

PHILIP FREEMAN

SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION AND EARLY SETTLER OF WESTMORELAND COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

by

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PREFACE

by

Rebecca Welty Kaminsky

In the early 1980s, my late father, Paul Welty, began to concentrate his genealogical research on the Freeman line of the family, beginning with Ellen Freeman Fausold, his grandmother. The first information he obtained, the published biographical information for George Freeman in *History of the County of Westmoreland*, 1882, by George Dallas Alberts, is a demonstration of how previously published material cannot always be trusted. This biographical account, probably written long after the death of the subject by someone not in possession of accurate information, showed George Freeman, born in 1789 as the son of Jacob Freeman. As his research progressed, however, he found that there *was* a Jacob Freeman in Westmoreland County, undoubtedly related to Philip, who did have a son George, but that this was a *different* George Freeman born in 1804. It was Philip Freeman, not Jacob, who was the father of our George and it is Philip from whom we are descended.

Dad's first visit to the Compass Inn in Laughlintown produced the two-page *BIOGRAPHY OF PHILIP FREEMAN, REVOLUTIONARY FAME*, a copy of which seemed to be in the hands of everyone remotely interested in Philip Freeman at that time. Until then, it seemed to be the gist of what people knew about him. An exact transcript of that document follows:

BIOGRAPHY OF PHILIP FREEMAN REVOLUTIONARY FAME

Philip Freeman was born in 1743 and was of German ancestry. He married Barbara Bonjour, daughter of Andrew Bonjour, of Fairfield Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. The name of the wife was obtained from a deed executed by Philip, dated January 7, 1775, both having signed it. This deed is on record in the Recorder's Office of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania in Deed Book Volume A, page 48.

There are seven deeds on record that were executed by Philip Freeman and Barbara Freeman, his wife. On all of

these deeds, both sign their name by making their mark - this giving us reasonable grounds to believe that neither one could write - or if they could, could not write in the English language.

There is a tradition that has come down to us from our forefathers that Philip Freeman's wife's name was Mary Link. There are two deeds on record in the Court House, one dated September 24, 1807 and recorded in Deed Book volume 8, page 233; the other dated April 6, 1808, both signed by Philip Freeman, tavern keeper of East Liberty, Pa. (now Laughlintown), and Mary Freeman, his wife. In both of these deeds, both parties signed by making their marks. It may be a mistake, but in going over the records, one would be inclined to believe that Barbara and Mary was one and the same person, and that her maiden name was Mary Barbara Bonjour.

Philip Freeman at one time owned about four acres of land on what is known in Greensburg as Academy Hill. On March 10, 1789, Deed book D, Page 91, he conveyed two acres of this land to the trustees of the Catholic Church. The large Catholic School and the beautiful new Cathedral on North Main Street, Greensburg, are now located on that land. The other two acres were later sold by Philip and the title to the same eventually vested in the School District. The costly new High School of Greensburg is erected on that land. Philip Freeman was not a Catholic. It has been hinted by many that he was a Catholic because he conveyed the land before mentioned to the church, but it was sold, and was not a gift.

Philip Freeman was the father of nine children. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, having enlisted in 1776 in Captain Samuel McCune's company, colonel Watts Regiment, in what was known as the "Flying Camp". After serving an enlistment of 6 months, he re-enlisted the same year in Virginia in a company commanded by Captain George Rice. Philip fought in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Stony Point, serving three years, the full term for which he enlisted. His regiment was commanded by General Daniel Morgan, but upon Morgan's promotion it was commanded by Colonel Feeberger from whom he received an honorable discharge in Philadelphia. Correct information as to Philip Freeman's Revolutionary War record was found in Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, volume XV, page 25, page 719, and Volume XXIII, page 518.

Philip Freeman died July 5, 1829 at the home of his daughter, Christina Freeman Moody, in Donegal Township and is buried in Stahlstown. At his grave is erected a small stone upon which is the following inscription: "Philip Freeman, a Soldier of the Revolutionary War, departed from this life July 5, 1829 in his 86th. Alas Farewell".

Barbara Freeman died at the home of Christina Freeman Moody on November 7, 1834 and is buried in the same cemetery in Stahlstown. Why both were buried at Stahlstown - this cemetery was only 1 mile from the home in which they died, and the only other cemetery then was within many miles of the home.

Through the courtesy and kindness of Attorney George Barron, a great grandson of Philip Freeman, information was gathered together which enabled several of the descendents to join the National Daughters of the American Revolution, of which 16 charter members were direct descendents of Philip Freeman and the name of the chapter is known throughout the D.A.R. as the Philip Freeman Chapter.

September 20, 1920, the first Philip Freeman Family Reunion was held near Acme, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, at the Old Freeman Furnace. There were 194 in attendance and a permanent organization was effected. The annual reunion is held the third Saturday of August each year. The Freeman Furnace is where more than a century ago the ore was mined from the hills and smelted in the furnace. Charcoal was used for fuel. The old furnace is still standing (1929) with a large mound at its base, formed by the waste material from the ore. This farm has been in the Freeman name for 150 years. In 1940 the furnace was torn away to make a new Super Highway.

Dad set about looking for more details and supporting evidence for the information in this very interesting document. It combined the elements of some primary research done in the county court house in Westmoreland County, some very interesting statements likely to have been family oral history, and what appeared to be some unwarranted assumptions. It appears to be a compilation of original information and research with revisions by someone in a later time period.

