarried; their father would take them south.

Although Will did not own any land in Pennsylvania, he did own the improvements he had made to the property he leased from Deborah Norris on Indian Creek - his cabins, barn, outbuildings and fencing. He might be able to partially finance his move by selling these things to a successor tenant; or, he could simply leave them for use of any of his sons or relations that might take over the lease and remain on the old homestead.

Under the laws of inheritance in Pennsylvania at the time, David, the eldest son, had two entitlements that his siblings did not have in the event of their father's death. First, estate assets were to be divided among the children equally, but the eldest son was entitled to a double share. Second, the eldest son could elect to purchase the homestead, preventing it from being partitioned or sold at auction.

Of course, Will Paisley, Sr., was alive and well and his estate was not being administered. He was simply moving away so the laws of inheritance did not strictly apply. Yet, those laws did comport with custom and it would have been odd for Will not to have taken into consideration his eldest's son's entitlements under Pennsylvania's primogeniture law in deciding what to do about the old farmstead, especially if David showed a desire to take on the Norriton plantation, which he apparently did.

David and Margaret left her father's farm and cooperage in Tredyffrin in 1764 as evidenced by their absence from the tax rolls for Chester County when assessments were made in December of that year. Margaret's brother, Thomas Sharp, who in 1763 had moved to Easttown Township, immediately south of Tredyffrin, returned to the Sharp's farm in 1764 with his new bride, apparently to

help out in his father's cooperage after David's departure.

Margaret and David, who now had a baby daughter, Mary, most likely moved to the Paisley plantation in Norriton in the fall of 1764 about the time that David's father made his decision to leave for North Carolina, but since the tax rolls for Philadelphia County for the years prior to the 1767 levy have been lost, no official record of their residence in Norriton exists. It is certain, however, that someone stayed on to farm the Paisley plantation because the lease remained in Will Paisley, Sr.'s name for several years after he left for Carolina and he continued to be obligated for the rent owed to Deborah Norris, 80 bushels of wheat annually.

It is known that Will's unmarried second son, Robert, migrated with his father and younger siblings to North Carolina, but Robert's older siblings, Jane, David and William Jr., were all already living independently and had infant children, making their decision to go or stay more difficult. Jane had married John White in 1762 and moved to Tredyffrin Township where their daughter, Martha, was born in 1763. Before year's end, they moved to adjacent Charlestown Township. As previously mentioned, William Jr. and Dilly joined them later that year in Charlestown where Dilly gave birth their first child, John, in 1764. And David and Margaret now had a baby daughter, Mary.

Weighing the dangers and difficulties of the journey to Carolina against the familiarity and security of the neighborhood they had known since birth, the three Paisley siblings with infant children, Jane, David and William Jr., all remained in Pennsylvania. Since all other family members are accounted for, David must have been the one that took over operation of the farm as his father and younger siblings prepared for and then made their move to North Carolina as 1764 came to a close.

A Hand at Farming

WILL PAISLEY, SR., AND HIS entourage most likely left for North Carolina in October or November of 1764 after the fall harvest and sowing of the winter wheat to settle in Carolina in time for the spring planting there. They had certainly left by May 1765, as evidenced by Will's failure to claim mail in Philadelphia as reported in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 2, 1765. Other neighbors and relations probably joined the migration south and it is almost certain that at least one of the Hamilton boys, Archibald, went along. They were fortunate to have left before Christmas. That winter of was one of the worst ever to hit Pennsylvania. A late March storm knocked down many trees and dumped snow across the entire province to a depth of two-and-a-half feet.

After the others had left for Carolina, David likely encouraged his younger brother, William Jr., to move from Charlestown to Norriton to help work the 200-acre Paisley plantation and to join him in starting a cooperage there. Working together, the two brothers and their wives might have been able to handle both undertakings while also caring for their infant children, although they would likely have needed seasonal labor for the planting and harvest. They would also have needed to replenish the livestock since their father and siblings would likely have taken the horses and cattle to North Carolina. The sheep, too numerous and difficult to herd, were probably left in Norriton along with the hogs foraging in the woods. David's first order of business would have been acquisition of a dairy cow.

David and William Jr., both now journeymen coopers, would have had all the tools they needed to engage in their craft. Pennsylvania law required a master to provide his apprentice with "freedom dues" upon completion of the apprenticeship and it was customary for tools of the trade to be part of that compensation. David and William Jr. would have had little local competition. There was at the time only one other cooper in Norriton and two in Providence. Best of all, there were four ready customers nearby: the Norriton Mill on Stony Creek; James Morgan's new grist mill on Perkiomen Creek near the Egypt Road

ford; Hugh Hamilton's former tavern right next door; and Archibald Thompson's new stone-built inn at the junction of the Egypt and Ridge Roads.

At the end of summer 1765, Margaret got the bad news that her father was deathly ill. Still lucid, but unable to write, William Sharp dictated a *nuncupative* will for the distribution of his estate in the presence of his neighbor, Whitehead Weatherby, the first provision of which directed his executors to bury him at St. David's Anglican Church in Radnor, four miles distant.

The Weatherbys lived adjacent to the Sharps on Conestoga Road where Whitehead's father, Benjamin Weatherby, was proprietor of the Halfway House tavern which he renamed the "Blue Ball." Benjamin had another son, Samuel, who worked as a cooper in adjacent Easttown Township; Samuel had likely also learned the trade as an apprentice of William Sharp.

William Sharp died in August 1765 and his personal property was sold to pay off his debts and provide a living for his widow. His will, dated August 3, 1765, implies that Sharp's relationship with his son-in-law, David, had become strained:

> "Item. I will that after the decease of my wife, Mary, that the premises or plantation I now live on to be sold and the money arising therefrom to be equally and proportionably distributed and divided amongst my four children, viz., my son, John Sharp of the Kingdom of Ireland, and my son, Thomas Sharp, and my daughters, Mary Sharp and Margaret Peasley, the wife of David Peasley, share and share alike, … Item. I bequeath and give the sum of twenty pounds unto my granddaughter, Mary Peasley, the daughter of David Peasley, to be paid by my executors after the decease of my wife. Item. I give unto David Peasley one shilling sterling, likewise I do utterly debar & preclude him, the said David Peasley, from having any rights or interest in or to the legacy bequeathed to his wife before-mentioned, but my executors is to apply it for the use of her & her children as my executors shall judge most convenient for them. Item. It is my will that the several legacies be not paid until one year after my wife's decease, …"

It was not uncommon for successful farmers, merchants and tradesmen to plan their estates so that their assets would be left solely to lineal descendants, especially in the case of daughters due to the curtesy laws then in effect which vested a husband with ownership of his deceased wife's property. The language

that was typically used in wills of that time was for a legacy to be left to a daughter "and the issue of her body." William Sharp's will specifically devising Margaret's inheritance "for the use of her & her children" did the same thing.

But other language in the will goes beyond what was necessary to accomplish this goal. By making a specific devise of "one shilling sterling" to David, Sharp eliminated any argument David could have made of an ambiguity or omission in the will regarding his curtesy rights. Clearly, William Sharp meant what he said: "I do utterly debar & preclude him, the said David Peasley, from having any rights or interest in or to the legacy bequeathed to his wife." One reason for including a provision like this would be to ensure that no child David might have fathered before he married Sharp's daughter, legitimate or not, would benefit from Sharp's estate.

Over the course of two days in September 1765, the assets of William Sharp's estate, other than his farm and lot on Conestoga Road, were sold at vendue, that is, public auction, raising £125. More than 45 buyers showed up to bid, most spending under £2 buying one or two items, such as a sickle or a frying pan. Neighbor Benjamin Weatherby bought the "Indian corn in the ground" and the "oats in stacks." But two buyers were standouts, each spending more than £20, David Paisley and Thomas Sharp.

Thomas bought his father's horse and saddles and most of his father's farming equipment - the plow and gear, the harrow, cart and cider press. He also bought most of the remaining inventory of the cooperage, five hogsheads and two barrels.

David's purchases all satisfied needs of the Paisley plantation in Norriton. He bought a "pied" cow, a dough trough and Sharp's gun, thus providing food for the table. They would have milk, cheese, butter, bread and local game. He also bought Sharp's "chaff" bed. Most importantly, he bought the contract of Sharp's indentured servant, Jonathan Phipps, another hand for the farm.

At the time of William Sharp's death in 1765, Phipps was referred to as a "servant lad" by the estate's appraisers and as a "servant boy" in the estate's accounting. According to the then-current edition of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary, "lad" and "boy" meant the same thing: "one in the state of

adolescence; older than an infant, yet not arrived at puberty or manhood." Thus, Phipps would have likely been older than 7, but not more than twelve, born sometime between 1754 and 1759.

Indentured at such a young age, John Phipps was almost certainly an orphan or had been effectively made one as a result of being taken from indigent parents by the township's Overseers of the Poor. Children were commonly bound by township officials as indentured servants when their fathers or both parents had died or were too poor to care for them, the vast majority being orphans, which was likely young Phipps' situation. Assuming Phipps had been bound to Sharp by the Overseers, the law would have set Phipps' term of indenture to extend until he turned 21.

Two facts evidence that orphan John Phipps had, in fact, been bound for a lengthy servitude. First, David Paisley paid nearly £15 for Phipps indenture contract, a sum that could only be justified for a child if bound for many years of service. And, second, the remaining indenture term was long enough for William Sharp to provide a legacy in his will for his "servant, Jonathan Phipps, [of] one year and a half of the latter part of his time … to be discharged by my Executors." Orphan John probably remained under indenture until sometime in the 1770s.

Having recently turned 27, David Paisley was in the prime of his life. He and Margaret had set out on that great adventure of building a family together and he was back home in Norriton where he had been raised, now as master of the plantation with a brother and servant to help work the farm and new cooperage. The market for wheat was beginning to recover. Farming would be profitable again. He was owed a land bounty for his military service that he should be able to claim soon. The future looked bright. But there were storm clouds on the horizon.

Stamp Act

THE SEVEN YEARS WAR, INCLUSIVE of the French & Indian War in America, cost Great Britain over £82 million, the equivalent of about $10 billion today, a tremendous expense for a fledgling empire whose entire 1765 domestic production was valued at £125 million. And most of the cost of the war had been financed, adding nearly £60 million to the national debt.

Parliament reasoned that since a significant part of this expenditure had been for the defense of the British provinces in America, the colonists should pay off at least a token amount of this debt. Additionally, Parliament felt that the colonists should pay for some of the cost of continuing to maintain those British troops still in America, estimated at £300,000 per year.

Not long after the dust had settled from the departure of the Paisley clan for North Carolina, the British Parliament, with little debate and almost no expectation it would be controversial, passed the Stamp Act of 1765. The Act imposed a direct tax to be levied in the American colonies on all printed matter: political pamphlets; newspapers; advertisements; court pleadings; wills; letters of administration; land warrants; patents; deeds; contracts; licenses; and naturalization papers. That is to say, on virtually everything necessary for the operation of a normal economy and a sound society. The Act required the purchase of a special stamp, to be affixed to every taxed document, thereby evidencing payment. Parliament expected the tax to raise at most £65,000 from America in its first year, a sum amounting to a mere 0.1% of the outstanding war debt or 20% of the cost of maintaining the British army in America.

But the colonists felt they had already done their part in fighting the French and Indians. They saw any continuation of British troops in the provinces after the war as really being for the purpose of policing, rather than protecting, the colonies. And many felt betrayed upon learning that the Royal Proclamation of 1763, issued to pacify the Indians, prohibited settlement west of the mountains, thereby denying the colonists the very spoils of war for which they believed they had fought.

The colonists were outraged when they learned of the passage of the Stamp Act in April 1765. They asserted that the British Parliament had no power to impose internal taxes in the American provinces. Only their own provincial legislatures had that authority. They objected that Parliament's attempt to do so was "taxation without representation," a slogan soon popular among protesters.

With the implementation of the tax rapidly approaching, immigrants in Pennsylvania rushed to file naturalization papers, and settlers flooded the land office with applications for land warrants before the stamps arrived. A congress of the provinces was called for delegates to gather in New York in October to petition Parliament to repeal the Act, ultimately to no avail. The Act went into effect on November 1, 1765.

By spring, nearly all activity in the provincial courts and land offices had ground to a halt, disrupting commercial activity and trade. Protesters, calling themselves "Sons of Liberty," gathered in the port cities, where they burned effigies of the tax collectors and prevented the landing of the stamps. Threatened with being tarred and feathered, nearly all the tax collectors quickly resigned their commissions. Murmurs of boycotting trade with Great Britain were heard in taverns and coffee houses in town. The potential for disruption of colonial trade caused concern among the merchants and moneylenders in London, still smarting from the recent credit crisis there.

Concluding that the insignificant amount of tax to be raised by the Stamp Act was not worth the aggravation of collecting it, on March 17, 1766, a divided Parliament, with the assent of the king, repealed the Stamp Act. They replaced it the next day with a Declaratory Act that specifically decreed, without dissent in either House, that Parliament had the right to legislate for the British colonies on the American continent "in all cases whatsoever," including taxation.

Ignoring the Declaratory Act, the provinces celebrated. Formerly bellicose colonists, believing their voices to have been heard and heeded, reasserted their allegiance to king and country. The economy rebounded. In New York, a statue of King George III was raised. Things appeared to be returning to normal. In July, William Pitt, who was thought to be sympathetic to the colonist cause, was installed as Prime Minister. People everywhere were optimistic about the future.

Assessment

BEFORE THE WAR AGAINST THE French and Indians, Pennsylvania had been a low-tax, free-trade province. Taxes on individuals were negligible, as were duties and tariffs on imports and exports. The provincial government had been funded by an excise tax on liquor and interest earned on mortgage loans made by its General Loan Office which issued bills that circulated as legal tender.

Things changed with the outbreak of the war in 1755. To fund the construction of a string of forts along the frontier and to raise a provincial army, Pennsylvania had to issue bills of credit over five years in the principal amount of £485,000, backed by tax revenue pledged to redeeming those bills. Consequently, the province was required to impose poll and property taxes on its residents.

The burden of these new taxes fell most heavily on single men who were not serving in the military or as apprentices or indentured servants. These taxable "freemen" were assessed an annual poll or "head tax" of 15 shillings, an encouragement to either find a wife or enlist in the Provincial Regiment. Real and personal property was taxed at 18 pence per pound (18p./£) of assessed value.

The Pennsylvania assessment rolls listed residents by head of household and recorded the existence of specified property: land occupied; livestock owned; slaves and servants; debts; and, accrued ground rent. The assessments also described the head of household's occupation and marital status.

