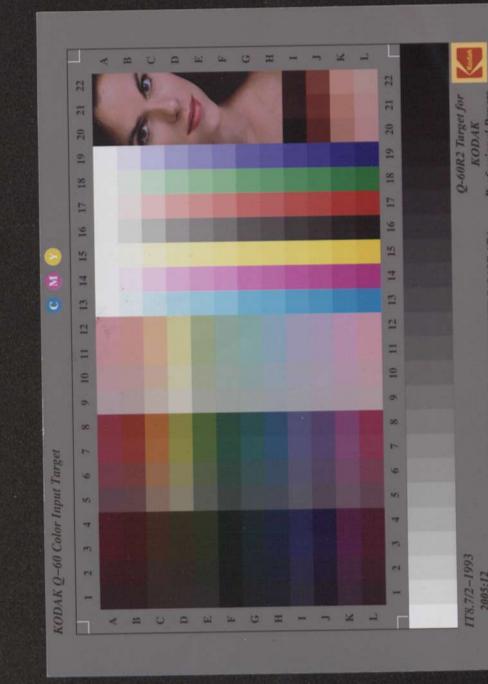
The Herrman Map of Maryland and Virginia, 1673

PHILLIPS







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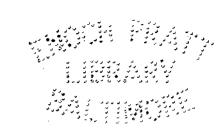
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THE RARE MAP OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

BY

AUGUSTINE HERRMAN FIRST LORD OF BOHEMIA MANOR MARYLAND

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

WITH FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION FROM THE COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

P. LEE PHILLIPS

CHIEF OF MAP DIVISION LIBRARY OF CONGRESS AUTHOR OF THE FIRST MAP OF KENTUCKY BY JOHN FILSON

WASHINGTON
W. H. LOWDERMILK & COMPANY
JOHN T. LOOMIS, MANAGING PARTNER
1911

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HERRMAN'S MAP OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

Scattered through the annals of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, New York and Pennsylvania, the name of Augustine Herrman is in evidence in connection with diplomacy, trade, exploration, cartography, and colonization. While there is considerable information as to his life, no one has yet attempted on a large scale to bring together the various events in what would be one of the most interesting biographies of a very unusual character. Employed by Peter Stuyvesant in diplomacy, traveling through virginal roads beset with Indians, the first beginner of the indigo and Virginia tobacco trade, the first legally naturalized citizen of a state, therefore of the United States, and honored with the title of Lord, conferred on him by the Proprietor of Maryland, "together with all the rights and privileges to a manor, such as holding court baron and court leet," and connected with many other notable events, which came into the lives of men of early days, Herrman may be considered, truly, an "Adventurer" according to the time. It is not, however, with his life that this paper has to do, but to describe his map, which at this late day is reproduced here for the first time in its entirety.

This map by Herrman, made in manuscript in 1670, and the one made by Captain John Smith in 1608 have had immense influence both geographically and historically. Geographically they were both copied by cartographers for over two hundred years and historically used in the various boundary disputes between Maryland and Virginia from the beginning up to the settlement in 1894.

In my paper entitled "Virginia Cartography," published in 1896, I devoted some space to these two maps. Since then the interest created in Herrman's map, which was there for the first time bibliographically described, has induced me to enlarge this description, by additional information recently acquired, to accompany this reproduction.

While Captain John Smith's map pertains more especially to Virginia, Herrman's map may be considered the first "adequate" map of Maryland. The only copy of this map that has come to light is found in the Grenville Library of the British Museum. Although Washington seems to have referred to this map, as he says it "was admirably planned and equally well executed," it disappeared from the knowledge of the student until it was brought again into notice by D. C. De Jarnette, who was sent to England to collect material for the use of the Commission, in the long standing question as to the correct boundary rights of Maryland and Virginia.

In speaking of the reproduction of Herrman's map and others, De Jarnette, says in a letter of Nov. 18, 1871, "by this process of photo-lithography when the impression is transferred to stone, copies are reproduced at very slight expense. I therefore brought with me six copies of each of the maps obtained, from the Map Department of the British Museum, all of which accompany this report." This reduced reproduction, which is also very scarce, is published in "Maps to accompany the report of the Commissioners on the boundary line between Virginia and Maryland. 1873."

The first evidence that Herrman considered a correct map of Maryland was much needed is found in a letter addressed to Peter Stuyvesant, dated Oct., 1659, before he had considered the interest of Lord Baltimore in the matter:

"But, first of all, the South river and the Virginias, with the lands and Kills between both, ought to be laid down on an exact scale as to longitude and latitude, in a perfect map, that the extent of country on both sides may be correctly seen, and the work afterwards proceeded with, for some maps which the English have here are utterly imperfect and prejudicial to us. The sooner this is done, the better, before Baltamoor whispers in the ears of the States of England, and thus make the matter much more difficult."

The great motive which seemed to govern Herrman, in the making of the map of Maryland, was the desire to perpetuate his name by securing one of the hereditary titles which Lord Baltimore at that time seemed most willing to concede to those who were able to increase his power by building up his domains.