The "German ancestry" of Philip is not explained, nor is any source or other mention of it given. There is a specific statement that says Philip was not Catholic, although it makes no mention of other religious affiliation or explanation for this statement. In fact, he was probably not German and probably not Catholic, but probably had associations with people who were.

The Compass Inn biography also identifies Barbara Bonjour as the daughter of Andrew Bonjour and cites a deed as the source. That deed does not, in fact, name Barbara as a daughter, but only says that she was "late Barbara Bonjour". From the Bedford County appointment of Barbara as the administrator of Andrew Bonjour's estate prior to her marriage to Philip Freeman, and from several other sources, she is clearly identified as his wife, not his daughter. Therefore, Philip was clearly not her first husband and Bonjour was not her maiden name.

The Compass Inn biography also says that "It may be a mistake, but going over the records, one would be inclined to believe that Barbara and Mary was one and the same person and that her maiden name was Mary Barbara Bonjour". This is clearly an opinion of the writer of this version, expressed in a hopeful attempt to explain away some of the inconsistencies with name and age that presented themselves in the information available at the time. Mary and Barbara were, in fact, two entirely separate and unrelated people except that they were both married to Philip Freeman.

Perhaps the most egregious error with regard to Philip Freeman's wives is to this day constantly perpetuated because of its source. In 1916, when one or more of Philip's female descendants sought membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution, errors were made on the original applications. There was a need to show who Philip Freeman married and when for purposes of "proving" lineage for DAR acceptance. There was a pesky discrepancy between Barbara Bonjour, who shows up as the wife of Philip Freeman in 1774 and the Mary Freeman who signs deeds as his wife in 1807 and the Mary Freeman, 25 years his junior, buried beside him. There was no proof of who "Mary Freeman" might have been, so it was simply assumed that she and Barbara were the same person and that she was the mother of Philip's children. There was also the sticky issue of age - how could a woman who married Philip in 1773 give birth to the first of nine children *sixteen years later* and be buried next to Philip as "Mary Freeman" with a birth date showing that she would only have been four or five years old when she was married in 1773? Either nobody did the math, or it was just deliberately ignored since it could not be explained, at least in a socially acceptable manner.

The DAR applications were submitted with Mary Barbara Bonjour shown as his wife and the dates of her birth and death taken from her tombstone. Another researcher from this period, obviously bothered by the age issue, speculated that "Mary" was really "Mary Barbara" and was Barbara's daughter from her marriage to Andrew Bonjour. She theorizes that Mary Barbara, the daughter, married Philip after Barbara's death. This is nothing more than another theory concocted to offer some explanation of the name and age inconsistencies. An entire "Philip Freeman Chapter" of the DAR was formed in Connellsville based on this and other erroneous assumptions. Anyone contacting the DAR for information or copies of the DAR applications is given this erroneous information and it continues to be perpetuated today as a result. The birthplaces of Philip and his wife are also erroneously shown as being Stahlstown; in fact the birthplaces of Philip, Barbara and Mary are all unknown.

The most interesting quote on the biography is "There is a tradition that has come down to us from our forefathers that Philip Freeman's wife's name was Mary Link." There is no further comment on this statement, except that it is followed by the speculative "maiden name was Mary Barbara Bonjour" statement. It may have been that while not willing to totally eliminate information that had been passed along in the family for so many years, the writer simply did not want to deal with the possibility that there was another wife. It is something of a marvel that this "tradition" statement survived in this version at all.

The date of the original biography was probably about 1916, done for the DAR application process. The date of the rewritten, revised version is uncertain, but it refers to the "costly new high school" which was erected on North Main Street in Greensburg in 1927, the "beautiful new cathedral" built in 1928, and to the tearing down of the Freeman Furnace in 1940, when the "Super Highway" the Pennsylvania Turnpike was completed. It appears that different parts of the biography may have been updated at different times and probably by several different people.

The original parts of the biography about Philip himself were done by George Barron, a grandson of Christina Freeman Moody, and reused in the obviously rewritten version. Much of the original research was likely to have been done by Barron in the early 1900's as he attempted to unscramble the generations of undivided fractional interests necessary to sell the old Moody farm in Donegal Township. This farm had been in the family for generations and was where Philip and Mary are said to have died. He put this information together for the ladies who used it to join the DAR, and later form the Philip Freeman Chapter in 1916.

George Barron had a reputation as being a good attorney and particularly well-versed in real estate matters. The information on deeds was undoubtedly his work. More importantly, however, Christina Freeman Moody was still alive when he was a boy and he lived within walking distance of the old Moody farm where she lived until her death in 1884. She is likely to have told family stories to him when he was a boy, and these stories were certainly still known to his parents and other family members at the time. The Mary Link tradition and the information about Philip and Mary having died at Christina's home is likely to have come to him first hand from his grandmother Christina or from stories he would have heard from his parents and other family members as he was growing up.

The Compass Inn version of the biography was signed by Ralph Hyatt of Connellsville, who died in the early 1980s, and by his wife and Charlotte Westerman of Scottdale. When Dad spoke to Mrs. Hyatt and Mrs. Westerman in April of 1985 neither woman had any recollection of this document or of Mary Link. Mrs. Louise Aiken, a daughter of Mrs. Hyatt, wrote to Dad shortly afterward that she had been the one who wrote this version of the biography. She told him she would try and put together the material she had to answer some of his questions about the biography, but apparently never did. She did tell him, however, that she had no direct recollection of her source for the Mary Link "tradition" and simply recopied from the original.