Counties used the same assessment rolls for local taxes, but rates varied by county. Fortunately, the rolls for Chester County have been preserved nearly in their entirety. Unfortunately, as previously mentioned, the tax rolls for Philadelphia County prior to the assessment made for the 1767 levy have been lost, as have several subsequent years.

So what do these records tell us about David and Margaret Paisley and their kin who remained behind when Will Paisley, Sr., left for the Carolinas?

First and foremost, as of December 1766, the month the assessments were made for the 1767 levy, David was absent from the Pennsylvania tax rolls. Nor did he and his wife appear in any subsequent assessments for the simple reason

that they were no longer living in Pennsylvania. Church records establish that by 1767, David and Margaret Paisley had gone to Maryland. They probably did not go there alone. Margaret's sister, Mary Sharp, Jr., also moved to Maryland with her new husband, Benjamin Dungan, who, like David, was a cooper.

Margaret's brother, Thomas Sharp, and their widowed mother, Mary Sharp, Sr., continued to live on the 100-acre Sharp plantation in Tredyffrin Township in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The 1767 levy listed Mary Sr. as the owner, but Thomas was also living there, together with his wife and five children, farming the property and continuing his father's cooperage.

Widow Sharp died in 1773, at the age of 53. Her will provided legacies for her son and two daughters, as well as for her grandchildren. One of those was a granddaughter, David and Margaret Paisley's second daughter, also named Margaret, indicating that widow Sharp stayed in touch with her daughter after David and Margaret had moved to Maryland. The Sharp plantation was sold after widow Sharp's death to a neighbor, Whitehead Weatherby.

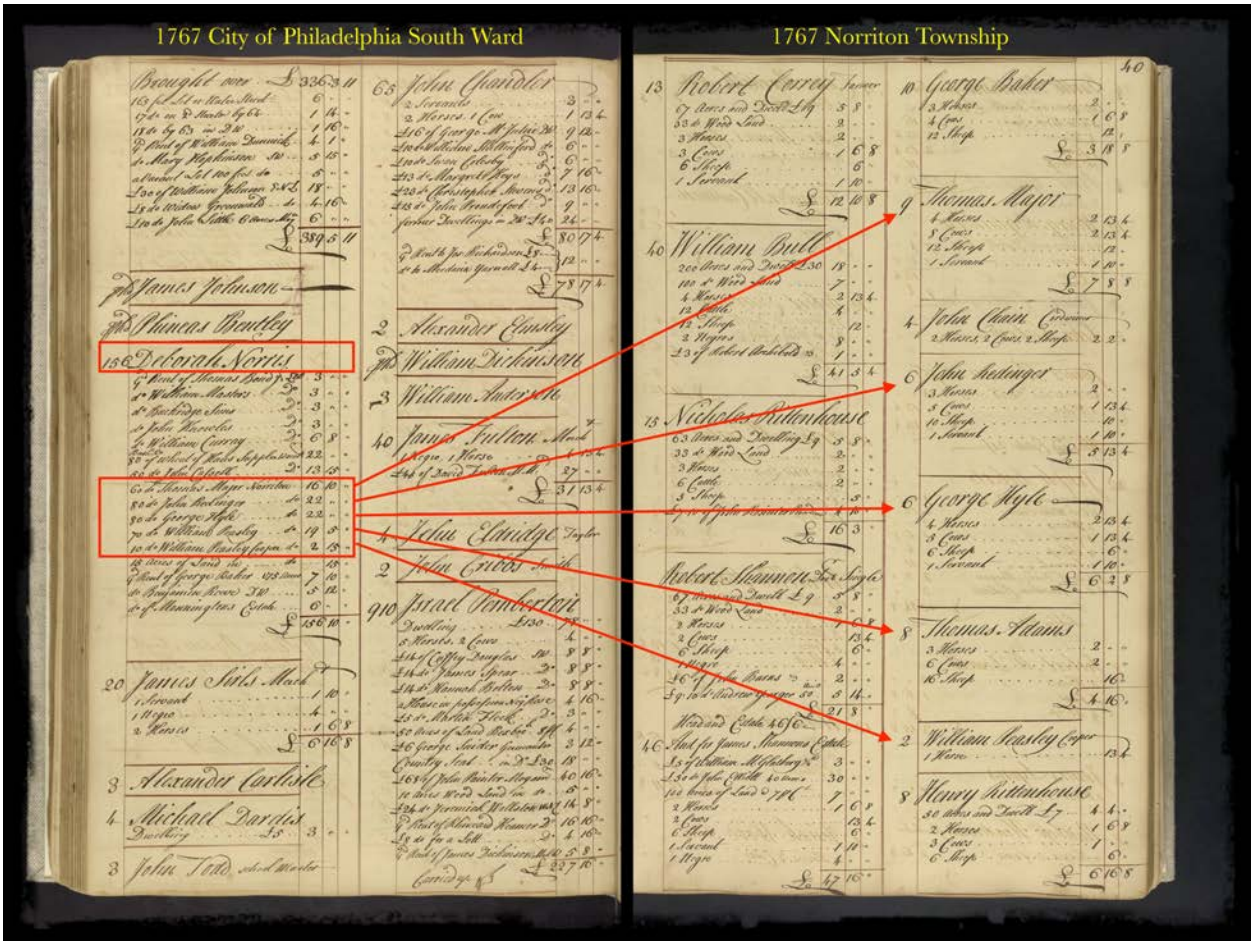
Following his mother's death and the sale of the family plantation, Thomas Sharp moved with his family to adjacent Easttown Township, where he was assessed in 1774 and 1775. One of Thomas' neighbors was Anthony Wayne, who commanded Pennsylvania's 5th Regiment of Foot of the Continental army during the American Revolution. Thomas served in that regiment under Col. Wayne, dying in 1777 while on campaign in New York.

The Paisley relations still living on and adjacent to the Paisley plantation in Norriton Township, Philadelphia County, in December 1766, were all tenants of Deborah Norris. She was assessed for accrued ground rent on those lands, which she rented at a rate of 2.5 bushels of wheat for every ten acres leased, making it possible to calculate the size of her tenants' farms. Her five tenants in Norriton appeared on her assessment in the following order:

1. Thomas Major, 60 bushels, 150 acres;
2. John Redinger, 80 bushels, 200 acres;
3. George Hyle, 80 bushels, 200 acres;
4. William Peasley [Sr.], 70 bushels, 175 acres; and,
5. William Peasley [Jr.], cooper, 10 bushels, 25 acres.

First on the list of Deborah Norris' tenants (above and below, left) was Thomas Major, Will Paisley's brother-in-law, married to Margaret McLean, sister of Will's deceased wife, Nellie. Will was no longer in Pennsylvania at this time; he had left his 200-acre plantation in Norriton for North Carolina in the fall of 1764. But Will's lease term apparently extended beyond the date of his departure, and he remained obligated for rent on 175 acres of the original plantation. The lease for the other 25 acres had been taken over by his son, William Paisley, Jr., who was specifically identified on the assessment lists as a cooper.

The same sequence appeared in the field assessment made by the assessor as he walked from property to property (below, right), except that the 175 acres attributed above to Will Paisley, Sr., were being farmed by another of Will's brothers-in-law, Thomas Adams, husband of Mary McLean, another of Nellie's sisters.



Also nearby, in Upper Merion Township, was yet another of Nellie's siblings and brother-in-law of Will Paisley, Joseph McLean, Jr., still residing on the 50 acres he had purchased from David Landy in 1752. The size of his farm and the absence of significant livestock indicate that farming was not Joseph's primary occupation.

David Landy, who was the husband of Will Paisley's sister, Mary, had died in 1756, leaving an only child, Jane. She married John Dunn, and they resided in Providence Township at the time of the 1767 levy. John Dunn held a tavern license in Providence in 1764 and appears to have been the proprietor of the inn at the intersection of Egypt and Pawling's Ford Roads.

Finally, Will's eldest daughter, Jane Paisley, who had married John White, was still living in Charlestown Township, Chester County, where John was assessed as the owner of 200 acres that he farmed with the help of an indentured servant.

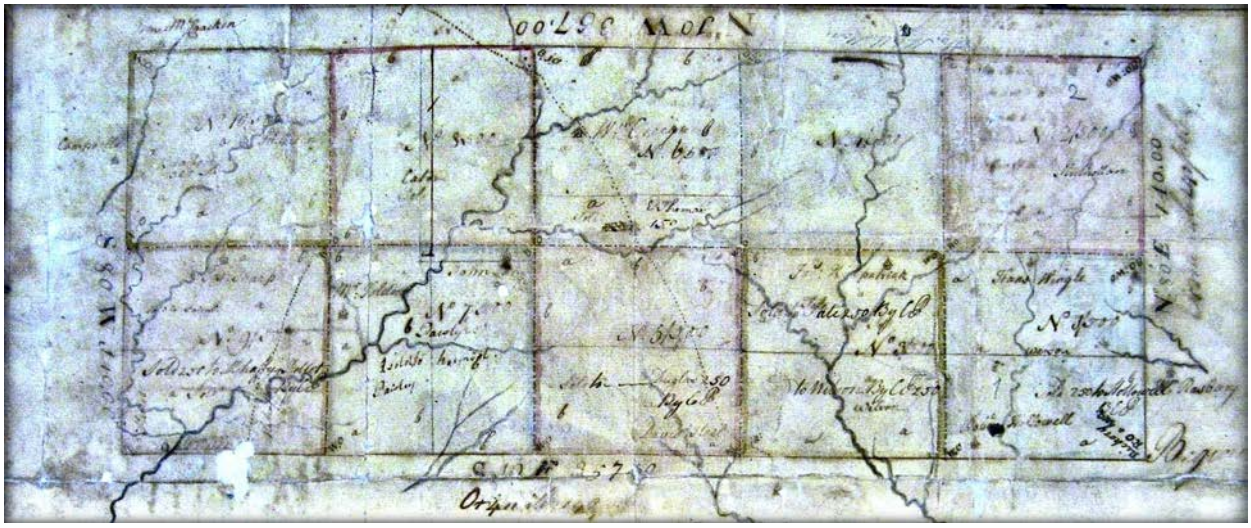
Most of these relatives would soon leave Pennsylvania to join Will and the others in North Carolina.

Prodigal Son

When David Paisley left the family plantation in Norriton to become William Sharp's apprentice in the 1750s, his brother, Robert, assumed responsibility as their father's right-hand man working the farm. Their younger brothers, William Jr. and John, were also farmhands, but Robert likely had the job of supervising them until the family migrated to North Carolina in the fall of 1764 and David returned to Norriton to take over the plantation.

In North Carolina, the family initially settled in the Haw Fields (or Hawfields) of Orange County, next to Rev. Henry Pattillo, minister of the Eno, Little River and Hawfields Presbyterian churches. There, just ten miles west of the town of Hillsborough, the county seat, the family purchased 250 acres of land from Cullen Pollack. Title was taken in the names of Robert Paisley and Archibald Hamilton, thought to have been Robert's stepbrother, Catherine Hamilton's son.

It was said that Will's motivation for moving his family to North Carolina was to enable him to buy land for his sons. It is probable that Will financed the purchase of the 250 acres and also resided there with them for a few years. The deed to this property, the north half of lot 7 of Pollock's tract 1, was recorded in November 1766. In July 1768, slightly less than two years after its purchase, Archibald deeded his rights to the property to Robert.



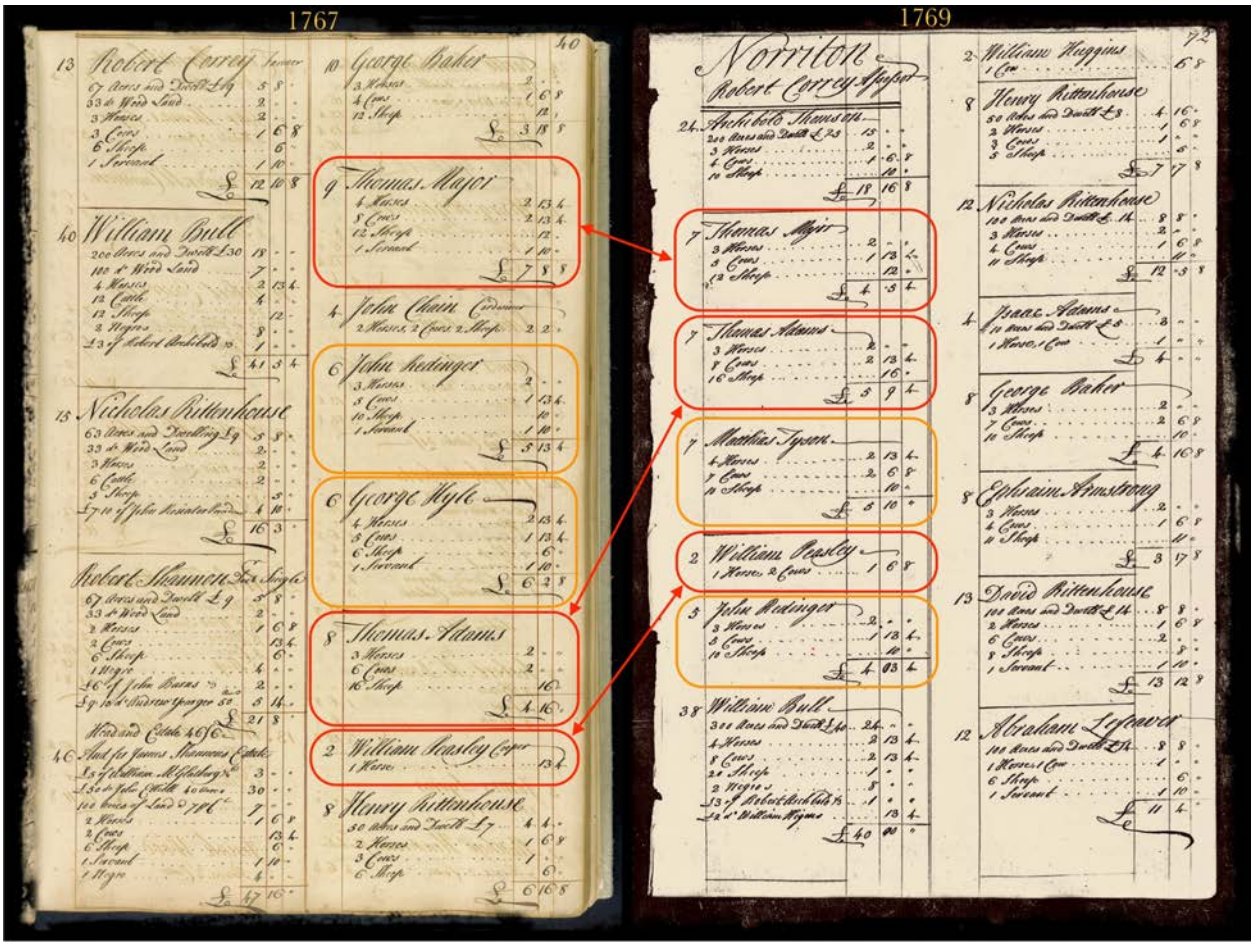
Will's second wife, Catherine Hamilton, died around the time of the family's move to North Carolina, so in September 1768, at the age of 57, Will married for the third time, his bride being Elizabeth Denny. Several months later, Will's youngest son, John, married Marianna Denny, undoubtedly a relative.