Herrman was peculiarly adapted to the construction of this work. A surveyor and draughtsman by profession, with sufficient money made in trade to effect his purpose, and also a thorough knowledge of the country from personal explorations, he recognized the fact that Lord Baltimore had an imperfect knowledge of what his possessions really embraced and that a map defining his boundaries was the easiest way in which his ambition to become Lord of a Manor could be attained.

Lord Baltimore readily assented to Herrman's proposition to make him a map and rewarded him with an immense tract of many thousand acres principally in Cecil county, Maryland, which Herrman named from his native land Bohemia and was himself created first "Lord of Bohemia Manor."

About ten years were required to complete the map with an expenditure outside of his personal labors of about two hundred pounds which at present valuation would amount to over ten thousand dollars. The difficulties which Herrman overcame to

accomplish his purpose at that time in an unexplored and savage populated country may well be considered in connection with the make up of the map.

In the "Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1660," page 398, is the "Denization" of Herrman, which is interesting reading for the present day:

"Cæcilius absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon Lord Baron of Baltemore &c. To all Persons to whom these presents shall Come Greeting in our Lord God Euerlasting. Whereas Augustine Herman late of Manhatans Marchant haueing of long tyme used the trade of this our Province hath besought vs to grant vnto him leave to transporte himselfe and family into this our Province here to inhabit, And for our satisfaction and the benefitt of trade hath drawne a Mapp of all the Riuers Creekes and Harbours therevnto belonging Know yee that Wee willing to give due encouradgment to men of his profession, and to reward all such as haue well deserved from vs Doe hereby Declare him the said Augustine Herman to be a free Denizen of this our Province of Maryland, And Doe further for vs our heires and Successors straightly Enjoyne Constitute Ordaine and Command that the said Augustine Herman be in all things held treated reputed and esteemed as One of the faithfull People of vs our heires and Successors borne within this our Province of Maryland, And likewise any lands Tenements Revenues Services and other hereditaments whatsoever within our said Province of Maryland may inheritt or otherwise purchase receive take have hould buy and possess, and them may occupy and enjoy give Sell alien and bequeath, as likewise all Liberties, ffranchises and Priviledges of this our Province of Maryland freely quietly and peaceably have and possess occupy and enioy as our faithfull People borne and to be borne within our said Province of Maryland without the lett molestation Vexation trouble or Grieuvance of vs our heires and Successors and Custome to the Contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. Given at Saint Marves Vnder the Great Seale of our said Province of Maryland the ffowerteenth day of January in the Nyne and twentieth yeare of our Dominion over the said Province of Maryland Annoque Domini One thousand Six Hundred and Sixty. Wittnes our Deare brother Philip Calvert Esquier our Lieutenant of our said Province of Maryland."

The manuscript map was sent to England and engraved by the celebrated artist William Faithorne. The map was originally pub-

lished in four sheets, each sheet about 18% by 15% inches, and when put together measures 37¼ inches in width by 31¼ inches in height. The title is within a tablet, on a pedestal, with an Indian on each side, with coat of arms at the top.

Underneath is the "Significations of some remarchable Letters in this Mapp." Towards the right is the portrait of Herrman, on a pedestal, in oval inscribed "Avgustine Herrman Bohemiensis." On the right of this is "W:Faithorne sculpt." On the left of the portrait is a dividing compass and between the two ends is "A Scale of 8 English Leagues" and below "A scale of 24 English Miles." At the top is the coat of arms of Lord Baltimore and in the center above are the royal arms of Great Britain. Like most maps of the early days the lack of reliable geographical information in the inland country is supplied by the insertion of descriptive texts some of which read as follows:

- "The Land between James River and Roanoke River is for the most parts Low Suncken Swampy Land not well passable but with great difficulty And therein harbours Tygers Bears and other Devouringe Creatures".
- "Here about S^r Will Barkley, conquered and tooke Prisoner the great Indian emperour Abatschakin, after the Massacra in Virginia. Ano."
- "Mount Edlo. This Name derives from a Person that was in his Infancy taken Prisoner in the last Massacra over Virginia. And carried amongst other to this Mount, by the Indians, which was their watch Hill, the Country there about being Champion and not much Hilly."
- "With the Fountaine out of this Hill, issued forth a glisteringe Stuff Sand like unto the Fylings of Brass, and so continued downwards this Neck, that the very ground semed to be couered over with the same Brassy stuff."
- "The Heads of these two Rivers Proceed and issue forth out of low Marshy ground, and not out of hills or Mountaines as other Rivers doe."
- "The great Sassquahana River runs up Northerly to the Sinnicus aboue 200 miles with Divers Rivers and Branches on both sides to the

East and West full of falls and Isles untill about 10 or 12 miles aboue the Sasquahana fort and then it runs cleare but Downwards not Navigable but with great danger with Indian Canoos by Indian Pilots."

"Between the Heads of these opposite Branches beeing Swampy is but a narrow passage of Land to come downe out of the maine Continent into the Neck between these two great Rivers."