As time went on, Dad found a great deal of information about Philip Freeman in the public records - deeds, court records, dockets for Roads and Bridges, surveys and other historical records. By a stroke of luck, one new original document with Philip's signature was found. But while that told him much about Philip, where he was and what he did at different points in time, it still left huge gaps in what we really know about him. It became apparent, however, that at least some of the information in that Compass Inn biography was wrong or at least questionable, while other parts offered tantalizing clues to accurate details which should not be dismissed.

Dad became fascinated with Philip Freeman and spent considerable time and effort searching for answers to the many questions about his life. He is responsible for much of the basic research contained in this book, particularly deeds and other surviving legal documents. When first published in 1999, my primary contribution was compiling it into readable form and adding some historical information and perspective. In the past 12 years, however, I have found new information that not only fills in some of the gaps, but provides additional perspective for the information I already had. Dad's intention was to put it together into a more or less publishable form and distribute

it to those who are interested in Philip Freeman. He was not able to do that prior to his death in 1996, so with the first version of this book in 1999, I attempted to do it for him. With this new version, the story is enhanced.

There is documented evidence for only some of the places and events described in this biography. Much of what we “know” can only be surmised by putting documented evidence together with family history and by intertwining known events with the history of the region and the country during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. There is no genealogically acceptable proof, for example, for the birth of *any* of Philip’s children and even the exact number of children is somewhat cloudy. There are no birth records, baptismal records or other citable documents for their births, only guesses, oral history and occasionally a tombstone inscription. We do not have irrefutable proof that Mary Link was the mother of his children, but the strong circumstantial evidence gives us sufficient cause to make a reasonable assumption in this direction.

Philip Freeman remains, to a large degree, an elusive figure. A great deal remains supposition – reasonable assumptions based on bits of evidence coupled with local history – but where appropriate within this biography these assumptions are not held to be fact, only theory. My best advice, based on experience, is never to completely dismiss something passed along as “family history”, old stories or oral traditions. They are often distorted, exaggerated or sometimes just untrue. But more often than you would think there is at least a kernel of truth that, coupled with a little bit of factual information, can be very meaningful and lead to something interesting.

After publication of the first version of this work in 1999, many other researchers contacted me, expanded their own research and shared their thoughts and findings. Their help has been invaluable. I hope this revised and updated version continues to inspire the Freeman descendants to continue their work and to pass along what we know about this very interesting man.

Rebecca Welty Kaminsky
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The Compass Inn in Laughlintown Westmoreland County Pennsylvania

The log portion on the left was the original building constructed by Philip Freeman in 1799. The section on the right was added by the Armour Family who subsequently owned the inn and first named it the "Compass Inn".

The Inn has been carefully restored and is currently owned and operated as a museum by the Ligonier Valley Historical Society.

U.S Rt. 30
3 Miles East of Ligonier
Laughlintown, PA 15655
724-238-4983

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WESTMORELAND COUNTY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

As one examines the records from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, it is useful, even necessary, to have some understanding of the times; an understanding of what things were like at the time, how things were done and why, and the customs of the day. The historical events that occurred and its impact on the people who lived there must be considered. It is also necessary to understand how documents, proceedings and events were originally recorded and how, where and in what condition they exist today. It is not enough to simply read names and dates or pick out a few details of an early deed; there is often much more information in these documents than meets the eye.

It should be remembered that not all records still exist and those which do are sometimes incomplete or have been recopied and are subject to recopying errors. Records were hand written, entries were manual and prone to human error. Failure to find a record for people does not always mean they were not there; the records may simply be missing or never existed in the first place. The following is simply to provide guidelines for what to expect.

Settlement

In the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix after the end of the French & Indian War the Indians relinquished their claims to the land west of the Allegheny Mountains, opening the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains to the east bank of the Ohio River. Until April 3, 1769 it had been illegal in Pennsylvania for white men (i.e. non-Indians) to settle on land west of the Susquehanna River, although squatters and settlers with military permits had already begun to settle there. The first white men to enter the area were Indian traders and French military in the late 1740's and early 1750's, but during the French and Indian War (1754-1763) the British military brought with them men, some with families, who stayed on in the area after hostilities ceased. Squatters who settled there illegally were threatened with "death without benefit from the clergy" and other dire warnings if they failed to heed the ban on these settlements. In some cases, families were chased off the land and their cabins burned to try and keep them from coming back. This was meant to prevent the Indians from becoming openly hostile, an effort which was not terribly successful, particularly after the French enlisted their help against the English during the French & Indian War.

The traders and settlers came anyway, and after a while the officials looked the other way. Many of the settlers were from Virginia, which claimed that the entire Monongehela Valley east to the Chestnut Ridge was actually Virginia territory. Settlers came north on the Braddock Road (later renamed the Cumberland Road) from areas in western Virginia and claimed land under Virginia land laws. Others came from eastern areas of Pennsylvania and northern Maryland and later claimed land under Pennsylvania land laws, causing conflicts that went on for decades.