Following the fall harvest that year, Robert, perhaps motivated by his father's recent nuptials, returned to Norriton to marry his cousin, Margaret Major. It is possible that more recent migrants from the Providence Presbyterian congregation had brought news of David's departure for Maryland. Learning this, Robert may have been tasked by his father to travel to Norriton find out what was happening with the plantation, or to end the tenancy with Deborah Norris, or see if some other family member would assume the lease in its entirety.

Whatever the case, Robert most likely arrived back in Norriton around Christmas 1768, just as the assessor was making his rounds evaluating properties for the 1769 tax levy. Upon arriving at the door of his maternal uncle, Thomas Major, Robert must have received the welcome of the prodigal son returned. Robert and Margaret, Thomas' daughter, were likely married over the course of the next two months in order to return to North Carolina on the Great Wagon Road in time for the spring planting in March and April.

The assessment rolls for the 1769 tax levy continued to list Thomas Major, Thomas Adams and William Paisley, Jr., as residing in Norriton Township. Thomas Major and Thomas Adams were also assessed on their farms in Norriton for the next extant levy, made in December 1773. The levy made that year for Philadelphia reflected that Thomas Adams was then paying rent to the heirs of Deborah Norris for the entire 200-acre Paisley plantation. This indicates that he had fully assumed Will Paisley Sr.'s lease, including the 25 acres previously occupied by William Paisley, Jr. Thomas Adams died in Norriton in 1774.

Thomas Major was assessed in the 1767 levy as having an indentured servant in his household. Perhaps this was David Paisley's former servant, John Phipps. By the 1769 levy, however, this servant was no longer listed. Thomas Major continued farming in Norriton through the American Revolution. He ultimately followed Robert and Margaret to North Carolina in 1783.



None of the other Paisley relations appeared on the tax rolls for the 1769 levy, except for John Dunn in Providence Township. This indicates that these relatives had either moved before Robert's return to Norriton, or, more likely, that they were about to depart for North Carolina with him and his bride and were, therefore, not assessed.

Robert and Margaret were probably joined by several of their siblings and their siblings' children on the journey south. These fellow travelers likely included: William Jr., and Dilly; Jane, and her husband, John White; and Margaret's brother, Thomas Major, Jr., and his wife, Ann. There may have been others, such as their uncle, Joseph McLean, Jr.

The journey would have been arduous during winter, a trip of 450 miles on a former Indian path only widened a few years earlier to accommodate carts and wagons. Melting snow during the day would have turned the road into a

quagmire. Camping along the trail when the temperature dropped below freezing would have been uncomfortable. There were occasional settlements along the route with inns for a night, but only if they could afford them. The road led south through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, where it spilled out into the Carolina Piedmont after crossing the Roanoke River at Big Lick. Walking alongside packhorses and leading an ox-drawn cart, the trip would have taken a minimum of four weeks.

Back in North Carolina and settled in at Hawfields, the family members undoubtedly found the cabin too small to house everyone. So in April 1769, Will leased 640 acres from William Wiley on Birch Creek, 25 miles to the west, and he and Elizabeth moved there, joined by Will's sons, William Jr. and John, and their wives, Dilly and Marianna. A year later, Will purchased that property from Wiley for £190 "proclamation money of North Carolina."

Robert and Margaret continued living on the property in Hawfields in Orange County. It is likely that Margaret's brother, Thomas Major, Jr., and his wife stayed with them. In October 1769, Mary Paisley was born there, the first child of Robert and Margaret Paisley. They would go on to have eight more children, the last of which, Margaret, was the great-great-great-great-great-grandmother of the author of this narrative.

MARYLAND

The Border

When the Paisleys and McLeans landed in Philadelphia in late 1736, Pennsylvania and Maryland were embroiled in a boundary dispute that had escalated to armed conflict. The militia had been called out on both sides. The confrontation arose when Thomas Cresap, a Maryland backwoodsman, settled on the west bank of the lower Susquehanna River in an area claimed by both provinces, and began operating a ferry at Blue Rock. Cresap aggressively asserted his claims, which were predicated on Maryland grants, commissions and licenses. His neighbors disputed these as being unenforceable in what they contended was Pennsylvania's jurisdiction.

The argument was not theoretical. Cresap resorted to violence to press his claims. His neighbors resisted with equal vengeance. People were killed. Pennsylvanians referred to the conflict as "Cresap's War" for obvious reasons; Marylanders called it the "Conojocular War," referring to the Conejohela Valley in the lower Susquehanna River basin where the fighting took place.

This border dispute was temporarily settled in 1738 at the insistence of King George II who required the proprietors of the two provinces to enter into an agreement by which the king set the border at a specific latitude. The proprietors were ordered to establish this boundary on the ground through commissioners and local surveyors until the finer points of the dispute could be resolved.

In 1761, after years of litigation and negotiation, provincial surveyors were finally engaged by the proprietors to survey the permanent border. The surveyors' first task was to delineate the north-south boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania's three Delaware counties as a predicate to establishing the boundary running west from there. One of the two surveyors retained on behalf of Pennsylvania died shortly after commencing work, and the other was incapacitated by illness. Consequently, in July, the original Pennsylvania surveyors were replaced by two others, Archibald McClean and John Lukens. McClean was a first cousin of David Paisley's mother, Nellie (*née* McLean) Paisley. Their work continued for the next two years.

The survey proved more challenging than expected, so in 1763, the proprietors jointly engaged Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon from England to take over the surveying of what later came to be known as the Mason-Dixon Line. After confirming the work of the provincial surveyors, Mason's and Dixon's first job was to determine a starting point for their survey in Philadelphia, a task they began in November. They then had to determine a latitude line 15 miles due south, along which the westward line would be run.

Archibald McClean continued with Mason and Dixon as Pennsylvania's chief representative, and his brother, Moses McClean, secured employment as the expedition's commissary, the operational director of the expedition. Two other brothers, Samuel and James, worked as associate surveyors on Mason's and Dixon's crew, and another brother, Alexander, acted as Moses' assistant in the field.

With the initial work completed, Charles Mason noted in his diary that he "cross'd the River Schuylkill near the Swede's ford and lodg'd at Mr. [Moses] McLane's, commissary for the Line," before he and Dixon commenced the westbound leg of their survey in April 1765. They reached North Mountain, well

west of the Susquehanna River, six months later. From there, it took another two years for them to complete the work through the rugged wilderness to the west. But their early work settled the boundary in the lower Susquehanna River basin by October 1765.

The resolution of the Maryland-Pennsylvania border finally cured the outstanding title defects and provincial claims in the lower Susquehanna River basin, opening that area to further settlement in Pennsylvania's York and Cumberland Counties. David Paisley would likely have been aware of this, as well as being generally aware of the status of the surveying his five cousins were engaged in that would bring the dispute to a close.

The Susquehanna

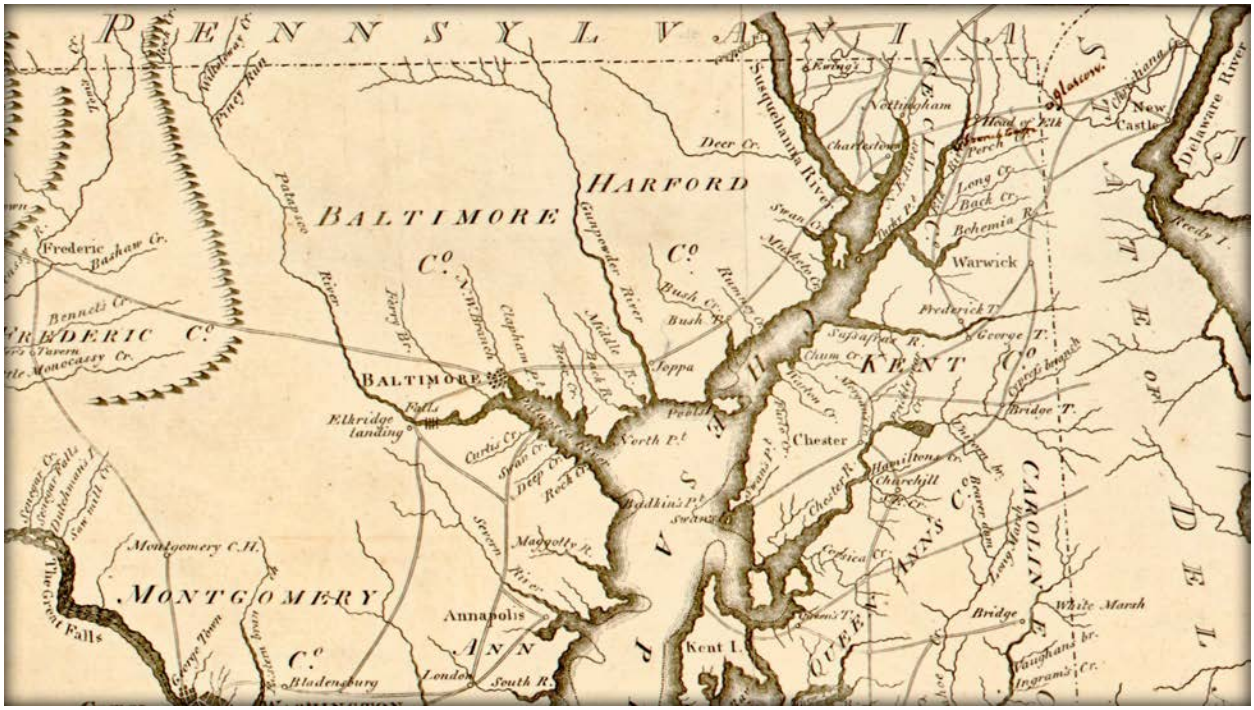
At the outset of the French and Indian War, Pennsylvania established Fort Augusta at the forks of the Susquehanna. David Paisley marched up that river in 1758 from Harris' Ferry as part of Capt. Eastburn's Company, sent to supply the garrison there, then back down to the ferry crossing and on to Carlisle and points west. He would have thus been generally familiar with the lands of the lower Susquehanna River basin. It must have been obvious that although southwestern Pennsylvania and northern Maryland were only sparsely settled at the time, there was great potential for the region once the Indian menace was eliminated and the Pennsylvania-Maryland border dispute resolved. David also likely heard about the promise of these lands from the Maryland soldiers he served alongside during his service at Fort Ligonier.

The Susquehanna River flows south from Pennsylvania into Maryland and the upper Chesapeake Bay. It would have provided transport at least to the fall line for the shipment of agricultural commodities from the interior. Before 1760, however, there had been little development of the upper Chesapeake, the shoreline of which was completely within the Province of Maryland. On the western shore of the bay, north of the provincial capital of Annapolis, there were only two settlements of note. One was the county seat at Joppa; the other was the fledgling port town of Baltimore, located at the mouth of the Patapsco River.

The Province of Maryland had historically been the land of large, tobacco-growing slave plantations. But the influx of German and Ulster Scot farmers moving south into the lower Susquehanna valley gave rise to an explosion of wheat production in the northern reaches of Frederick and Baltimore counties that soon eclipsed that of tobacco.

A handful of roads had been constructed from the interior to the port at Baltimore: one from Frederick Town in western Maryland; others from the towns of Carlisle and York in Pennsylvania. Wheat and flour were being shipped out of Baltimore to other American ports and also exported to the West Indies and across the Atlantic to Ireland and Southern Europe. The price farmers could get

for their wheat and millers for their flour was steadily rising, independent of any trade with England.



Advertisements had started to appear in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* calling the land in Baltimore County "as good a wheat country perhaps as any on the continent." In its first edition, published in January 1767, the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* printed an essay on its front page highlighting the transportation advantages Baltimore had over Philadelphia, noting

> "that the Trade of the Counties on the West Side of Susquehanna, has not hitherto been thought an Object of sufficient Importance to engage the serious Attention of the [Pennsylvania] Government. Certain it is, that the greatest Part of the Commodities raised in those fertile and extensive Counties, are transported by the Farmer to the Port of Baltimore, and other Parts of Maryland, and from thence exported by the Merchants there to foreign Markets; …"

David Paisley was undoubtedly aware of these developments as he decided what to do when his father announced that the rest of the family was migrating to North Carolina to settle and farm there. David was more of a cooper than a farmer, so the piedmont of Carolina held little promise for him. As a cooper, he

was tied to the Atlantic, Caribbean and coastal trade in wheat and flour that required a nearby port, something obviously lacking in the North Carolina backcountry. He likely heard the siren song of Baltimore.

Baltimore

The Maryland General Assembly authorized a port of entry to be established on Chesapeake Bay near the mouth of the Patapsco River in 1706, and for Baltimore Town to be laid out and settled there on unoccupied land in 1729. But no charter was issued, so as the settlement slowly developed, it was neither self-governing nor represented in the provincial government. Instead, the town was governed by a board of commissioners, chosen "for life" from the landed gentry by the assembly in Annapolis, and effectively controlled from there.

Thus, the only local government in Baltimore Town was through a voluntary association which took the form of the Baltimore Mechanical Company, established in 1763 as an alliance of merchants and mechanics, that is, tradesmen. The company provided basic municipal services, such as fire protection, street and harbor improvement, and market regulation. The Mechanical Company also policed the community through its support of a local militia that defended the settlement and meted out justice within the town. During the Stamp Act crisis of 1765, the company functioned in Baltimore much as the Sons of Liberty had in other places. Baltimoreans had self-government, even if the assembly hadn't granted it, and that instilled in them a streak of independence.