"These Limits between Virginia and Maryland are thus bounded by both sides Deputies the 27. May A^o 1558 marked by dubble Trees from this Pokomoake East to the Sea side to a Creeke called Swansecut C"

"An Indian Canoe made out of a Tree with their Battles and Oares With the manner of Rowing over the Rivers" [Picture of Indian Canoe]

"These mighty High and great Mountaines trenching N:E and S:W and WSW, is supposed to be the very middle Ridg of Northern America and the only Naturall Cause of the fiercenes and extreme Stormy Cold Winds that comes N:W from thence all over this Continent and makes frost And as Indians reports from the other side Westwards doe the Rivers take their Originall issuing out into the West Sea especially first discovered a very great River called the Black Minequass River out of which aboue the Sassquahana forts meetes a branch some leagues distance opposit to one another out of the Sassquahana River where formerly those Black Minequas came over and as far as Delaware to trade but the Sassquahana and Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great Nation and whether that same River comes out into the Bay of Mexico or the West Sea is not known Certain it is that as the Spaniard is possessed with great store of Minneralls at the other side of these Mountaines the same Treasure they may in process of time afford also to us here on this Side when Occupyed which is Recomended to Posterity to Remember."

"New Jarsy Pars at present Inhabited Only or most By Indians."

Some of the Manors are given, including "Bohemia M." At the mouth of "Patowmeck River" is a drawing of a ship, at the side "Capt. Tully" and underneath "Admirall of Maryland." The name of Captain John Tully is mentioned in Court and Testamentary business, 1657, Maryland Archives, v. 10, p. 567, as commanding the "Ship Releef."

The full title of the map reads:

"Virginia and Maryland As it is Planted and Inhabited this present

Year 1670 Surveyed and Exactly Drawne by the Only Labour & Endeavour of Augustin Herrman Bohemiensis." To the left of the pedestal containing this title is "Published by Authority of his Ma^{ties}. Royall Licence and particular Priviledge to Aug. Herman and Thomas Withingbrooke his Assignee for fourteen yeares from the year of our lord 1673."

This "Licence" for exclusive publication may be found in the "Great Britain Calendar of State Papers, Colonial America and West Indies, 1669-1674," page 551, and is here inserted:

"Jany 21. 1674. Whitehall.

1210. Grant to Augustine Hermann of the privilege of the sole printing of his map of Virginia and Maryland. Whereas he has by the King's command been for several years past engaged in making a survey of his Majesty's countries of Virginia and Maryland, and hath made a map of the Same, consisting of four sheets of paper, with all the rivers, creeks, and Soundings, &c., being work of very great pains and charge, and for the King's especial service; and whereas the copying or counterfeiting of said map would be very much to said Herman's prejudice and discouragement, all his Majesty's Subjects are hereby strictly forbidden to copy, epitomize, or reprint, in whole or in part, any part of said map, within the term of fourteen years next ensuing without the consent of said Herman, his heirs, or assigns. [Dom. Entry Bk., Chas, II, vol. XXXVI, pp. 323, 324]"

In looking over the "Advertisements" in "The London Gazette," 1674, number 873, the interest in the history of the map is further increased by the information, which is not in the map, that the distinguished hydrographer John Seller, by whom we have many interesting maps, was publisher:

"There is now Extant a new Map of Virginia and Maryland in four Sheets, describing the Countries, and the scituation of the Plantations in the said Countreys, with the Rivers, Creeks, Bayes, Roads and Harbors on the Sea-Coasts. Published by His Majesties especial Licence, and are sold by John Seller, Hydrographer to the King, at his Shops at the Hermtage [!] in Wapping, and in Exchange Alley in Cornhil, London."

The indifference to a uniform spelling which seemed prevalent in

the names of all distinguished people at that time, is brought out in the name being spelt two ways in the map, Herrman and Herman. The former is usually accepted although in the various deeds and documents somewhat over a half dozen differences are noted.

Lord Baltimore and Herrman have made various references in their writings to this map. In the "Instructions to be observed . . ." by Charles Calvert, Lieut. Governor, published in the Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1671-1675, pp. 18-19, is the following:

"Whereas M' Augustine Herman now Resident in o' sd Province hath (as wee are well informed and satisfyed) taken great paines and Care in order to the Draweing and Composeing of a certeine Mapp or Card of our said Province & of the Limits and boundaryes of the same. And is shortly intended to print and publish the same, wee Doe will and Require you that after the said Map or Card shal be printed and published, and in case upon the strict perusall and Examination of the same you shall finde that the said Herman hath done us Right in stateing the said Limits and boundaryes of our said Province Justly and truly and pticulerly in the True stateing of the said boundaryes and Limits in relation to Watkins Pointe and Delaware Bay that in such Case you recommend the said Herman heartily and Effectually in our name to the GenerallAssembly of our said Province then next after to be called or summoned in order to the Receiving some Reward from them for his said Paynes and Care, and that in the mean time you assure the said Herman in our name that in case he doe us Right as aforesayd upon the first notice thereof to us Given from you our Leivetennant Generall or you our said Councill wee will give Directions and orders for his imediate naturalization as he hath desired of us. Given under or hand and Seale at armes the sixteenth day of ffebruary in the foure & Thirtieth yeare of our Dominion over said Province. Annoque Domini One Thousand six hundred sixty five."