From the time the English military first came into Western Pennsylvania, military commanders at Fort Pitt, Fort Ligonier, Fort Bedford and other similar garrisons had the privilege of granting settlers permission to occupy, settle and cultivate lands. These military grants were sometimes given as a reward for service to camp followers and men who had served the military in some way, but they were also to encourage settlement near the garrisons to help support those outposts. Farmers, innkeepers, blacksmiths, tanners, millers, wagoners, distillers and brewers, carpenters, horse breeders and many other tradesmen provided goods and services for the military establishment and personnel. These permits were also granted to settlers along the established roads, since their presence often served a useful purpose.

Many other settlers simply came and staked a claim. Legal title was not available, but squatters' rights prevailed. Ownership was established by occupancy and use of the land, and these claims were often referred to as "tomahawk claims" after the method of marking trees with a tomahawk to designate the borders of the claim. These claims were widely recognized as having substance and were often respected by the courts, then and in later years.

Land Ownership

The process of legally acquiring land in Pennsylvania first required an application for a warrant, an order from the land office to survey and locate the lands applied for. After the warrant was issued, the Surveyor General ordered a survey of the land and, if there were no conflicts with other claims, a deed or patent was issued. In cases where there were conflicts, the Land Office gave first preference to applicants who had settled on the land as opposed to newcomers or land speculators. An annual payment of "quit rent", usually a fairly nominal sum, was to be paid during the period the land was under warrant. Land tracts were supposed to be limited in size to 300 acres (something largely ignored) and the price was set at 5£ (pounds sterling) per hundred acres, due

when the patent was taken out. Patents were often deferred by the settlers for long periods of time to avoid this payment.

Because of the rush of people applying for these warrants after April 1769, and due to some serious questions that still existed with respect to the border disputes with Virginia, no warrants were issued in Westmoreland County until 1772 and later. Surveys were often delayed for years as a result of the Revolutionary War and the various Indian uprisings that continued to occur until after the Revolutionary War.

There were also many settlers who failed to apply for warrants on the land they had occupied for some years, only to find that a warrant was issued to someone else. The border disputes caused some people to believe that occupancy gave right to title and this practice and belief had become custom. Later, the State Supreme Court ruled that since Virginia allowed possession to determine title, many of the original settlers' claims were valid.

Another problem resulted from land speculators from Eastern Pennsylvania filing applications for warrants and patenting the land but never occupying it. They would lease it to settlers for high prices, helping to drain hard currency from Western Pennsylvania. Actual money was scarce as a result of settlers using what little specie they had to pay rents and purchase goods from the eastern part of the state. By necessity, barter became the preferred method of exchange between the Western Pennsylvania settlers.

Land Records

All of these factors resulted in land title litigation that snarled the court system for generations afterwards. Despite the failure to have legal title or even a warrant, it was acceptable to mortgage these land claims and even sell them. It was common for land to change hands several times between the time a warrant was issued to when the land was patented. Mortgages were routinely written in deed form and recorded in the same manner as a deed. Many deeds were never recorded at all, or recorded some time after the transaction occurred. Ejectment proceedings were common for generations and were the subject of many bitter feuds. Land law was a specialty widely practiced by attorneys for a hundred years or more due to these problems.

In many early deeds, within the long, run-on sentences and legalese, is a phrase which reads ". . . subject to purchase money interest or quit rents due and to become due to the Lord or Lords . . ." After the Revolutionary War stripped William Penn's descendants of their

interests, the latter portion of this phrase changed to “. . . become due to the Commonwealth . . .” This phrase appears only in those deeds involving lands not yet patented. In the deeds where a survey has been performed, patent issued, and fees paid, these words disappear. It is a clue as to whether the lands have been through this patenting process because the recorded document itself does not necessarily specify whether the land rights being transferred are for land that is under warrant or has been patented. Patented lands also had descriptions of the land as surveyed and exact measurements in metes and bounds, where unpatented lands used waterways, trees, rocks and adjoining landowners as a means of providing a description of the land.

In 1907, when the original recorded deeds in Westmoreland County began to show serious deterioration, they were recopied by hand. During this recopying process errors were inevitably made; an incorrect date, transposed numbers, or misspelled names are common. Often, the clerk rewriting the document could not accurately read the original, either due to deterioration or poor handwriting on the original and made a guess or simply left blanks.

In a few cases, records related to land are not found in the Recorder of Deeds Office at all, but in the old Minute Books for the courts. These are usually transactions involving Sheriff deeds; two of these were found for Philip Freeman. In Westmoreland County the records in these books are photocopies of the originals, which were already very deteriorated when the photocopying was done. The handwriting in these Minute Books is difficult to read, not being neatly done to begin with, and there is no index, so searches for information are quite laborious.

There are at least two sets of the very early deed books in the Recorder of Deeds Office in Westmoreland County. The originals are, for the first fifteen or twenty volumes, at the Westmoreland County Historical Society. Copies were handwritten with pen and ink in or about 1907, but more durable and legible than the originals which remain at the office of the Recorder of Deeds. Where there is some doubt as to how a deed should read, the old copy can usually be examined. The date of the deed, acknowledgement dates, or recording dates can be meaningful when examining a transaction, so when in doubt, check the original.