This combination of the absence of home rule and the lack of a shared economy between Baltimore and the rest of the province created tension between Baltimore and Annapolis. Baltimore's economy was reliant on small-scale yeoman farmers growing wheat. Baltimore and neighboring Frederick counties had more in common with Pennsylvania and Delaware than with the rest of Maryland. On the other hand, Annapolis and the rest of the province, like neighboring Virginia to the south and west, were dominated by large plantation owners, slavery and tobacco production.

By the early 1760s, Baltimore Town's potential as a significant port for the Atlantic wheat and flour trade had been noticed by several Pennsylvania entrepreneurs, most of whom were Ulster Scots like the Paisleys. They came from

the counties of York, Lancaster, Philadelphia and Bucks in Pennsylvania. By 1763, they had improved the waterfront, filled the adjacent marsh, built several wharves and warehouses, constructed a number of mills, a bakery, a distillery, two breweries, several taverns and inns, and, in 1765, a shipyard, with several more soon to follow.

There were only about 45 households and 300 inhabitants in the town of Baltimore in 1756, but the population had grown rapidly since then. By 1765, there were likely around 3,800 people living in town in about 550 households, a growth of more tenfold in just nine years!

And as the commercial waterfront developed, workers engaged in those trades supporting the new enterprises flooded into town: carpenters; shipwrights; blacksmiths; bakers; brewers; millers; and, of particular interest to this narrative, coopers. These tradesmen constituted about half of the working population in Baltimore Town, and merchants and traders about a quarter. Assets, however, were distributed in the reverse order, with merchants and

traders holding half of the town's wealth and tradesmen holding a quarter.

If the promise of Baltimore Town appealed to David Paisley at the end of 1764, the fact that his wife was pregnant again must have weighed heavily in his thinking. It would have been important to have family nearby at this time of life, and Baltimore Town was over 100 miles away from Norriton.

So while it is possible that David and Margaret moved directly to Maryland when they left Tredyffrin Township in 1764, it is more likely that they moved from Tredyffrin to the Paisley plantation in Norriton and that their second daughter, Margaret Jr., was born there in April 1765. At any rate, as evidenced by their complete absence from the Pennsylvania tax rolls for the 1767 levy, David and Margaret had left Pennsylvania for Maryland by December 1766. Perhaps they found that a 200-acre plantation was just too much to handle, even with a bound laborer and nearby family relations to lend a hand.

David likely did not take his indentured servant, John Phipps, when he left Norriton. Pennsylvania law at that time prohibited taking servants out of the province without the servant's consent and the approval of two county justices. Nor would David have need of a farmhand in Maryland if he intended to take employment in town as a cooper.

David may have been enticed to move to Maryland by his brother-in-law, Benjamin Dungan, husband of Mary Sharp, David's wife's sister. One account asserts that in the late 1770s, Benjamin, also a cooper, was the manager of the Ellicott Mill on the Patapsco River in southern Baltimore County. Before building the Patapsco mill in 1772, one of the Ellicott Mill's founders owned a mill on Falls Creek in Baltimore Town. Benjamin may have first worked there, and that mill may have provided employment for David as well.

Certainly, in considering a move to Baltimore, David, coming from a devout Presbyterian family, would have wondered if there was a church of his denomination in town. There was. A fledgling Presbyterian congregation had formed in Baltimore Town and secured its first minister in 1763. By 1766, the membership had built the town's first Presbyterian church.

That church's records reflect that "Margaret, d[aughter] of David & Margaret Paisley, born April 10, 1765, was bap[tized]" at the First Presbyterian Church on

April 20, 1767, shortly after the church had been constructed. Had Margaret been born in Baltimore, her baptism, like all the others in the church records, would have taken place within months of her birth, not two years later. She would not have been baptized at the Providence Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania because that church was without a minister at the time of her birth, Rev. Chestnut having resigned.

David and Margaret likely moved to Baltimore Town in late 1766, thereby avoiding the tumultuous days of the protests over the Stamp Act. Instead, they arrive in the heady days following the act's repeal that April. They did not, however, miss the turmoil resulting from Parliament's subsequent attempt to tax the colonies, which was soon to follow.

Townshend Acts

In the summer of 1767, the British Parliament passed a series of acts that the American colonies found objectionable. The first act imposed customs duties on certain British-manufactured goods imported into the provinces. Levies were placed on glass, paint, lead glazes, paper and tea. Except for paper, these were things the colonists lacked the capacity to make for themselves. And they were luxuries, not necessities. Another act, passed the same day, created a new Customs Board for North America, headquartered in Boston, intended to deter smuggling and enforce the collection of customs duties. Later regulations transferred the jurisdiction of customs matters to the Admiralty Court in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where cases were to be tried before Crown-appointed judges sitting without juries.

The promoter of these acts, Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer and minister of the Treasury, believed that his proposal, only expected to raise £40,000, would be uncontroversial. Historians disagree on whether, in reaching this conclusion, Townshend misapprehended the Americans' objection to the earlier Stamp Act or understood it, but proceeded anyway. At any rate, he was mistaken about how the scheme would be received in America.

As Townshend saw it, the North American colonies had always accepted Parliament's right to regulate Atlantic trade. Duties had been levied on British exports to America for decades without raising the ire of the colonists. His belief was that the Americans' objection to the Stamp Act was that it imposed a direct, internal tax, whereas the measure he proposed - a duty on imported goods - was indirect and external. Colonists could avoid paying the duty simply by not buying the taxed goods. To Townshend, there was nothing new or oppressive about his proposal.

But that's not how the colonists saw it. Because the British mercantilist system, implemented through the ancient Navigation Acts, prohibited colonists from purchasing the taxed items from any nation other than Great Britain, the colonists asserted that the duties were, in effect, taxes. While the colonists agreed

that Parliament had the right to regulate colonial trade, such a right, they believed, did not include the power to tax. That power resided with the provincial legislatures. These points were convincingly argued by John Dickinson, son-in-law of Isaac Norris II, in a series of *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer*, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and circulated throughout the colonies in early 1767. Most colonists agreed with Dickinson, and petitions were sent to the king and Parliament in protest.

Notwithstanding the colonists' objections, the Townshend duties went into effect in November 1767. Merchants throughout New England—Boston, in particular—protested by imposing a boycott on the importation of all British goods beginning in January 1768. Merchants in Boston sent letters to their counterparts throughout the provinces, calling on them to adopt nonimportation agreements, too. Philadelphia's merchants agreed to participate in the boycott. Baltimore merchants, concerned that doing so would stymie the town's rising commercial prospects, did not.

In Baltimore Town that same month, David Paisley and his brother-in-law, Benjamin Dungan, signed a petition at the new Market House supporting a relocation of the county seat from Joppa to fast-growing Baltimore Town. It is likely that, having only recently arrived, they were both residing in town at the time as tenants. The petition was granted, and the next year, land was located in town, and a subscription was taken up to build a new courthouse and prison. Baltimore was rapidly becoming an exporting boomtown.

By the time the Townshend duties went into effect, American colonists had become major consumers of British goods, their imports perhaps accounting for one-quarter of Great Britain's exports. But most American consumers lived in the largest cities, like Philadelphia, Boston and New York, and these city dwellers were the consumers most impacted by the new duties. Country folk invested their savings in more arable land, made most of their own clothing, and grew their own food. What money they accumulated went into improving their farms, not buying luxury goods from England.

As mentioned, the exportation of wheat and flour from Baltimore Town was flourishing in the 1760s. Ships did not return from their trading voyages empty,

however. In those years, while Baltimore was still mostly populated by tradesmen, longshoremen and common laborers, the town imported little from Great Britain besides some British-manufactured goods and cotton cloth, for which homespun linen was easily substituted. Instead, Baltimore's trade was with the West Indies, from which merchants imported sugar, molasses, rum, cotton, cocoa and coffee, and from Southern Europe, from which came salt and wine. Return voyages from Ireland brought indentured servants, and trade with the American colonies returned fish and oil from New England and naval stores for shipbuilding from Virginia and Carolina.

Given that neither the import nor export trade of Baltimore depended upon Great Britain, the Townshend Acts raised little concern in Baltimore Town and even less in rural Baltimore County. The same held true elsewhere, apart from New England. Yet, even there, the nonimportation movement took time to catch on, and many merchants refused to participate in the boycott. Bostonians, however, remained resolute in their opposition.

In August 1768, Boston merchants again wrote to the merchants of Baltimore, asking them to join the nonimportation movement. While some in Maryland favored the boycott, again, no action was taken. Then, in October, British regular troops arrived in Boston Harbor from Great Britain, charged with enforcing the Townshend Acts and causing considerable concern among the populace.

By spring 1769, merchants in Philadelphia, having joined the Boston boycott, found themselves at a trade disadvantage, compared to their Baltimore counterparts. The Philadelphians petitioned the Baltimore merchants, who depended upon their Philadelphia connections for financing, to show solidarity with Philadelphia and Boston by imposing a boycott on British imports. This time, the Baltimore merchants agreed to participate, imposing their own boycott on March 20. The rest of the province followed, and by June 1769, all of Maryland was boycotting imports from Great Britain.

The Baltimore boycott undoubtedly had a significant impact on the town's commercial activity. Compared to the Townshend duties, which were only levied on a few luxury items imported from Great Britain, the self-imposed boycott applied to most British-manufactured goods. While the nonimportation policy

accomplished its goal of hurting merchants in Great Britain and thereby getting Parliament's attention, it also had a deleterious effect on the local colonial economy. Merchants who hadn't planned ahead now faced inventory shortages. Prices were going to rise.

But, insofar as David Paisley was concerned, the boycott probably had little effect on his ability to make a living. As a cooper, David's livelihood depended on the export trade, since he made barrels for shipping wheat, flour and bread abroad. The boycott on imports affected him only as a consumer of prohibited goods.

New Purchase

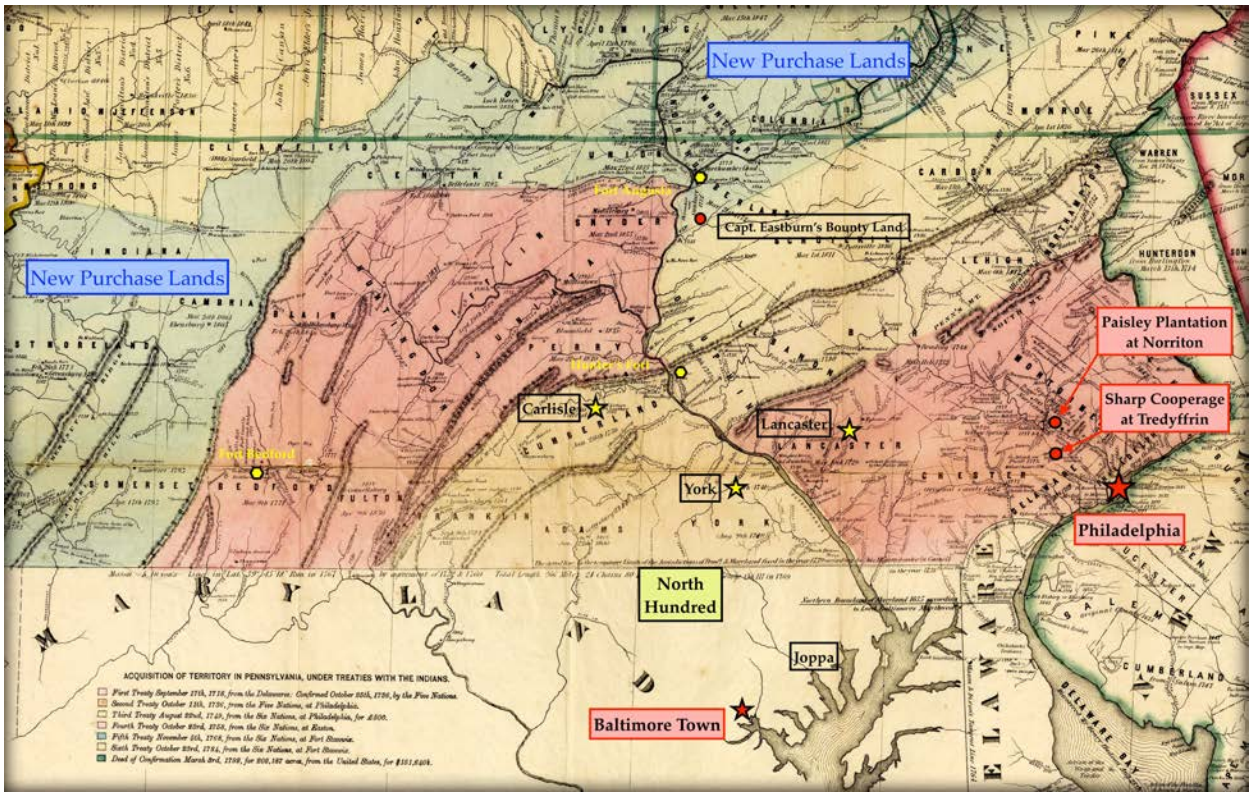
More important to David than the Townshend Acts and the colonial response to them was what had recently taken place at Fort Stanwix near Lake Ontario. There, representatives of the Iroquois Confederation, Great Britain, and the Provinces of New Jersey, Virginia and Pennsylvania met in November 1768 and entered into a treaty establishing a "Line of Property" superseding the Royal Proclamation Line of 1763.

This newly agreed line adjusted the boundary between British and Iroquois territory, with the Indians ceding to the provinces all ownership claims to lands on the British side of the line. The establishment of British ownership claims as paramount to those of the Indians finally made crown land available for veterans of the French & Indian War, as promised by King George III in his Royal Proclamation five years earlier. In Pennsylvania, these were called the "New Purchase" lands.

Not long after King George III issued his Proclamation of 1763, officers of the First and Second Battalions of the Pennsylvania Provincial Regiment formed an association to claim the land to which they were entitled for service rendered during the French & Indian War. Officers of the battalions who served after 1760 met at Carlisle in April 1765 to prepare an application to the Pennsylvania Board of Property to have land set aside for them on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River near Fort Augusta. A subsequent application was made on behalf of soldiers like David Paisley, who had served during the earlier war years of 1756-1760, for lands "beyond the Mountains."

Because the Indian claims to this land were then still outstanding in 1765, the Board deferred the veterans' applications until the Treaty of Fort Stanwix eliminated the Indians' interest in the New Purchase lands. The Board of Property finally considered the soldiers' applications in February 1769, approving them on very generous terms. The veterans were required to pay a mere £5 per 100 acres and were given two years to do so. Thereafter, they would have to pay a quitrent at an annual rate of 3 pence per acre.