Also, "Answer of the Lord Baltimore to the Queryes about Maryland, 1678":

"To the :10: I answer that the Bounaryes Longitude and Latitude of this Provynce are well described and I sett forth in a Late Mapp or Chart of this Province lately made and prepared by one Augustine Herman an Inhabitant of the said Provynce and Printed and Publiquely sold in London by his Majestyes Licence to which I humbly reffer for greater certaynty and not to give their Lordp's the Trouble of a Large Tedious discreption here But as to the numbers of Acres Patented and settled or unsettled It is Impossible to give any guess at them here or to have any probable accot of them In case I were there Otherwise then by causeing a review of all the Grants which have passed and which would require a Great Tyme and charge and a greater number of Persons so employed therein then cann be easily procured."

Herrman in his will, dated 1684, first printed in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Oct. 1891, v. 13, pp. 321-326, says:

"Mee the first Author of Bohemia Mannour. . ." (as the same is granted to mee by Cœlius, the first Absolute Lord & Proprietary of Marylan, for Geographing the Publicq Mapp by his Majesties peculiar license & Authority printed. . .)"

However much knowledge the cartographer may have on the bibliography of maps, no authoritative statement can be made as to the number of copies of early maps printed or whether maps of certain localities or dates were printed at all. J. G. Kohl has written a paper on "Lost maps"; frequently such maps turn up to confuse the cartographer.

The source of the geographical knowledge relating to Virginia and Maryland, in atlases and maps, was a question until recently when a photograph was made for me from the only original Herrman map in the British Museum; then the fact became apparent that all the information known concerning those states was copied verbatim from it up to and somewhat after 1751.

The rarity of Herrman's map has been accredited to the fact that only a few copies were printed. This statement can hardly be substantiated for we see that it was publicly advertised, as noted above, by the well-known cartographer John Seller, and also by the King's License. Most all the large size maps of early days are either lost or extremely rare, emphasizing the fact that the larger the map the more destructible it is. Another reason for the rarity of Herrman's map is that it was published in separate sheets rendering it easy to become imperfect and, from that, worthless. Library of Congress has an example of this in John Henry's (the father of Patrick Henry) scarce "Map of Virginia, 1770," published in sheets, of which only a few copies are known. Library has a perfect copy and fourteen duplicate sheets of the southwest portion, which is evidence enough of the careless way in which such material is handled. Vincent, in his "History of Delaware," p. 373, states that Herrman dedicated his map to Charles II, King of England. This is not, however, on the map; but in answer to the letter Herrman sent to Lord Baltimore in 1670, in England, containing the manuscript drawing of his map, he received a letter in reply "that His Lordship had received no small Satisfaction by the variety of that mapp, and that the Kings Majesty, His Royall Highness, and all others commended the exactness of the work, applauding it for the best mapp that ever was drawn of any country." Lord Baltimore also expressed his appreciation in the following words:

"Augustine Herman haveing his Mapp finished upon his own Cost and Charge no less than to the value of about 200 pounds Sterling besides his own Labour and Sent into England, he then Informed his Lordship there, that within the Naturall bounds of his Mannor were more Acres found to bee; then in his Pattents Specified & therefore Requesteth that it might be Amplifyed and added in his said Pattents whereupon his Lordship Replyed by Lettr. Sepr. 3rd & Novr. 12th: That his Lordship had Received no small Satisfaction by the Rarity of that Mapp and that the Kings Majasty his Roy! Highness and all others Commended the Exactness of the work.

"Aplauding it to be the best mapp, that was Ever Drawn of any Country whatsoever, with recommendation to the Press, his Lordship assuring further that his son then comming Over Governor again should not deny the additionall Amplification Desired nor anything Els whatsoever in Reason should be Expected" (Quoted from "Memorandum or Journall of the first foundation and seating of Bohemia Mannor and Bohemia River Middle neck Adjacent & Appendant," published as the

"Appendix" to "A Maryland Manor"... by ... James Grant Wilson. Baltimore, 1890. [Maryland historical society. Fund publication no 30, p. 32]

William Faithorne, the engraver of the map, although celebrated for crayon portraits and delicate copper plate engraving, was evidently at this time in the wane of his glory. His plan of London of 1658, the only other map which he is known to have engraved and of which only two copies have come to light, shows far superior engraving. Herrman, after examining a copy of his engraved map, criticised the engraving rather quaintly as "slob-bered over by the engraver faithorn defiling the prints with many Errours."