The exception is Deed Book D, in which a number of the Freeman deeds are set out. Both the Historical Society copy and that at the Recorder's Office are copies; neither is the original. The two copies appear to have been made at different times, each in a different handwriting. These copies may have both been made from the originals, or one of the copies may have been made from the other copy. Looking

at the copies, however, it appears that one copy was made considerably earlier than the other, perhaps as a result of some damage suffered by the original Deed Book D at a relatively early date. Errors suspected in a deed recorded in Deed Book D, therefore, cannot always be verified by checking the other book. The multiple copies, in fact, compound the possibility of errors.

Survey Books are also in the Recorder of Deeds office in Westmoreland County. There are two volumes of maps, with about five maps to the page, recording surveys made pursuant to warrants in early Westmoreland history. Their usefulness is limited, for two reasons. First, both volumes are copies made of earlier survey books, which were deteriorating. The copies were made by hand, not by machine, so that copy errors surely crept in. Second, the legibility of the original books must have been poor, and some pages were missing, so that the present books are not complete as to the original docket. Third, they never were complete as to land in Westmoreland County and never did contain all the land laid out by warrant and patent. Finally, the copies now in the Recorder's office are not always legible.

The Pennsylvania land surveys are now available online on the website for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. They are indexed by the name of the person whose property was surveyed. Adjoining owners are not indexed, although for genealogical purposes, they are almost as valuable as the recipient of the survey. These adjoining landowners are shown on the surveys, however, and can be looked up by name. It is useful that the patent information is also often written on the surveys for the adjoining landowners. This allows an easy search using the patent records for dates and names of original patentees on these neighboring parcels.

Land Warrant, Survey and Patent records are available in Harrisburg, from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Most of these records are now available online at www.phmc.state.pa.us using the State Archives and Land Records sections of the website. These records show date of application, warrant number, date of warrant, Survey Book number, date of patent, patent book number and other information that can be theoretically obtained, although some of these items are often missing. The ability to obtain this information online is invaluable to researchers.

It is difficult to apply any analysis to the consideration shown on deeds over this period of colonial America and the early years after the Revolution. Consideration changes from English pounds to American pounds to American dollars. It would take a good deal of research to determine the fluctuation of the value of these various currencies over a

period of years. After the Revolutionary War the devaluation of currency was nearly complete in western Pennsylvania. For a number of years, both coin and paper money was nearly worthless and barter was the most common form of exchange.

Dower Rights in Pennsylvania

Until recent years in Pennsylvania, common law held that it was the right of a widow to a life estate in the real property owned by her husband on his death. These *dower rights* were intended to insure that the widow had a place to live after her husband's death by automatically giving her a 1/3 interest in his property for the remainder of her natural life. While someone could purchase a property without the consent and joinder of the spouse, a property owner could not cancel the spouse's dower interest simply by selling property. The spouse's dower right could only be released when that spouse joined in signing the deed of conveyance or by signing a separate quit claim deed to the owning spouse for those dower rights. Lack of this consent could create a cloud or imperfection on the title. In other words, if someone purchased a property from a man whose wife did not join in the deed conveying the property, the purchaser faced the possibility that the wife of the seller could at some point come back to claim her 1/3 interest during her lifetime.

A man (or woman) conveying property without having a spouse's signature on the deed, or lacking a separate conveyance of dower rights by that spouse, is usually an indication that the spouse is no longer living. These deeds often carry some language clearly depicting the seller as a widow or widower. Even when such language is absent, the lack of a spouse on a deed can sometimes help date the death of a spouse who was present on previous land transactions.

Court and Estate Records

Despite the fact that western Pennsylvania was a dangerous and primitive frontier during the eighteenth century, it was not lawless and the justice system, while primitive, was in place. Many of the records still exist.

The old Westmoreland County Court records in the Office of the Prothonotary are all matters which are recorded in dockets, where proceedings were summarized, or the original papers copied. In most cases, the original papers are gone, only the summaries in the dockets

remaining. Thus, details about these matters are lost. Many of these dockets were made long after the original transactions, from old and decaying papers. Some of the books themselves are copies of older dockets. Few of the old papers remain in these old files, many are misfiled, and those that remain are often extremely fragile.

In the early days of Westmoreland County, the office of the Prothonotary, Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and other county offices were not well organized and records were poorly kept, often by incompetent clerks. What records there were often ended up lost, stolen or destroyed. During the Revolution and for a few years thereafter, these records were scattered and were in the private possession of some of the county officials. Arthur St. Clair, the first Prothonotary of Westmoreland County from 1773 to 1776, and his clerk James Brison kept very meticulous records and protected those records by taking them to his home during Indian attacks. Michael Huffnagle, however, who took over in 1776, refused to give up his books when requested and contended that they were his personal property, not belonging to the County. It took a court order and a considerable amount of bad blood to have them returned. Even then, some were not returned to the public ownership until relatively recent times, when descendants of Huffnagle found and turned over more of these early records. This practice of keeping public records as private property continued until 1804 when a law was passed establishing the public ownership of these records. As a result of these early disputes, however, many records are incomplete or missing altogether.

Cases in Court Dockets are listed according to the term, or quarter session, in which they were filed. These were generally January, April, July and October and each term included three months beginning with the month in which it began. Usually the specific date of the filing is not given, although notations by the clerk as to outcome and rulings often contain more specific dates.