A total of 24,000 acres on the West Branch of the Susquehanna and 50,000 acres west of the Allegheny Mountains was set aside for the soldiers. They were then required to make individual applications to the land office for grants of specific tracts. Each applicant was required to settle a family on at least 300 acres of the land he had purchased.



On April 4, 1769, David's superior officer, Capt. Robert Eastburn, applied to the provincial land office for a patent for 300 acres in the New Purchase, "up Mahonoy Creek, about 5 miles from the mouth" of the creek on the Susquehanna River. But no record has been found for any application made by David Paisley or any other officer who served in Capt. Eastburn's Company.

Apparently, David had no interest in settling far north in Pennsylvania on the Susquehanna River or on the western frontier beyond the mountains. He was content to stay in Maryland, where he was then living with his wife and daughters. David likely sold his bounty claim, a frequent occurrence regarding bounty land claims granted later to veterans of the American Revolution.

North Hundred

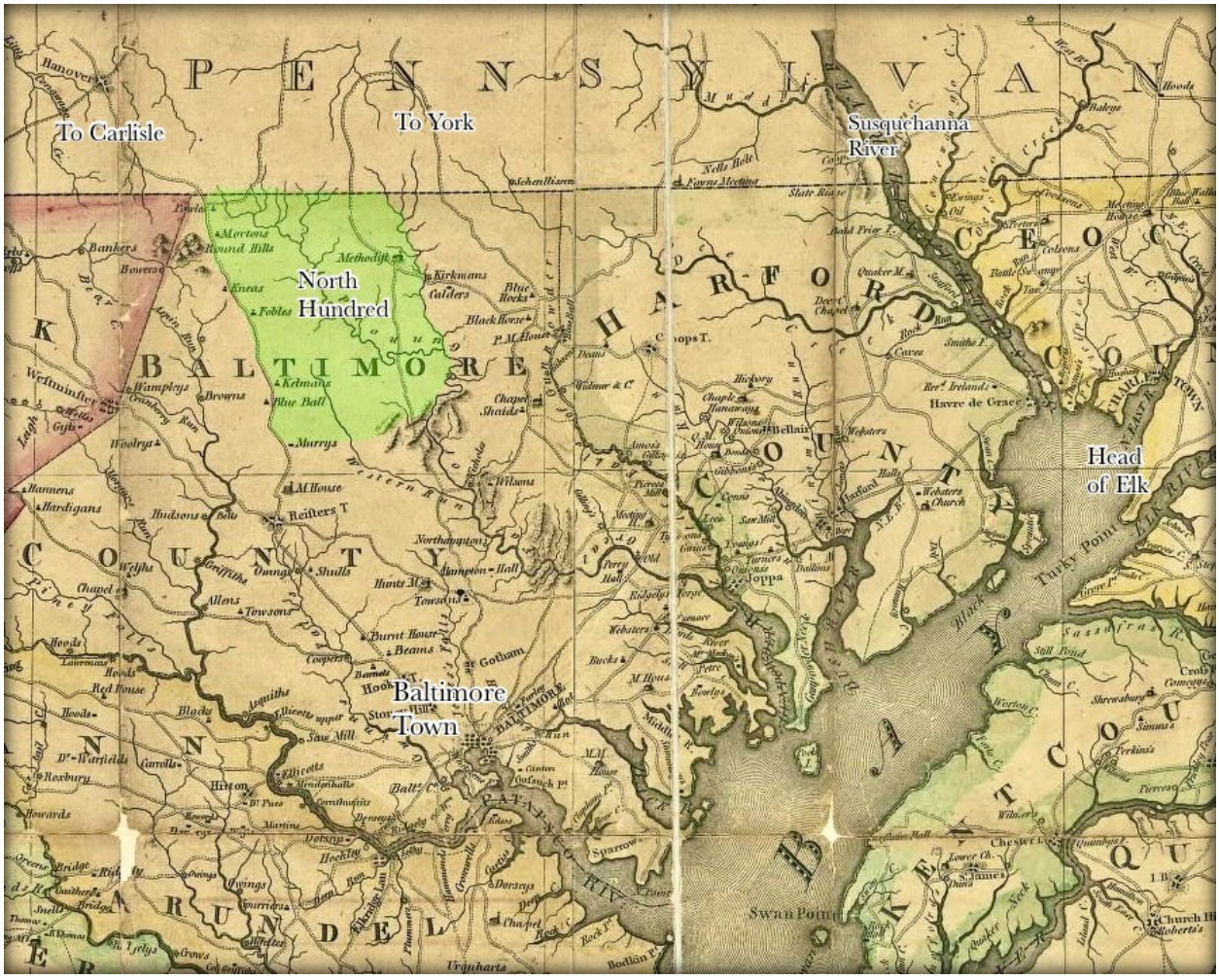
JUST AS HE WAS NOT motivated to move back to Pennsylvania to settle in the New Purchase, David was also not inclined to remain a permanent resident of Baltimore Town. The only records that have been found evidencing David's or Margaret's presence in town following their arrival in 1766 are those of their daughter's baptism in April 1767, and of David signing the petition to move the county seat from Joppa to Baltimore in January 1768. They were not listed as members of the Presbyterian First Church in 1766, 1770, 1773 or thereafter, nor was David listed as a member of the Mechanical Company in any of its annual membership lists.

Maryland, unlike Pennsylvania, did not have a property or poll tax after 1764. Consequently, there are no assessment rolls that would shed light on David's and Margaret's whereabouts during their early years in Maryland. Nor did the province conduct any type of census until the American Revolution. There are property records, rent and debt rolls, but there are no listings for David.

But legislation passed during the Revolution required every man over the age of 18 to appear before a local magistrate, where he then resided, to take an oath of fidelity to the State of Maryland. The record of David Paisley's appearance has been found, and it establishes that sometime before March 1778, David left Baltimore Town for North Hundred, the northernmost administrative subdivision of Baltimore County, adjacent to the Pennsylvania border.

Such a move would have been consistent with what others were doing in the early 1770s, namely, moving into the interior of Baltimore County, up the courses of the various streams and rivers. Aside from the Patapsco River, streams flowing into Chesapeake Bay along the Baltimore County shoreline included Gwynns Falls, Jones Falls and Gunpowder Falls. These water bodies were called "Falls" because they traverse a geological zone known as a "fall line" where piedmont rocks meet coastal sand and gravel, creating a drop of several hundred feet in elevation from the interior to the bay. The resulting rush of water flowing downhill provided plenty of power to turn mill wheels.

Entrepreneurs were moving upriver to build merchant and grist mills to grind wheat being grown in the Lower Susquehanna River basin into flour. Supporting settlements were springing up around the new mills. Ellicott Mills, previously mentioned, was built in 1772 on the Patapsco River. Owings Mills was constructed on Gwynns Falls sometime thereafter. Other smaller mills were built around this time as well, especially along the North Branch of the Patapsco River. A prominent member of the county gentry, Col. Charles Ridgley, assembled a 10,000-acre plantation on Gunpowder Falls that he called "Northampton" where he also built a foundry and a grist mill. There was another 10,000-acre manor with a mill further north on the Gunpowder called My Lady's Manor, originally established by the proprietor of the province.



New towns, like Reisterstown and Towson, were being established at key intersections to facilitate the transportation of grain from farm to mill, and from mill to harbor at Baltimore Town. Adding a tavern and a shopkeeper, these new backcountry towns quickly became collection and distribution hubs, as well as waypoints along the developing road network for teamsters and travelers. A town-making fever was sweeping the region. And all of these new settlements needed laborers and tradesmen. The mills, especially, called for millers and coopers.

This backcountry boom received a further boost when the British Parliament relented in April 1770 and repealed the bulk of the Townshend Acts, leaving only the duty on tea in place. Accordingly, in October, the merchants in Baltimore Town ended their boycott of British imports. They were soon followed by the rest of the province. With further conflict with the mother country now averted, protests and boycotts throughout the colonies ended. Economic activity returned to normal.

Baltimore County was exploding by the early 1770s as a polyglot of landless laborers and mechanics streamed into Baltimore Town, many continuing inland from there. David and Margaret Paisley joined them, as did Margaret's sister and her husband, Mary and Benjamin Dungan.

Revolution

While the rest of the American colonies prospered, save for a brief credit crisis in 1772, residents of Boston continued to protest and agitate against British policies in New England. Consequently, the troops sent by Great Britain to enforce the Townshend Acts in Massachusetts remained there, increasing tensions. Confrontations between the citizenry and British soldiers resulted, the most infamous being the "Boston Massacre" in March 1770 in front of the new customs house. But, for the most part, people remained calm, and for several years, further conflict was avoided.

Then, in May 1773, in an attempt to help the East India Company avoid bankruptcy, Parliament passed the Tea Act to facilitate the company's importation of tea into the American colonies. Prior to the Act, all tea was first shipped to England, sold at auction, and then exported from there to the colonies. As a result of this transshipment, duties were paid twice, first in England, then in America. Additional transaction costs were also incurred in the form of stevedoring, storage, and commissions and fees paid to merchants handling the auctions and the colonial trade.

The Tea Act allowed the company to ship tea directly from Asia to America. By eliminating the English duty and cutting out the middlemen, Parliament anticipated that everyone would benefit: the cost of tea for Americans would be reduced; the company's sales would increase; and the duty collected by Great Britain would rise on higher sales volume.

It seemed like a good plan, as there would be no losers. The only impact on the American colonists would be that tea would cost them less; otherwise, nothing would change. But the benefits would all come at the expense of powerful provincial merchants, like John Hancock of Boston, who made fortunes by smuggling Dutch tea into the colonies. The Tea Act eliminated the merchant middlemen and undercut prices, which made smuggling unprofitable. So when the first East India Company ships laden with tea arrived in American ports, their masters met unexpected resistance, instigated mainly by powerful

merchants and opportunistic politicians. But even without encouragement from the elite, some in the general populace viewed the Tea Act as a ploy intended to get the colonies to accept Parliament's ability to tax them, and they resented it.

East India Company ships bound for the ports of Philadelphia and New York were met before landing and were turned away. In Charles Town, South Carolina, the tea was impounded. In Boston, however, with the assistance of the king's governor, Thomas Hutchinson, three of the company's ships were able to enter the harbor and dock. But before they could unload their cargo, colonists disguised as Indians boarded the ships and tossed the tea overboard.

Parliament was outraged. It retaliated to this "Boston Tea Party" by passing a series of punitive legislative acts. The first, passed in March 1774, closed the port of Boston. Those that followed altered the form and authority of colonial government, vesting power more firmly in the hands of the royal governor, Parliament and the king. In Great Britain, these laws were known collectively as the Coercive Acts, but in the American colonies they were called, with foreboding, the Intolerable Acts.

To enforce the Coercive Acts, the commander of British forces in America, Gen. Thomas Gage, was moved from New York to Boston to replace Thomas Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts. Gage soon found it necessary to transfer his troops to Boston as well, where, with the assistance of the British Navy, he occupied the city and blockaded the port. Most American colonists were appalled by their mother country's military response.

Maryland was one of the first colonies outside of Massachusetts to react. The General Assembly in Annapolis wanted to support Boston, but before it could take action, the provincial governor, Robert Eden, dismissed it. Undeterred, assemblymen and town leaders gathered in May to adopt the Annapolis Resolves, calling for a province-wide boycott on trade with Great Britain until Parliament reopened the Port of Boston. Other provinces followed Maryland's lead, and the First Continental Congress was convened in Philadelphia in September to formulate a unified colonial response. The result was Congress' adoption of the Articles of Association, imposing an embargo throughout the American colonies on all British trade beginning December 1, 1774.

Meanwhile, in Boston, things were spinning out of control. Civilian mobs gathered, and militiamen drilled. The British had lost control of the province. In April 1775, Parliament ordered Gage to make a show of force. Having learned that New Englanders were stockpiling arms and gunpowder in the nearby towns, General Gage sent troops to Concord on April 18 to confiscate or destroy the munitions. En route to Concord, a skirmish ensued at Lexington. Several militiamen were killed. A second firefight occurred shortly thereafter at Concord. As the British troops retreated to Boston, they were pursued and attacked by an outpouring of militia from the surrounding region, sustaining nearly 300 casualties.

In response to the bloodshed, which the colonists blamed on the British, a Second Continental Congress was held in Philadelphia in June. That Congress called for the creation of a continental army with George Washington to be its commander-in-chief. Meanwhile, New England militiamen laid siege to British-occupied Boston and fought the British army at nearby Bunker Hill. General Washington arrived in Boston two weeks later to take command of the disorganized militia as the nascent Continental Army. By March 1776, Washington had installed captured British artillery on the Dorchester Heights, within range of the British troops and warships. General Gage, recognizing his predicament, promptly evacuated Boston for Halifax.

Anticipating that the British would eventually return south to reestablish themselves in New York, Washington set off with his troops to build defensive fortifications there. On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress declared independence from Great Britain on behalf of 13 sovereign American states, formerly colonies of Great Britain. The American War for Independence was underway.

Association of Freemen

To the extent that colonists thought about their nationality before the engagements at Lexington and Concord, most residents of Baltimore probably considered themselves British first, Marylanders second, and Americans last. But the "shot fired in Lexington and heard 'round the world" forced colonists to reconsider their allegiance. Everyone now had to choose a side: loyalty to King George III, or patriotism in the cause of American independence; in a word, king or country. Suddenly, labels were being applied. People were asked, "Are you a Loyalist or a Patriot?" For some, this was not an easy question to answer.

It is hard now to imagine the chaos that reigned in America immediately after the colonies declared independence from Great Britain. With the stroke of a pen, all official governing institutions in the rebelling provinces ceased to exist. Royal and provincial governors who had not already done so boarded British warships and fled. The provincial legislative assemblies were disbanded. Government offices and courts were closed. Judges, clerks and sheriffs lost their writs. There was no graceful transfer of authority. Those who could seize power, did so. Violent conflict loomed. The social order was in a state of uncertainty and flux.

At the continental level, following their declaration of independence in July 1776, the delegates to the Second Continental Congress assumed control of the new nation, which they governed by committee. Congress encouraged each colony to adopt a state constitution.

Maryland had already begun the process. Two years earlier, in April 1774, after Governor Eden had prorogued the provincial assembly, county delegates convened in Annapolis as the "Association of Freemen of Maryland." By June, the association was acting informally as the governing body of the province. One of the delegates' first acts was to adopt the First Continental Congress' Articles of Association, banning all trade with Great Britain.