Prof. Edward B. Mathews, an authority on Maryland cartography, in his article entitled "The maps and map-makers of Maryland," devotes some pages to Herrman and gives this geographical description of the map:

"The amount of area included in the drawing extends from the fortieth degree of north latitude to some point in North Carolina, and westward to an irregular line in the longitude of Washington and the Great Falls of the Potomac. Over the area which is now part of Maryland there are eight county names, but no boundaries are laid down between the divisions. These are St. Mary's, Calvert, Charles, including Prince George's, Anne Arundel, and Baltimore, the two last including the present Howard, Carrol, and Hartford. On the eastern shore are Cecil, including Kent; Talbot including Caroline and Queen Anne; and Dorchester, including Worcester, Wicomico, and Somerset. A detailed study of the features of the Herman map leads to the following conclusions:

"The lower neck of the eastern shore below Maryland-Virginia boundary is too narrow and the sounds on the eastern side are too broad. If, however, the delineation is good there has been a marked amount of sedimentation along the shore since Herman's time. On the other hand, Chincoteague is represented as about five miles long, instead of nine as at present. The rest of the shore is generalized, and no islands or bays are given, and it seems probable that Herman never studied this portion of the coast. 'Cedar Tle' may mean either Mills Island or Middlemoor Island.

"A study of the shores of Somerset county seems to indicate that considerable filling in has taken place since the date of the map. The estuaries of Morumesco creek and Fisher creek are represented as large bays, the latter with not over three or four feet of water. Portions of the coast, such as James Island Marsh, Hazard Point and Deal's Island, and possibly Nanticoke Point, are represented by Herman as islands clearly separated from the mainland, while Holland, South Marsh and Smith's Islands are delineated as small archipelagoes. The outlines of the rivers are better than those by Smith, although sometimes, as in the case of the Nanticoke, the expression of the curves is not as sympathetic as in the earlier map.

"The coast line of Dorchester county is very greatly improved over that of any pre-existing map. The country seems to be so well delineated that one is justified in making some comparison with the present state of the land. The most interesting deviation is in the representation of

Griffiths Neck between the Nanticoke and the Tansquaking.

"The shore line is here much farther north, and the Chicacomico does not empty into the 'St. Catherine als Trequagin' river, but seems to flow directly into the bay. The mouths of the two streams are separated by 'Philips Point,' which is the only evidence of the headline now terminating at Clay Island. The drawing of Bishop's Head just to the westward indicates a similar change, since the bay extends farther north, and much of the present Bishop's Head neck was shallow water or marsh and an archipelago of islands. The whole western coast of Dorchester presents the same conditions. It is skirted by a series of islands, and the small streams empty directly into the bay. The neck between the Little Choptank and the Choptank is particularly well outlined, and the map shows the usage of many terms now appended to the same points. The spellings are frequently different, as Tobacco Stick is called 'Tobaco Sicks,' and Choptank is written 'Chaptanck.'

"As the territory delineated approaches Herman's home, Bohemia Manor, the details increase, until in the territory between the Sassafras and the North East they become so many that the map darkens, and the names, though few are not very distinct. The description of the country between the Delaware and the Susquehanna is increased by the following information: 'Between the Heads of these opposite Branches, beeing swampy is but a narrow passage of Land to come downe out of the maine

Continent into the Neck between these two great rivers.'

"The names along the Susquehana located within the present limits of the state are Octora-aro [Octorara] and Canooawengh [Conowingo]. The northern bounds of the colony extending to 40 north latitude and the Susquehana, which is more carefully sketched than in previous maps, is represented beyond 'the fort' [opposite Colombia], and this additional

information is given: 'The great Sassquahana River runs up Northerly to the Sinnicus [Harrisburg?] above 200 miles with Divers Rivers and Branches on both sides to the East and West full of falls and Iles until about 10 or 12 miles aboue the Sassquahana fort and then runs cleare but Downwards not Navigable but with great danger with Indian Canoos

by Indian Pilots.'

"The coast line between the head of the bay and the Patapsco shows considerable detail, especially about the mouth of the Gunpowder, but that portion of the map intended to represent the area between Back and Middle rivers is poorly drawn and more or less widely generalized. The Patapsco is not as well outlined as in the Smith map, although there is more detail along the shore south and east of the present site of Balti-Following the coast below Bodkin Point, the representation is good as far as the mouth of the Magothy river [unnamed], where for some reason Gibson's Island is not represented either as a point or an island. Sandy and Greenbury Points, with intervening inlets, are indicated somewhat generalized with distorted shape and trend. The 'Ann Arundel als Seavorn R' is too broad, but its general trend is well shown as far as Round Bay, above which the outline is generalized, with the headwaters following gracefully curving courses. On the south bank of the river at the present site of Annapolis is 'Arundelton.' Between Annapolis and Cove Point the amount of detail shown is an advance over that given in preceding maps, especially about South and West rivers, although these show the constant error of being too broad ever, is a feature which is common to the rivers of this and many other maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

"The drawing of the Patuxent, which evidently was explored as far as Upper Malboro, is good, but is not a great improvement over that of the Baltimore and Smith maps, which represent the general course of the stream even more accurately in some of the prominent details, such

as the sinuosities east of Charlotte Hall.