Unlike some counties, Westmoreland County at some time during the 20th century created a good and workable index of all estates from the beginning of the county in 1773. Included are wills, intestacies and guardianships. Under each listed estate, there is a list of books or papers pertaining to that estate, which may require search in a number of places in the Register of Wills Office.

Some of the old Will Books are barely legible and are difficult to read and decipher. The old papers are sometimes in good condition, but often are not much better than the dockets. Material from papers in files is sometimes repeated in dockets, but more often simply summarized in a manner seen fit by the clerks. Papers are frequently missing, and must

be considered permanently lost due in large part to the custom that was followed until only about twenty five years ago of allowing people to check out any papers they were interested in, excepting only the original wills. Many have been lost. In addition, it is probable that a good number of the older papers could have been misfiled, such as when papers from two estates were put together and filed with the number of the outer paper.

Like Westmoreland County, Bedford County has also computerized indexes for all estate records in this manner. These include Will Books, Administration Dockets, Account Dockets, Widow's Appraisement Dockets, Distribution Dockets, Orphan's Court Dockets and Collateral Inheritance.

Census Records

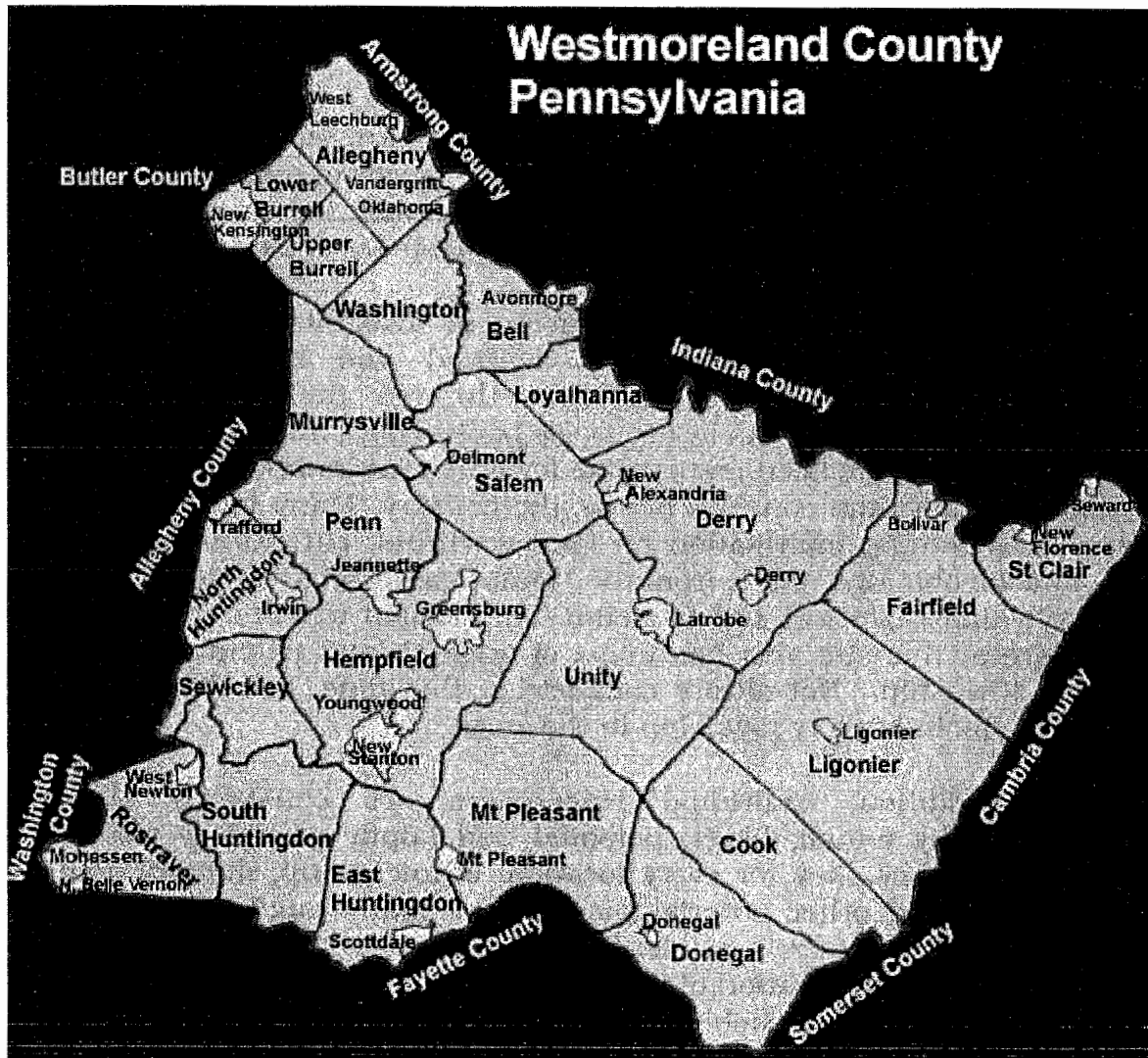
Information available through the first U.S. Census in 1790 is meager and only marginally reliable. Name misspellings and errors on ages were common, particularly when the census taker was English-speaking and the subjects were immigrants who spoke another language or spoke with a heavy accent. People were counted where they were, not necessarily in the household where they lived, the result being that some were counted twice and some not at all. The actual taking of the census was usually in the early spring through mid summer, so ages could change simply as a result of the time of year in which the question was answered. Sometimes the census takers simply guessed what they did not know.