To enforce this trade embargo, the delegates established "committees of observation" in each county to monitor compliance with the articles by local merchants and shopkeepers. As Maryland stumbled through the ensuing year,

attempting to formulate a means of governing the province, the committees gradually assumed responsibility for their respective counties.

As a result of the escalation of conflict in and around Boston following Lexington and Concord, the Maryland delegates reconvened in July 1775. Their first act was to resolve that signed "subscriptions of association" be obtained from all military-aged men, a tacit admission that the Association of Freemen was not a legally constituted government. It was, rather, a voluntary organization, created for the defense of the province.

Accordingly, the delegates' first resolution was to require that all "Associators" take up arms as a militia. Their next resolve was to call for the enlistment of a provincial military consisting of 45 volunteer companies of "minutemen." Five such companies were raised in Baltimore Town in August, the same month that King George III declared the colonies to be in open rebellion.

Many of those who sought to remain neutral, including the pacifist Quakers, Mennonites and growing numbers of Methodists, refused to subscribe to the association or turn out for the militia. They were labeled "Non-Associators" and spurned by the Patriots, the more ardent of whom believed that itinerant Methodist ministers, whom the Patriots pursued and persecuted, were encouraging non-association, especially on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay.

Methodism had also become popular in the northern reaches of Baltimore County, where David Paisley had moved with his family. Non-association was common there, too, as evidenced by the numerous objections and refusals to subscribe recited in the minutes of the committees of observation. Those minutes also reflect that Non-Associators who dared to espouse Loyalist thoughts were often summoned to appear before the committees to be publicly admonished, fined, and occasionally jailed or expelled.

Meanwhile, to the south, the royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, fled the mainland for the safety of HMS *Fowey*, anchored off Yorktown. Around the time of the skirmish at Lexington, Dunmore had ordered British royal marines to move the province's store of gunpowder from its magazine at Williamsburg to a British warship in the James River for safekeeping. The local Patriot militia, led

by Patrick Henry, confronted the marines, but the matter was resolved without bloodshed and the powder was relocated.

Nevertheless, the confrontation made it clear to all that Lord Dunmore had worn out his welcome. From the *Fowey*, Dunmore issued a proclamation on November 7, 1775, declaring Virginia to be in a state of rebellion, imposing martial law, and offering freedom to any slave or indentured servant who would leave his master to fight for the British.

Fearing that Dunmore's proclamation would encourage slave uprisings in both Virginia and Maryland, the Association of Freemen ordered three companies of Maryland minutemen on the Eastern Shore to march to the southern end of the Delmarva Peninsula to assist the Virginia militia there. As a precaution against Non-Associators joining the rebellion, the association also passed a resolution requiring Non-Associators to forfeit all firearms in their possession.

Many of those who refused to subscribe to the association also refused to part with their guns. David Paisley may have been among them. Searching for a compromise, it appears from the committee of observation minutes that some Non-Associators' firearms were purchased, instead of being confiscated. Other Non-Associators may have been allowed to retain their firearms by posting a bond guaranteeing they would remain peaceful and not cooperate with the British.

Whatever the solution to this problem, factions formed as Marylanders struggled to find common ground. Not all were convinced that separation from Great Britain was inevitable. Many believed that the conflict could still be resolved through negotiation. They believed that the mob rule that had become commonplace in Boston would lead to anarchy throughout the colonies. Most of the population on Maryland's Eastern Shore, primarily consisting of Loyalists and Non-Associators, felt this way.

On the western side of Chesapeake Bay, there were two camps. The ruling merchant and planter class were Patriots, radicals in favor of independence. But in the countryside, many farmers and tradesmen remained neutral. Several Non-Associators, in their refusals to subscribe to the association, stated that the

conflict simply didn't concern them. Others said they believed that the elites' call for independence was a pretense to maintain political power at the expense of the poor and middling sort who wanted a voice in government. Quite a few cited religious reasons for demurring.

In negotiations over the terms of the new state constitution, the merchants and gentry, who were in the majority, refused any meaningful expansion of suffrage. Only free men owning 50 acres of land or personal property worth £40 or more could vote. Women, slaves, Catholics and the poor had no voice in government. Most common people saw the proposed new constitution as maintaining a plutocratic hierarchy, rather than establishing a real democracy.

In Baltimore Town, merchants nearly all favored the Patriot cause. And some were quite radical. They perceived the imperial government to be corrupt and demanded independence from Great Britain and her mercantilist policies. Some historians have noted that the merchants' opposition to the mother country rose and fell with the economy, as town merchants "sought political answers to their economic problems."

The Patriots grew anxious in mid-March 1776 when HMS *Otter* sailed into Chesapeake Bay and up the Patapsco River, but the warship took no action against Baltimore Town. Nevertheless, the scare radicalized the Baltimore Mechanical Company, which morphed into the Whig Club.

Not satisfied with merely silencing those who did not join their ranks, the invigorated Whig Club tried to force all remaining Loyalists to leave Baltimore Town. Riots erupted, with free blacks coming to the aid of the Loyalists. Most Non-Associators still living in Baltimore Town moved to the surrounding countryside. If David Paisley hadn't already left town for North Hundred, he would likely have done so at this time.

Loyalists on the Eastern Shore were emboldened by the presence of the British navy to stage an open insurrection on the Delmarva Peninsula in June. As had been feared, slave revolts followed in August in St. Mary's County in southern Maryland, and then in Frederick County to the west of Baltimore. Loyalists again took up arms on the peninsula in September, spreading the protest further north, although no blood was shed.

Agents sent by the Baltimore committee of observation to obtain pledges of subscription to the association in northern Baltimore County soon discovered that the residents there refused to subscribe or to turn out for militia service. Settlers in North Hundred and Back River Lower Hundred were so notorious in their opposition to subscription that some of the committee's agents wouldn't even go there.

On November 8, 1776, the Association of Freemen adopted a constitution for the State of Maryland at a convention in Annapolis held for that purpose, then disbanded. Not everyone was happy with the new state constitution. On the Delmarva Peninsula, the response was yet another Loyalist uprising in February 1777. When the new Maryland state government ordered the militia to the Eastern Shore to quash the revolt, the command was mostly ignored.

At a loss for how to deal with the Loyalist, the Maryland General Assembly enacted a law in April 1777 declaring that taking up arms against the United States of America or any of its member states, or giving aid or assistance to Great Britain, constituted the crime of treason, punishable by death. Seditious libel, that is, asserting allegiance to Great Britain, was also made a crime, punishable by a fine of up to £10,000, five years in prison, and banishment.

The act also required all voters, attorneys and government officials to swear an oath of allegiance to the State of Maryland, renouncing all loyalty to Great Britain. Exceptions were made for Quakers and Mennonites who refused on religious grounds.

The House of Delegates wanted to go further, imposing the oath on all citizens and making it a crime to even speak ill of the revolution, but the Senate objected, asserting that "no government has the right to dive into the secret thoughts of subjects conforming their conduct to the known laws of the state." The radicals in the House of Delegates were not to be placated for long.

Non-Jurors

THE BLOODSHED THAT ACCOMPANIED THE American Revolution largely bypassed Maryland. Although the new state did raise its quota of eight regiments, requested by Congress for the Continental Line, these soldiers fought elsewhere: New York; New Jersey; Pennsylvania; the Carolinas; and, finally, in Virginia. Not a single battle was fought against British troops on Maryland soil.

Following the action at Boston at the outset of the war, the British were mostly victorious in battles in New York on and around the island of Manhattan during the fall of 1776. British troops defeated the Continental army at Brooklyn (Aug. 27), Harlem Heights (Sept. 16), White Plains (Oct. 28), Fort Washington (Nov. 16) and Fort Lee (Nov. 20).

But the Americans followed with surprising victories in New Jersey at Trenton (Dec. 26) and Princeton (Jan. 3, 1777), before retreating to winter quarters in Morristown, while the British retired to New York. Fearful that the British might attack the American capital of Philadelphia from New York, the Continental Congress temporarily moved to Baltimore that winter before returning to Philadelphia in the spring.

Fighting resumed in the summer of 1777, with the British pursuing two lines of attack. One was to bring a British army south from Canada down the Hudson River Valley, with the goal of splitting New England off from the other colonies. This expedition failed when the Americans defeated the British at Saratoga, New York, in September.

The other line of attack was intended to capture Philadelphia. This British force of over 17,000 soldiers, commanded by Gen. Sir William Howe, left New York harbor on troop ships in July 1777. The fleet of more than 260 ships entered Chesapeake Bay and sailed north past Baltimore Town to Head of Elk, where the troops disembarked on August 25.

As the fleet sailed past Annapolis, the new Maryland Governor ordered the Western Shore militia to march north to the western bank of the Susquehanna to defend the state should the British decide to cross over the river and invade

there. The precaution was unnecessary. Immediately upon landing, the British marched into Pennsylvania, ignoring Maryland entirely. Howe's goal was to capture Philadelphia, the American capital. In anticipation of his arrival, the Continental Congress departed for Lancaster. As the British marched north, the Maryland militia returned home.

After defeating Washington and the Continental army two weeks later at Brandywine (Sept. 11) and then at Paoli (Sept. 20), Howe occupied Philadelphia on September 26. He garrisoned about a quarter of his force there and positioned the rest of his army in nearby Germantown. The Americans launched a surprise attack on the British at Germantown (Oct. 4), but were defeated yet again. During the first week of December, the British and Americans engaged in several indecisive skirmishes in Whitemarsh township before retiring to winter quarters in Philadelphia and Valley Forge, respectively. In February 1778, General Howe was replaced by Gen. Henry Clinton.

Undoubtedly, David Paisley's uncle, Thomas Major, living across the Schuylkill River from the Valley Forge encampment, was called upon that winter to supply provisions for Washington's troops. British and Continental soldiers are known to have marched through the neighborhood. Most of Thomas Major's neighbors later filed claims to recover for the damages inflicted on their farms by the Redcoats. Since Thomas Major did not file a claim, it appears his farm was left unmolested.

With the British army occupying Philadelphia and the British navy controlling Delaware Bay and occasionally patrolling the Chesapeake, Loyalists on the Delmarva Peninsula were emboldened to rise up. In April, about 200 Loyalists gathered at the head of the Chester River, where they built a small fort. General Washington sent an officer from Valley Forge to put down the insurrection using Maryland and Delaware militiamen. A firefight ensued. One Loyalist was killed. The rest soon dispersed.

Similarly, across the Bay in northern Baltimore County, about 700 Non-Associators felt confident enough to rebel when pressed to appear for militia duty or pay for substitutes. A riot erupted at My Lady's Manor when the sheriff attempted to collect fines for failure of these men or their substitutes to muster.

Ultimately, the rioters dispersed upon learning that the Baltimore militia was prepared to come to the sheriff's assistance. Additional, smaller conflicts occurred throughout the northern hundreds during the following months.

The year-long British campaign to capture the American capital city of Philadelphia that began in the summer of 1777 nearly tore the State of Maryland apart. The British had hoped that their overwhelming military presence would encourage Maryland Loyalists to arise in opposition to their Patriot neighbors, like it had in New York. And Loyalists in Maryland did rise, but not to the extent that it made a difference. Unlike the Patriots, who controlled the nascent Maryland state government, the Loyalists were disorganized. They were also outnumbered.

The Patriots had used this to their advantage. The Association of Freemen had immediately raised a militia and identified and attempted to disarm all who were not Patriots. Upon attaining statehood, the Maryland legislature required all political officials and lawyers to swear an oath of allegiance to the state. The House of Delegates tried to extend this mandate to all fighting-age men throughout the state, but the Senate said "no."

But on December 23, 1777, at the urging of the House, the Maryland General Assembly passed "An Act for the Better Security of the Government." That law required all men over the age of 18 to swear an oath of fidelity to the State of Maryland and to renounce their allegiance to the British Crown. The oath had to be signed in the presence of a local magistrate before March 1, 1778.

Those who refused to take the oath were labeled "Non-Jurors." They were to be punished by being taxed at three times the normal tax rate. They were also to be deprived of the right to possess a firearm, vote, sue for recovery of debt or damages, hold public office, practice law, engage in the merchant trade, take employment as a teacher, preacher, physician or apothecary, or serve as a juror.

The magistrate's records for North Hundred, Baltimore, County, show that David Paisley refused to take the oath of fidelity to the State of Maryland. He was, therefore, a Non-Juror. So was David's brother-in-law, Benjamin Dungan, although it is not known where in the county he then resided. In Baltimore Town, a "William Peasley" also refused to take the oath, but there is no indication,

besides the common surname, that this man was David Paisley's relative.

Surprisingly, historians have estimated that about a third of the men of Baltimore County were Non-Jurors. It could have been as high as half, given that the extant court minutes for the county listed 2,211 Non-Associators and 2,203 men that swore the oath in 1778. And North Hundred, though sparsely settled, had 250 Non-Jurors, the highest number of all the hundreds in Baltimore County, and over 10% of the total.

Why wouldn't David Paisley have taken the oath of a Patriot? What was so important to him that he was willing to pay treble taxes and be treated as a second-class citizen, deprived of so many rights that others took for granted?

One historian has noted that many veterans of the French & Indian War from the Middle Colonies were indifferent to the Patriot cause or even became Loyalists because "they would not accept the destruction of the empire for which they had fought." David certainly didn't lack courage. He had, after all, reenlisted after experiencing the battle at Fort Ligonier in 1758, and been promoted to ensign.

But it is possible that David subsequently become a Methodist, and Methodists were pacifists. David had been baptized Presbyterian; Margaret was raised Anglican. It would have been a natural compromise. Methodism was an evangelical branch of Anglicanism. Rev. George Whitefield, whose preaching had been so influential with New Side Presbyterians during the Great Awakening, was an Anglican Methodist. And itinerant Methodist ministers often frequented North Hundred. The first Methodist minister in the province, Rev. Robert Strawbridge, lived just ten miles to the west in Frederick County. By 1777, there were more Methodists in Baltimore than anywhere else in America. And nearly all of them were Non-Jurors.

It could be that David, having experienced the horrors of war as a single young man, and now 40 years old and living in the countryside with a wife and young children, surrounded by pacifist neighbors who objected to the war on religious grounds, simply wanted to avoid the violence.

As noted by historian, Neal Brooks, in his *History of Baltimore County*:

> By and large, the hundreds closer to Baltimore Town had fewer non-asssociators

> than did the more distant hundreds. These more remote vicinities - such as Mine Run Hundred, Gunpowder Upper Hundred, and North Hundred - escaped many of the pressures to conform as applied by the Whig Club and the revolutionary leadership. As a result, the people of these hundreds perceived the Revolution in a far different light. The combination of higher prices for domestic goods, fines imposed on those not participating in the Revolution, and the extreme tactics of the revolutionary leadership appeared to be methods "calculated to enslave" to these rural residents.