"The small streams, especially on the west bank, seem to have confused Herman, since they become generalized and placed at more regular intervals with conventional courses. The largest side stream, named 'Calvert Cr' has not been identified satisfactorily. It seems probable that a large estuary seen while skirting along the shore was mistaken for the mouth of a large stream and so interpreted.

"The shore line all along the Rappahannock and York and James rivers seems to have been drawn with detail equal to that of the Maryland portion, and the names of creeks and places are especially abundant along the last two rivers. It is not known that Herman spent much time in studying this part of the country, but there is an increase in local names and details over preceding maps which indicates that he was

tolerably familiar with the area. The remark on the map that a part of the 'Roanoke' river is 'by others relation,' implies that the rest of the map is based on personal observations. The weakest portion of the entire work is the drawing of the Potomac above Maryland Point. Between the latter spot and the present site of Washington the curves are broad and generalized, the necks of lands are unevenly emphasized or distorted, and some of the streams flow at an angle to their true courses and empty into the Potomac some distance from their present mouths. These differences are not due to changes in the topography so much as to ignorance of the country represented. Below Maryland Point the Potomac shore line is more accurate in its delineation, but the various bays and points are, in the majority of instances, without names and often they cannot be identified with the features recognized to-day."

Herrman is supposed to have made various maps for the wellknown Amsterdam map publisher Nicholas Jan Visscher. earliest view of New York city about 1651, is attributed to him. an article entitled "Augustine Herman and John Thompson" by Townsend Ward, published in The Pennsylvania Magazine, April, 1883, pp. 88-93, is a reproduction of Herrman's portrait from his map and also his autograph in both of which he spells his name Augustine Herrman, although in his will published in the same article it is Harman. Another portrait of Herrman with his historic white horse and a small reduction of his map is reproduced in Avery's "History of the United States," v. 3, pp. 48 and 51. In the Secretary of State's Office, Albany, is found the original "Journal" kept by "Augustine Heermans" during his "Embassy from the Right Honorable the Director-general, Petrus Stuvvesant and the Supreme Council of New Netherlan, to the Hon. Governor-general and council of Maryland, touching the pretension set up by Colonel Nathaniel Utie to the South River." This is translated and published in O'Callaghan's "Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York. . ." volume II, p. 88-89, and also in "Narratives of early Maryland," edited by Clayton Colman Hall, New York, 1910. It was after this journey, through what he afterwards named Cecil county, that he wrote to Lord Baltimore offering to make a map of Maryland — then much needed in settling disputes — in consideration of the grant of a manor. As before stated this monograph only incidentally refers to Herrman's life in connection with the map.

Besides the articles mentioned the student is referred to:

Wilson, James Grant. A Maryland manor. . . 37 pp. 8°. Baltimore [J. Murphy & co.] 1890. [Maryland historical society. Fund publication, no. 30]

Augustine Herrman, Bohemian, 1605-1686. . . [In New Jersey historical society. Proceedings. 8°. Newark, N. J., 1890. v.

21, no. 2, pp. 21-34]

Mallery, Charles Payson. Ancient families of Bohemia Manor. . . 74 pp. 8°. Wilmington, 1888. [Delaware historical society. Papers,

no. 7]

Rattermann, Heinrich Armin. Augustin Herrman. Eine karakterfigur aus der begründungsgeschichte von New York und Maryland. [In Deutsch-amerikanisches magazin. Jan. & Juli 1887. 8°. Cincinnati, 1887. v. 1, pp. 202-226, port., auto., & pp. 524-538]

Besides the reduced reproductions of the map already mentioned others may be found:

Mathews, Edward B. The maps and map-makers of Maryland. Bruce, Philip Alexander. Economic history of Virginia. The Calvert papers, no. 2. Maryland historical society. Fund publication, no. 34.

Hall, Clayton Colman. The lords Baltimore and the Maryland palatinate.

In John Ogilby's America, London, 1671, is a chapter entitled "A new description of Maryland," which gives a most interesting contemporaneous description which it would be well to read in connection with Herrman's map. In this same work is a revised and enlarged edition of what is known as Lord Baltimore's map, originally published in "A Relation of Maryland," 1635, for the benefit of "Adventurers" to that country.

In my "Virginia Cartography" already mentioned, was repub-

lished for the first time in book form an article from the New York Sun, of October 23, 1892, by E. N. Vallandingham which the editor of that paper kindly permitted me to republish. This article gives, in condensed form, so much information that it is here brought to the attention of the reader in this monograph.

LORD OF BOHEMIA MANOR

Augustine Herman, an early hero of New York and Maryland. Story of a Seventeenth Century Merchant Who Became a Great Landowner and Baron on the Delaware Peninsula.