It can be useful to examine the census records of these early periods in their original format instead of recopied and rearranged into alphabetical order. Names are harder to find, but they tend to appear in the order the census taker took them, placing people who lived near one another on the list in similar proximity.

Census information in 1790 did not include anything but the name of the head of household and the number of free white males, free white females and number of slaves. As the decades went by, more information was collected with each census, but it was not until 1850 that significant and meaningful information was retrieved through this process.

The Evolution of Counties and Townships

As Pennsylvania's frontier expanded and population grew, new counties were formed to accommodate the growth. Some were entirely new counties as the borders moved due to land acquisitions and/or treaties. Others were large counties with large land areas which would be broken into two or more new counties as the population grew. After the Treaty of Stanwix in 1768, legal settlement opened up in Cumberland County and Bedford County was formed from part of it in 1771. The population grew so quickly that Westmoreland County was formed from part of Bedford County in 1773.



It is important to remember that township designations were different than in present day. In 1773, when Westmoreland County was formed, there were only two townships on the east side of the county; Fairfield and Donegal. Fairfield was, generally, on the north side of the

Old Forbes Road and Donegal was on the South. In 1822, Ligonier Township was formed, taking land from both Fairfield and Donegal. Other parts of Donegal to the south became part of Fayette County when it was formed in 1783. Cook Township was formed from part of the original Donegal in 1855.

Therefore, references to Fairfield Township prior to 1822 could include areas later included in Ligonier Township. Records for the townships are found with the township designation as it was at the time of the record. Tax records for land or residents prior to 1822 which would now be in Ligonier Township, would still be found with those for Fairfield.

New Sources of Records

As time goes by, more and more records are made available, and just in the last few years the proliferation of records made available on the internet has been nothing short of a miracle for researchers who previously had to travel or make written requests for copies of records.

Old books and records, previously only available by personal visit to specialized libraries, are now digitized and available through Ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) or through the digitalized book collections of Google Books (www.google.books.com) and others. The US Genweb Project has been responsible for much information being offered online for individual counties across the country. Many important state records, including information on land warrants, patents and surveys, can now be obtained online from the Pennsylvania Archives section of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission website. Still a work in progress, this site also has maps of original land patents by county and by township. Not all are complete at this time, but the goal is to gradually include every township in the state.

In addition, individual researchers are constantly sharing information by e-mail, blogs, personal and family genealogy websites, and online query sites for every location, ethnic group, military action, time period and other criteria imaginable. Many family groups have engaged in DNA analysis to identify distant ancestors as well as living relations. This proliferation of information has helped to make genealogy one of the most popular hobbies among people all over the world.

FREEMAN ORIGINS

In Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, the small village of Stahlstown lies at the crossroads of present day Route 711 and Route 130. In the center of the town is the Trinity United Methodist Church with a small cemetery located to the right of the church. In this cemetery are the graves of Philip Freeman and his wife Mary Freeman. The old white marble headstones, about three feet in height, rectangular with a slightly rounded top, are badly worn. It will not be long before they become unreadable. The inscriptions read:

Philip Freeman
A Soldier of the Revolution
Who Departed This Life
July 5, 1829
In His 86th Year
Alas, Farewell ¹

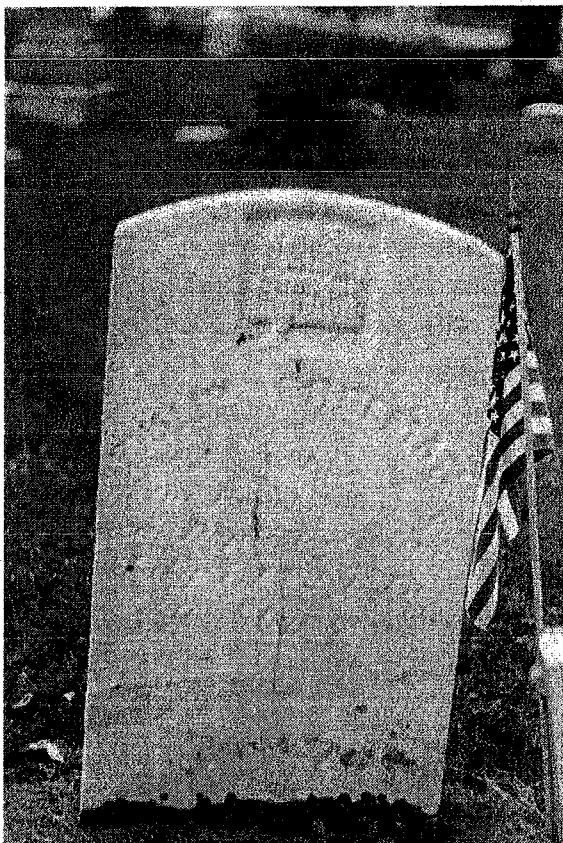
Mary Freeman
Consort of Philip Freeman
Died 7 Nov 1834
Aged 66 Years 11 Days
I Am the Resurrection and the Life

Based on the date inscribed on this stone, Philip Freeman was born some time between about July 5, 1742 and July 5, 1744². Researchers over the years have assigned 1743 as his year of birth, probably as a simple matter of subtracting 86 years from 1829. But it just as easily could have been the latter months of 1742 or the early months of 1744 for him to be "in his 86th year".