David likely held the same aspirations for his country as did the Patriots: liberty and self-determination. He may have just disagreed with the means they chose to achieve them.

Conclusion

When Congress called for a colonial embargo on all trade with Great Britain, the British likewise terminated commercial relations with the colonies. The British Royal Navy, one of the greatest sea powers of the day, was then ordered to interdict vessels sailing between America and the rest of the world. At the time, the Royal Navy had 270 ships of the line, frigates and other military vessels, 24 of which were stationed in North America. The American navy, on the other hand, consisted of just a handful of privateers. British sailors celebrated their domination over the colonists with the song, "Rule, Britannia! Britannia rule the waves!"

After the port of Boston was closed, Baltimore was the best situated of all the colonial ports to engage in foreign trade. The British blockaded the major port cities in the north of the Carolinas: Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Norfolk had been burned. Besides Baltimore, only Savannah and Charles Town in the Southern Colonies remained open. But even they succumbed in 1778 and 1780, respectively, leaving Baltimore as the only American port whose shipping could reach the Atlantic Ocean. Because of the nature of its extensive and articulated coastline, and the limited military value of conquering and occupying Maryland and Virginia, the British only made feeble attempts to blockade Chesapeake Bay.

Historians have estimated that the American economy shrank by as much as 30% during the war years. So much productive property had been destroyed. The labor force was decimated by war casualties, with many survivors wounded and disabled. London financiers refused or were prohibited from lending to Americans, and they demanded repayment of pre-war debts. There was a lack of hard currency. Commercial relations around the Atlantic were in shambles. American trade with the British colonies in the West Indies was prohibited. The result was a widespread economic collapse lasting from 1775 until the end of the war.

In the summer of 1778, General Clinton abandoned Philadelphia and marched his British army back to New York. For the remainder of the war, the British

turned their attention to the Southern Colonies, primarily the Carolinas, where David Paisley's brothers all saw combat as Patriot militiamen. The youngest, John, became a colonel of militia. Robert, was a captain. William Jr. was wounded at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

The removal of British forces from the Middle Colonies had a chilling effect on further Loyalist uprisings in Maryland. With no likelihood of the British Army coming to their aid, Loyalists found themselves isolated and outnumbered. Those that had not already gone, fled to England, Nova Scotia, the Bahamas or the West Indies. Nearly all had their American estates and properties confiscated.

By the end of 1779, an uneasy peace prevailed in the Middle Colonies and around Chesapeake Bay, but many Marylanders now found themselves in financial straits. Non-Jurors were uniquely burdened. In addition to the flagging economy, they also suffered from the penalties imposed on them by the General Assembly earlier in the year. From an economic standpoint, two of these punishments were especially troublesome: the inability to sue in court to recover damages or unpaid debts, and being barred from certain occupations.

The imposition of the treble tax likely caused considerable anxiety among well-to-do Non-Jurors, but the General Assembly suspended it in 1779 and 1780. Given that no records have been found showing that David or his brother-in-law, Benjamin Dungan, ever owned land in Maryland, the treble tax probably wouldn't have troubled them much anyway.

More punitive for David and Benjamin were the penalties they incurred due to their refusal to turn out for militia musters. They were each fined twice in 1780 for "failure to attend military duty when ordered," then fined again in 1782. The typical fine was £2 per offense, or about $650 in today's currency, but it could be assessed as high as £10.

The British captured Savannah in late 1778, and Charles Town in 1780, but they were never able to subdue the Carolinas. The man in charge, Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis, wore his soldiers out by chasing the southern Continental Army around North Carolina in the spring of 1781. Cornwallis marched his army from there into Virginia, where it was defeated at Yorktown and surrendered on October 19, 1781.

Little is known of David Paisley's life after the end of the war. The only later records that have been found indicate that in 1782, David was a witness in a Maryland chancery court case. Shortly thereafter, he was a defendant in another lawsuit, this one brought by William Matthews. The details of these proceedings are as yet unknown, but other records do shed light on what might have been going on in the Matthews case.

In January 1783, the Maryland General Assembly enacted the Supply Tax of 1783, requiring all land, improvements, slaves and livestock throughout the state to be assessed. The tax roll that was prepared for North Hundred, Baltimore County, still exists and is complete. It lists all the inhabitants of North Hundred as of May 1783, providing a demographic snapshot of the community at that time.

The tax assessment shows that there were 321 households headed by free white adult males, nearly all of whom were listed by name. Including these householders, there were 1,640 residents in the hundred, many of whom were likely indentured servants. But there were only 19 working-age male slaves, distributed among 15 owners. The average farm size was about 150 acres, with improvements on each farm valued at around £20. Three mills were listed, but there may have been more. It is apparent from the tax roll that North Hundred did not exhibit the slave-owning, tobacco plantation culture of the Southern Colonies. North Hundred was populated by small-scale yeoman farmers, primarily with English and German surnames, and a handful of Ulster Scots as well.

David Paisley does not appear on the Supply Tax of 1783 assessment list, indicating that he had either died or left the neighborhood by May of that year. David's brother-in-law, Benjamin Dungan, with whom he had much in common, was listed, presumably as a tenant since he was not assessed for any land. He owned one horse and five cows. His tax was calculated at the normal rate, not the punitive treble rate. Benjamin was the only free white male over the age of 18 in his household. There were six others living with him, the same as the known size of his family. He owned no slaves.

William Matthews, the man who sued David Paisley that year, was also listed

on the tax roll for North Hundred. Matthews was the third-wealthiest resident in the hundred, owner of a 255-acre estate located on Gunpowder Falls. The improvements on his land were valued at £700. There were two free white adult males and six others living on Matthews' property. It is not known whether these were family members or indentured servants, but he did not have any slaves. Most residents of North Hundred owned one or two horses. Matthews had nine, more than any other resident in the hundred.

The mere fact that David was sued by Matthews establishes two things. First, David had assets of some kind, sufficient in value to justify bringing suit against him. Since David didn't own land or property improvements, those assets were likely related to his trade, perhaps his cooperage tools or on-hand inventory. Second, since Non-Jurors were prohibited by law from suing in Maryland courts, Matthews had to have been a Patriot. But David was a Non-Juror. It is unlikely that they had similar political views about the recent revolution.

One interpretation of what is known about William Matthews is that he was a mill owner. His property was located on a river, and the high valuation of his property improvements indicates the presence of a mill. Only five landowners in the hundred had improvements valued at more than £100, and three of these were specifically identified on the tax roll as mills. The existence of a mill would explain why Matthews had so many horses. They would be needed to haul barrels of flour from his mill to the harbor in Baltimore Town.

If this analysis is correct and William Matthews owned and operated a mill, then he and David likely had a commercial relationship, with David making barrels for the mill. Had David refused or been unable to supply those barrels, litigation for breach of contract could have resulted. It is possible that David's militia fines cost him his working capital and kept him from purchasing necessary materials. Or he could have been injured or become ill. Any of these circumstances could have led Matthews to sue for damages or for a return of monies advanced on a contract for cooperage that David could not, or would not, fulfill. If illness or injury were the cause, David's death could have resulted, explaining his disappearance from the public record after 1783.

At any rate, records relating to David's family members have been found. One

establishes that his eldest daughter and wife's namesake, Mary Jr., married George Scarf in Baltimore Town at Old St. Paul's Anglican church in January 1781. She was 19 at the time. Another recites that David's younger daughter, Margaret Jr., married William McCarty in December 1790, when she was 25. They were married at the First Presbyterian Church, also in Baltimore Town, in December 1790.

The Baltimore City Directory for 1810 lists George Scarf, a plasterer, likely Mary Paisley's husband, as a town resident. It also lists a "Mrs. Peasley," as a resident of Baltimore Town that year. This was probably David's wife, Margaret Paisley, Sr. She would have been 72 years old at the time and likely widowed. The 1810 City Directory also lists Benjamin Dungan's son, William, then living in Baltimore Town and working as a cordwainer. William moved to town earlier than the others. He was listed in the Baltimore City Directory as early as 1803. There were no Paisleys, Scarfs, McCartys or Dungans listed in the city directories after 1810.

It is not known when or where David died, although it seems likely that it was in Baltimore County in 1783 at the age of 45, and that his widow and daughters then moved into town. David's father, William Paisley, Sr., who died in Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1787, appears not to have included David in his will, implying that David predeceased him.

David Paisley was the first male of his family born in America, the eldest son of an early Ulster Scot immigrant farmer and his wife. As a young man, David learned a trade and experienced the terror of Indian raids along the frontier. He fought those same warriors as a provincial soldier in the French & Indian War. He married, raised a family, and witnessed the explosive growth and settlement of colonial America.

David chose a path different from that of his brothers. He became a soldier early in life, while they stayed on the farm. He apprenticed to a cooper and practiced that trade; they became farmers. He married outside his faith to an Anglican; his brothers did not. David may have converted to Methodism; his brothers remained devout and active Presbyterians. David had daughters, and his brothers had sons. When his brothers all moved south, David remained in the

north. They wanted to, and did, own their own farms. David was content being a tenant. When his brothers went to war to fight for independence, David stayed home.

Although he would not have understood it to have been happening at the time, David lived during the most profound years of the Enlightenment. He was a beneficiary of the Enlightenment philosophy of natural rights that inspired now-famous men, such as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, to proclaim and pursue the creation and independence of the United States of America. Although he did not participate in the American Revolution they inspired, he lived through it.

The narrative of David Paisley's life is the common man's story of the founding of a nation.

EPILOGUE

Loose Ends

UNEARTHING EVIDENCE OF A LIFE lived more than 250 years ago can be challenging. Records were not kept then, as they are now. There was simply no need or time to do so. Government, as we know it, didn't exist. There was no bureaucracy filling out forms or issuing permits and licenses. Early settlers living on the frontier, like the Paisleys, were busy struggling just to stay alive. They had no reason to write things down, other than to account for trade and barter. And it was the rare immigrant who could read and write anyway, although David Paisley, his brothers, and his father could all do so.

The paper trail for reconstructing the lives of colonial settlers consists mainly of church minutes, family bibles, deeds, military records, wills, probate administrations, and, for a rare few, written correspondence. Unfortunately, many such documents, to the extent they ever existed, have been lost during migration or as casualties of decay, inattention or calamity.

Nevertheless, it would be surprising if the records discovered to date are all that have survived regarding the Paisleys' time in Pennsylvania and David's in Maryland. Hopefully, more will turn up to confirm, refute or supplement this narrative. It would be especially interesting to discover more about David Paisley's descendants, since there is some evidence that he and his wife had other children besides their daughters, Mary Jr. and Margaret.

In June 1817, the Baltimore County Orphan's Court entered an order appointing Sarah Paisley as the guardian of "Harriet, Samuel and David Paisley, orphan children of David Paisley, deceased." The guardianship order does not describe Sarah's relationship to David or to the children. She was probably his mother or sister, the children's grandmother or aunt.

The children's father was likely Pvt. David Paisley, who had been an infantryman in Capt. Montgomery's Company, 14th Regiment, U.S. Army, at the outset of the War of 1812. Private Paisley enlisted in Maryland on April 13, 1812, for a five-year tour of duty. His company was in one of the early engagements of the war that November, the Battle of Frenchman's Creek, on the Canadian side of

the Niagara River. Several American soldiers were wounded during the fighting. Pvt. David Paisley was probably one of them, given that his death was reported the following month at nearby Fort Niagara. To dispose of the property of his estate, a guardianship for his orphaned, minor children would have been required if David died without a will.

It was common among Ulster Scots to name the firstborn son after the father's father. In other words, chances are that Pvt. David Paisley was named after his grandfather, David Paisley, the central character of this narrative. The missing link that connects grandfather to grandson, of course, is Private Paisley's father, a nameless ghost. Similarly, what became of Private Paisley's orphaned children remains a mystery.

* * *

In 1843 and 1850, Rev. Samuel Paisley, organizer and minister of Bethel Presbyterian Church in Moore County, North Carolina, wrote letters to his nephew in Illinois, detailing what he knew about their family's story. Reverend Paisley was the grandson of Elenor and Will Paisley (William Paisley, Sr.), and the son of their fourth son, William Paisley, Jr., and his wife, Dilly. The Reverend's letters are a trove of family lore about the Paisleys and one of many sources relied upon in researching this narrative.

But Rev. Samuel Paisley had no personal knowledge of the family's early years in America. He was born in North Carolina in 1773 and lived there his entire life. Everything he knew about the Paisleys' immigration and their time in Pennsylvania had been related to him years after the fact by relatives living in North Carolina. Consequently, the story his letters tell is not totally accurate.

For example, Reverend Paisley wrote that his

> Grandfather, William Paisley [Sr.] had several brothers and sisters but one other only came to this country. His brother John settled in Delaware. Said to be an excellent man, his children amounted to nothing.

But as discussed in Part 3, at least one other sibling also immigrated to colonial America: Will's and John's sister, Mary. She very likely sailed from Ulster

in 1736 with Will and the McLeans. Soon after reaching Philadelphia, Mary Paisley married David Landy. A few years later, Will Paisley and David Landy jointly leased land in Norriton Township. They then settled on this land with their wives, possibly living together in a single log cabin while they cleared the fields. Landy died in Pennsylvania in 1756. Mary survived him. She and her daughter remained behind in Pennsylvania when her brother, Will, migrated to North Carolina in 1765.

Similarly, although the Reverend purported to list all of his grandparents' children, his letters never once mentioned Will's and Elenor's eldest son, David. How could Rev. Samuel Paisley not have known about his own uncle, David Paisley?

Like Will's sister, Mary Landy, David stayed behind when the rest of the family migrated to North Carolina. There was no regular post in the backcountry in those days, nor was there any other reliable way to remain in contact as people moved about. David's multiple moves placed the burden on him to stay in touch with his Carolina relatives. Otherwise, they would not have known where he had gone.

In 1766, the year after the rest of his family left Norriton for North Carolina, David moved to Baltimore Town. Between 1773 and 1776, he moved again, this time to North Hundred near the Pennsylvania border. He had to declare his neutral, Non-Juror status in 1779. By then, his brothers in North Carolina had already taken up arms against the British.