"Down on the west side of Pearl street, at or near the corner of Pine. there stood some 250 years ago a fine old-fashioned mansion with orchard and gardens, and in this mansion dwelt the man who was probably the first person to become a legally naturalized citizen of this country. He was not of Dutch blood, though he became one of the "Nine Men' who constituted the counsel to the Governor of New Netherlands. Augustine Herman was the name of this alien who helped to govern the Dutch colony. He was a Bohemian, born in Prague, now almost two and three-quarter centuries ago. Augustine Herman was a stren-uous character of broad grasp, of bold conception, of enormous energy, and of marvellous courage. He was all his life in some sort a merchant, yet he came to be a great land holder, and he was one of the few Americans to bear a title and to be recognized as lord of the manor. Herman is forgotten as a New Yorker, though his early services were such as to indicate that he was a man of considerable importance during his residence here, but he is a local hero in the region which he named in memory of his birth-place, Bohemia Manor. He is credited by some with having been the "first beginner of the Virginia tobacco trade," and with having successfully experimented in indigo culture near this city. He was, besides, a man of education, a surveyor by profession, a skilled draughtsman, and was a trusted diplomat.

"When Peter Stuyvesant found Lord Baltimore laying claim to the Dutch possessions on the Delaware he sent Herman and Resolved (or Rosevelt) Waldron to St. Mary's, in Maryland, in order that some sort of treaty might be made with the Englishman. Herman went as the diplomat, Waldron as his interpreter. Herman was so pleased with what he saw of Lord Baltimore's possessions that he wrote to say that if Lord Baltimore would grant him a manor he would make for his Lordship a map of Maryland. Lord Baltimore assented to this, and if Herman could have really made Lord Baltimore the proprietor of all that was included in Herman's map, the price which was paid, 20,000 acres of

the finest land between Delaware and Chesapeake bays, would have been sufficiently small. Herman's map included not only all of Maryland as it now is, but also all of Delaware and a part of Pennsylvania. It was this map, doubtless, that figured on Lord Baltimore's side in the conflict over the survey of Mason and Dixon's line.

"The noble estate that Herman received for this feat in map making lay in Cecil county, Maryland, and New Castle county, Delaware. It is still called Bohemia Manor, and when people in the northerly part of the peninsula speak of "the manor," they mean the territory over which Herman ruled. Here Herman built a great house, carried on a large trade with the Indians, dabbled in affairs of State, and exercised a wide hospitality. Here, too, he led a wretched life with a shrewish second wife. Here is his tomb, and one may still see traces of the manor house and the deer park hard by. Herman, two of his sons, a grandson, a great-grandson, and two great-great-grandsons were successively lords of Bohemia Manor. Of the last two lords of the manor, one was killed by a fall from his horse, and the other was an idiot, who was wont to insist upon his title, and drawing a circle about himself in the soil of his domain would forbid the approach within its circumference of any who denied his lordship. The heirs fell to quarrelling over the estate, and the legal existence of Bohemia Manor ended 128 years after its founding by Augustine Herman.

"Augustine was the only strikingly forceful man of the line. His story reads like a romance, but at this distance it is hard to sift out truth from fiction, for the man so impressed those about him that all sorts of wonderful legends touching his adventures have come down in local history. There are conflicting traditions as to the reasons for Herman's desertion of New York. One story is that he and Stuyvesant quarrelled over the map made for Lord Baltimore. Another is that the two were rivals in love, and that Herman was successful. The latter is hardly true, for Herman was married in 1651, and for nearly ten years afterwards he was at times employed in various important missions by the Dutch authorities. He is known to have passed through some sort of bankruptcy proceedings in New York, and possibly out of this fact grew the most astonishing of all the stories preserved in the local traditions of Bohemia Manor.

"According to this story, Herman returned to New York, some time after his settlement in Maryland, to find his estate in this city seized by a squatter, and when Herman protested he was himself placed under arrest. He feigned insanity, the story goes and refused to be parted from the horse which he had ridden all the way from Bohemia Manor. Accordingly he was bidden to ride his horse to the second story of a stone warehouse, where he and the horse were securely locked in. But when

trial society of America.

all his enemies had departed, Herman mounted his horse and rode straight at the closed window of his prison. Horse and man went through the window and landed safe on the stones below, but with such force that blood gushed from the nostrils of the horse. The escaping prisoner then rode straight to the Hudson, swam his horse to the Jersey shore, and in due time arrived at Bohemia Manor, having in the course of his journey swam also the Delaware on the back of his horse. One legend is that the animal died soon after this second feat; the other that he carried his master straight to the manor house. It is entirely probable that Herman was arrested at the suit of a creditor, and that fearing the tender mercies of the Dutch Government, he managed to escape on his horse. At any rate there are two or three pictures extant of Herman and his horse, the master being represented as standing beside the horse, with the blood of the faithful creature reddening his hands. It is pretty well authenticated that Herman himself caused at least one of these pictures to be painted. This portrait of Herman shows a powerful Teutonic face. He is clean shaven, his mouth is firm, his eyes are piercing, his cheek bones are high. His hair, parted in the middle, falls in thick masses to his shoulders. He wears a red frock coat ruffled at the wristbands, and a full white tie that falls upon his bosom.

"Herman never had the slightest leaning towards the Labodist faith, and he came to repent having made a place for the colonists, as his son joined the society and, at the instigation of its leaders, deserted his unbelieving young wife. The lands of the society were eventually partitioned, and some of the wealthiest of Maryland families are descended from these, perhaps, the first Christian Socialists to organize an indus-

"By the year 1684 Herman, wearied towards the close of a feverish life, harried by claimants to part of his great estate, and unhappy because of his wife's temper, invested his son with the manor by deed of enfeoffment. The provisions of this deed give one a notion of the state proper to an American lord of the manor in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The consideration to be paid annually by the son was:

"'Five thousand pounds of good, sound and merchantable tobacco and casks, and also six barrels of good beer and strong beer, one anchor of rum or brandy, one anchor of spirits, two anchors or twenty gallons of good wine, and one hogshead of the best cider out of the orchard, and one cwt. of good muscavado sugar for my particular private spending: and, lastly, if I should remove with my abode to any other place in the country from off the manor, then he, my son is obliged to pay towards my said board the sum of 2,000 pounds of tobacco and casks, and if I should happen to go to New York, then my son is to furnish me with 25 pounds in money."

"Herman's great desire was to be the founder of a baronial family. His will provided that whosoever in the future should inherit the lordship of Bohemia Manor must add to his Christian name that of Augustine, or forfeit the inheritance to the next heir. He finally provided that heirs male to the estate failing, it should go to found a free school and college of the "English Protestant Church," under the perpetual name of Augustine Bohemia. His will also provided for an elaborate tombstone, with a proper inscription. This stone of oolite, as are the stones hard by marking the Mason and Dixon's line, an outgrowth of the very controversy that first brought Herman to Maryland, was removed from his grave and used as a door for the family vault of the Bassetts, then living on a portion of the manor, and in this vault was laid the body of James A. Bayard the elder. After Mr. Bayard's body was removed to Wilmington, Herman's tombstone fell to the ground and was broken. The inscription which was cut by a workman who did not know how to spell manor or Bohemia, who is believed to have misspelled the name of the dead man himself, and who blundered by a year in the date accompanying the inscription, reads thus:

Augustin Hermen,

Bohemian

The first founder

Seater of Bohemia Mairor.

Anno 1661

"The lands of which Herman was lord are, perhaps the finest on the Delaware peninsula. They lie mainly on the slope of the Chesapeake, traversed by the marvellously clear and beautiful tide water streams characteristic of the region, dotted with fine old country homes and showing evidence on every side of a long established civilization. Some descendants of the first lord still live upon the manor, but the name has long been extinct. The wife of John Randolph and the wife of Benedict Arnold were both descended from Herman.

"Whatever Herman's quarrel with the Dutch, he was evidently on good terms with the English conquerors of New Amsterdam, for in 1671 the authorities at New York gave orders that those at New Castle, Del., should clear half the way for a road from that town to Herman's plantation. The people of Maryland were to clear the other half. But Herman himself had larger schemes than a mere traffic by wagon road, and he is believed to have projected a canal to connect Delaware and Chesapeake bays, an idea realized in the present Chesapeake and Delaware ship canal. Herman's friendship with the English conquerors of the Dutch possessions in North America seems to prove that he had lost favor with the Dutch, and an uncommonly interesting fact seems to furnish proof that he needed other protection than that which he had enjoyed while agent of the Government at New Amsterdam, for in 1660 he applied to the Council of Maryland for a patent of naturalization, and in that year he and his five children received such patents. They seem to have been the first persons to have been naturalized by an American colony.

"Herman, after his naturalization, received what Lord Baltimore did not really own according to later treaties, the manor of St. Augustine, extending from the shore of Delaware Bay through to the line of Bohemia Manor. He willed this to one of his sons, but the family never made good the title to the whole grant, for this region was afterwards adjudged part of Penn's territory. St. Augustine creek flows through the manor. The will of Herman is on file in the archives of New Castle county. His sons took an active part in the affairs of Delaware until one after the other they were called to assume the lordship of Bohemia Manor and to live in the great manor house.

"There is a picturesque side light upon Herman's character to be obtained from the annals of those Christian Socialists of the seventeenth century, the followers of Jean de Labodie, successively an apostate to the Jesuits and to the Protestants. Some years after Herman had set up as lord of Bohemia Manor, Brothers Sluvter and Dankers of the Labodists came to the peninsula of Delaware seeking converts and a home for their society. Just about the time they fell in with Herman they had persuaded Samuel Bayard of the family distinguished in New York and Delaware to join them, and they had hopes of making even Herman a convert. But they declare in their journal that they found him, though kindly disposed to them personally, a worldly person, by no means to be won over. Herman did, however, deed to the Labodists in 1684 3,750 acres of the manor, and to this day the land is called "the Labodie tract." Sluvter and Dankers set up a Christian Socialist colony there, and were joined by several families from New York. Sluyter proclaimed himself bishop of the flock, and set up his wife as a sort of abbess. Part of the community from Wiewert, in Denmark, came over to join the new society. They built a large house, and cultivated the land. Everything was in common. The men and the women took their meals in

separate apartments, and no person spoke at table. It often happened that a man dined for months without knowing the name of the next man at table. They eschewed all outward show, and were pledged to give up the world."



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