It seems unlikely that David would have written to tell his brothers and father that he didn't share their zeal for the revolution, assuming that's how he felt and that he wrote to them at all. But if he did, a rift could have resulted in the family disowning David as a traitor or coward and not mentioning him thereafter. But David did not lack in bravery, nor was he a turncoat. He was a veteran soldier who decided he wasn't going to fight in Maryland, where, at the time, there was little need to do so anyway. Treating David as a pariah under these circumstances would not have been a reasonable response by his North Carolina relatives.

Rather than David being intentionally scrubbed from the family record, there is a simpler explanation for Reverend Paisley not mentioning either David or

Mary in his family narrative.

Reverend Paisley's grandfather, parents, aunts and uncles all died more than 20 years before he sat down in 1840 to write his first letter detailing the Paisley family history. The only things he had to go on were his memory, family events recorded in a few family bibles, and stories recollected by cousins who, like him, had no personal knowledge of the tales they told.

The most probable reason for David and Mary not being mentioned in Reverend Paisley's family story is that the Reverend and his North Carolina relatives never knew about them. If Rev. Samuel Paisley's ancestors had ever mentioned David or Mary to him or his cousins, it would have been decades earlier. The Reverend's grandfather, Will, the ancestor most likely to have said something, died in 1787 when Samuel was just 14. By then, it had been over 20 years since Will had last seen David or Mary. Out of sight, out of mind.

* * *

Will's brother, John Paisley, who, according to Rev. Samuel Paisley, "settled in Delaware," emigrated from Ireland to America in 1751 with his wife, Margaret. Her father, James Gray, died in 1748 in Dover, Delaware, then part of the Province of Pennsylvania. His will gave his widow possession of his property upon his death but left ownership equally to their two children, Margaret and Peter. If the property was sold, the proceeds were to go to Margaret and Peter. John and Margaret came to America to claim Margaret's inheritance from her father's estate when they learned that her mother's new husband was attempting to sell the estate's assets and make off with the proceeds. John successfully petitioned the probate court in 1751 to prevent this from happening.

Three years later, perhaps using his wife's inheritance, John acquired 200 acres in Colerain Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. John died in 1761, but Margaret survived him. So did their sons, John Jr., Hugh, Robert and David, who, over time, moved to Lancaster County beginning in 1771. They were all Patriot militiamen during the American Revolution, and they all remained in Colerain Township until 1793. Hugh, Robert and David later migrated further

west.

Many researchers believe that another of John's and Margaret's sons, also named John, was born sometime in the late 1750s in Pennsylvania. This belief arises from a petition claiming a pension for service in the Revolutionary War filed by a former Continental Line soldier, "John Pastley," corrected later to read "Peasley," a spelling used by the Paisleys when they lived in Pennsylvania.

Pvt. John Peasley could neither read nor write. In a supplemental affidavit, acknowledged by "his mark," in Hawkins County, Tennessee, in 1833, Pvt. John Peasley affirmed that:

> "he was born in Philadelphia County Pennsylvania on Schuylkill about one mile from Indian Creek as he is informed and believes and at about the age of seven years he was moved to Orange County North Carolina by his uncle William Pastly (the father and mother of this applicant having died in Pennsylvania) ...."

Most researchers have concluded that the "uncle William Pastly" referred to above is Will Paisley and that his brother, John, who landed in Dover, was Pvt. John Peasley's father. Recent "Big Y" DNA testing seems to confirm this conclusion, or at least the conclusion that a Paisley male descending from Will's and John's father was the sire of Pvt. John Peasley. The DNA evidence also establishes that neither Will nor any of his sons were Pvt. John Peasley's father.

But there are several problems with concluding that Will's brother, John, was the father of Pvt. John Peasley. No record exists that places John Paisley or his wife in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, or anywhere near Indian Creek, where Pvt. John Peasley believed he was born. John Paisley lived in Dover, more than 80 miles from Indian Creek, from the time of his arrival in America until he died. And it would have been highly unusual for John Paisley to have named two of his sons John. Furthermore, it is unlikely that Pvt. John Peasley would have been separated from his four brothers and handed off to Norriton relatives.

Consequently, there is the possibility that there was yet another Paisley male who immigrated to Pennsylvania in the early 1700s in addition to Will, John and Mary, and that he was Pvt. John Peasley's father. Perhaps further developments in genetic testing will help solve this mystery of Pvt. John Peasley's ancestry.

Or maybe someone will invent a time machine. Wouldn't that be nice?

SOURCES

Bibliography

Pennsylvania

Berg, Harry D. "Economic Consequences of the French and Indian War for the Philadelphia Merchants." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3, July 1946, pp. 185–93.

Cummings, Hubertis. *Richard Peters: Provincial Secretary and Cleric, 1704–1776*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944.

Drury, Bob, and Tom Clavin. *Valley Forge*. Simon and Schuster, 2019.

Dunaway, Wayland Fuller. *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania*. 1979.

Frantz, John B., and William Pencak. *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland*. Penn State University Press, 1998.

Godbeer, Richard. *World of Trouble: A Philadelphia Quaker Family's Journey Through the American Revolution*. Yale University Press, 2019.

Herndon, Ruth Wallis, and John E. Murray. *Children Bound to Labor: The Pauper Apprentice System in Early America*. Cornell University Press, 2011.

Herrick, Cheesman A. *White Servitude in Pennsylvania: Indentured and Redemption Labor in Colony and Commonwealth*. John Joseph McVey, 1926.

Lemon, James T. *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania*. Baltimore : Johns Hopkins Press, 1972.

McCurdy, John. "Taxation and Representation: Pennsylvania Bachelors and the American Revolution." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 129, no. 3, July 2005, pp. 283–315.

McMurry, Sally. *Pennsylvania Farming: A History in Landscapes*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017.

Miller, David L. *What's a Cooper?: The Life of an 18th-Century Apprentice*. Masthof Press, 2007.

Miller, Frederic K. "The Farmer at Work in Colonial Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 3, no. 2, Apr. 1936, pp. 115–23.

Molovinsky, Lemuel. "Continuity of the English Tax Experience in Early Pennsylvania History." *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 46, no. 3, July 1979, pp. 233–

44.
Parsons, William T. *Isaac Norris II, The Speaker*. Dissertation, available from ProQuest. AAI0013416. https://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI0013416, 1955.
Pennypacker, Samuel Whitaker. *Annals of Phoenixville and Its Vicinity: From the Settlement to the Year 1871, Giving the Origin and Growth of the Borough With Information Concerning the Adjacent Townships of Chester and Montgomery Counties and the Valley of the Schuylkill*. Davis & Pennypacker, 1872.
Purvis, Thomas L. *Colonial America to 1763*. Infobase Publishing, 2014.
_____. *Revolutionary America, 1763 to 1800*. Infobase Publishing, 1995.
Rabushka, Alvin. *Taxation in Colonial America*. Princeton University Press, 2008.
Simler, Lucy. "The Township: The Community of the Rural Pennsylvanian." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 106, no. 1, Jan. 1982, pp. 41–68.
_____. "Tenancy in Colonial Pennsylvania: The Case of Chester County." *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 4, Oct. 1986, pp. 542–69.
_____. "The Landless Worker: An Index of Economic and Social Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1750-1820." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 114, no. 2, Apr. 1990, pp. 163–99.
Standiford, Les. *Desperate Sons: Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, John Hancock, and the Secret Bands of Radicals Who Led the Colonies to War*. Harper Collins, 2012.
Suranyi, Anna. *Indentured Servitude : Unfree Labor and Citizenship in the British Colonies*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021.

French & Indian War

Barr, Daniel. "A Road for Warriors: The Western Delawares and the Seven Years War." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 73, no. 1, Penn State University Press, 2006, pp. 1–36.
Chartrand, René. *Tomahawk and Musket: French and Indian Raids in the Ohio Valley 1758*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012.
Cubbison, Douglas R. *The British Defeat of the French in Pennsylvania, 1758: A Military History of the Forbes Campaign Against Fort Duquesne*. McFarland, 2010.
Cummings, Hubertis. "The Frontier Forts of Provincial Pennsylvania."

Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies, vol. 14, no. 1, 1947, pp. 41–43.

Dixon, David. *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.

Eastburn, Robert. *Narratives of Captives: The Dangers and Sufferings of Robert Eastburn and His Deliverance From Indian Captivity*. The Burrows Brothers Company, 1904.

Hazard, Samuel, editor. *Pennsylvania Archives First Series: Vol. 2*. Joseph Severns and Co., 1852.

_____. *Pennsylvania Archives First Series: Vol. 3*. Joseph Severns and Co., 1853.

Kauffman, Henry J. *The Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle*. Masthof Press, 2005.

Kindig, Joe, Jr. *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle in Its Golden Age*. 3rd ed., George Shumway Publisher, Inc, 2017.

Montgomery, Thomas Lynch, editor. *Pennsylvania Archives Fifth Series: vol. 1.* Harrisburg Publishing Company, State Printer, 1906.

Nixon, Lily Lee. *James Burd, Frontier Defender, 1726-1793*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941.

Pennsylvania Indian Forts Commission. *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*. Edited by Thomas Lynch Montgomery, 2nd ed., vol. 1–2, Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1916.

Spero, Patrick. *Frontier Country: The Politics of War in Early Pennsylvania*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Stephenson, R. S. "Pennsylvania Provincial Soldiers in the Seven Years' War." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 62, no. 2, 1995, pp. 196–212.

Ward, Matthew C. *Breaking the Backcountry: Seven Years War in Virginia and Pennsylvania 1754-1765*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004.

_____. "An Army of Servants: The Pennsylvania Regiment During the Seven Years' War." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 119, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Jan. 1995, pp. 75–94.

_____. "The 'Peaceable Kingdom' Destroyed: The Seven Years' War and the Transformation of the Pennsylvania Backcountry." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 74, no. 3, July 2007, pp. 247–79.

Religion

Andrews, Dee E. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760-1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

Blair, Anthony L. "Schism on the Susquehanna: Community and Congregational Conflict on the Pennsylvania Frontier During the Era of the Great Awakening." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 75, no. 1, Penn State University Press, 2008, pp. 1–25.

Coalter, Milton J. *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder: A Case Study of Continental Pietism's Impact on the First Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1986.

Dickey, J. D. *American Demagogue*. Simon and Schuster, 2019.

Lednum, John. *A History of the Rise of Methodism in America: Containing Sketches of Methodist Itinerant Preachers, From 1736 to 1785*. 1859.

Maser, Frederick E. *Robert Strawbridge, First American Methodist Circuit Rider*. Academy Books, 1983.

Smith, Joseph. *Eighty Years; Embracing a History of Presbyterianism in Baltimore;* The Westminster Press, 1899.

Smith, John Howard. *The First Great Awakening: Redefining Religion in British America, 1725–1775*. Rowman and Littlefield, 2014.

Whitefield, George. *The Two First Parts of His Life: With His Journals, Revised, Corrected, and Abridged*. W. Strahan, 1756.

Maryland

Brooks, Neal A., and Eric G. Rockel. *A History of Baltimore County*. Friends of the Towson Library, Inc, 1979.

Brown, Wallace. "The American Farmer During the Revolution - Rebel or Loyalist." *Agricultural History*, vol. 42, no. 4, Oct. 1968, pp. 327–38.

Corbett, Theodore. *A Maritime History of the American Revolutionary War: An Atlantic-Wide Conflict over Independence and Empire*. Pen and Sword Maritime, 2023.

Daniels, Christine. "'WANTED: A Blacksmith Who Understands Plantation Work': Artisans in Maryland, 1700-1810." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 4, Oct. 1993, pp. 743–67.

Doutrich, Paul E. "Cresap's War: Expansion and Conflict in the Susquehanna Valley." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 53, no. 2, Penn State University Press, Jan. 1986, pp. 89–104.

Dutrizac, Charles Desmond. "Local Identity and Authority in a Disputed Hinterland: The Pennsyvlania-Maryland Border in the 1730s." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 115, no. 1, 1991, pp. 35–62.

Gould, Clarence. "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore." *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by His Students*, 1931, pp. 225–51.

Griffith, Thomas Waters. *Annals of Baltimore*. William Wooddy, 1824.

Hoffman, Ronald. *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

_____. "Popularizing the Revolution: Internal Conflict and Economic Sacrifice in Maryland, 1774- 1780." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 68, no. 2, 1973, pp. 125–39.

Mason, Keith. "Localism, Evangelicalism, and Loyalism: The Sources of Discontent in the Revolutionary Chesapeake." *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 56, no. 1, Feb. 1990, pp. 23–54.

MacMaster, Richard K. "Philadelphia Merchants, Backcountry Shopkeepers, and Town-Making Fever." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 81, no. 3, Penn State University Press, Jan. 2014, p. 342.

McCreary, George W. *The Ancient and Honorable Mechanical Company of Baltimore*. Kohn and Pollock, 1901.

Olson, Sherry H. *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Overfield, Richard A. "A Patriot Dilemma: The Treatment of Passive Loyalists and Neutrals in Revolutionary Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 68, no. 2, 1973, pp. 140–59.

Preston, Walter Wilkes. *History of Harford County, Maryland : From 1608 (the Year of Smith's Expedition) to the Close of the War of 1812*. 2009.

Satek, Pamela. *William Lux of Baltimore 18th Century Merchant*. University of

Maryland, 1974.

Scharf, John Thomas. *The Chronicles of Baltimore: Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. Baltimore : Turnbull Bros., 1874.

Schlesinger, Arthur. *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776*. Beard Books, 1939.

Scott, Diana. "Early Settlement and Religious Growth in the Freedom District of Carroll County." *Carroll History Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2010.

Sharrer, G. Terry. "Flour Milling in the Growth of Baltimore, 1750-1830." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 71, no. 3, 1976, pp. 322–33.

Sheridan, Richard. "The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American Colonies." *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 20, no. 2, June 1960, pp. 161–86.

Sioussat, Annie Middleton Leakin. *Old Baltimore*. The MacMillan Company, 1931.

Steffen, Charles G. *From Gentlemen to Townsmen: The Gentry of Baltimore County Maryland, 1660–1776*. University Press of Kentucky, 2021.

_____. *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763-1812*. University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Tiedemann, Joseph S., et al. *The Other Loyalists: Ordinary People, Royalism, and the Revolution in the Middle Colonies, 1763-1787*. State University of New York Press, 2009.

Trimble, Logan. "Middling Planters and the Strategy of Diversification in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1750-1776." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 85, no. 2, 1990, pp. 171–78.

Walker, Paul. "Business and Commerce in Baltimore on the Eve of Independence." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1976, pp. 296–309.