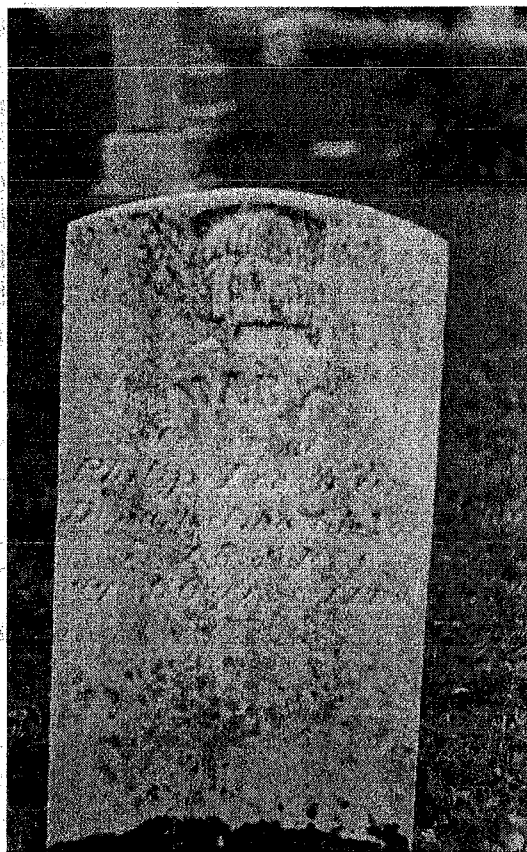
Mary Freeman's date of birth, on the other hand, can be more accurately calculated to October 27, 1768, which made her about 25 years younger than her husband. *These tombstone inscriptions are the only records ever found to date relating to the birth of either Philip or Mary Freeman.*

¹ The tombstone was reset within the last few years and the inscription "G. J. __A__D(O?) SSER, Tyrone, PA shows up on the bottom of the stone. Was this the stonecutter? A search in the census of 1830 in Tyrone Township, Fayette County (about 30 miles away) and in/around Tyrone, then in Huntingdon County (90 miles away), produced no names even close to this. Who this was or why his name appeared on the bottom of the stone is still a mystery.

² This does not allow for the conversion from the old Gregorian to the new Julian calendar, which took place in 1752 and deducted 11 days from the calendar.



Philip Freeman



Mary Freeman

Where Philip Freeman was born or who his parents were is not known. The only clue traced to Philip himself as to his place of birth comes from his Revolutionary War pension application in 1821 which states that he resided in the state of Pennsylvania "since the Revolutionary War and in the state from my infancy". Most of the information in this affidavit is remarkably accurate for a man of about 78 years old, so there is no known cause to doubt the statement. It appears to indicate that his birth was in Pennsylvania, or at least a portion of his early childhood was spent there. The statement, if accurate, does allow for a period of time prior to the Revolutionary War spent somewhere else outside of the borders of Pennsylvania.

Ancestry

The old Compass Inn biography states that Philip Freeman was of German ancestry, but there is considerable room for doubt about this. In fact, it is very unlikely that he was German. He may have been of Ulster Scot ancestry (Scotch-Irish), but it is most likely he was English.

The English were, of course, the first and largest group of people to settle in the American colonies beginning in the late 16th century, most notably in Virginia and New England. Beginning with the early settlements in Virginia and Massachusetts, large numbers of English settlers arrived as people looked for religious freedom and better economic opportunities. Some came with the financial means to establish themselves, but many more came as indentured servants who owed years of servitude to pay for their passage over the Atlantic. The English also exported their debtors and criminals to empty the overflowing prisons of the overcrowded city of London; these also became indentured servants once they arrived.

The people who in America came to be called Scots-Irish or Ulster Scots were often referred to as simply "Irish" even though they were not Irish at all, and they were not Catholic as were most of the Irish immigrants during the 19th century. They were, in fact, people of Scottish Protestant ancestry, most from the Scottish lowlands and northern borderlands of who were transplanted by the English onto the plantations of Northern Ireland for political reasons.

In the early 1600's, Protestant King James I wanted to "civilize" the rebellious and uncontrollable Irish, a majority of whom were also Catholic. So he colonized confiscated Irish land, primarily in the northern region of Ulster, with Presbyterian Scots and Protestant English settlers, many transplanted from the border region of Scotland and England. During the next century, these industrious settlers built towns and villages, improved farming, increased industry and commerce and firmly established the Protestant Church in Northern Ireland, which triggered religious turmoil in Ireland that continues to this day. They never mingled with the native Irish, maintaining their own culture and customs. But the English monarchy found these independent and strong-willed Scots to be just as difficult to control as the Irish, so struggles for political rights and civil liberties ensued. Within a century, these "Ulster Scots" as they were more appropriately known in England and Ireland, began to immigrate to America in huge numbers. Between 1717 and 1775 mass migrations of these Ulster Scots came primarily to Pennsylvania but later to Virginia and the Carolinas as well.

In Pennsylvania their robust, impetuous, strong-willed, independent and quick-tempered nature often caused conflict with German settlers who were frugal, industrious and conservative people. The two groups often maintained separate settlements and avoided social contact with one another. The Proprietaries in colonial Pennsylvania (the Penn Family) made efforts to establish settlements in separate counties or townships to avoid problems between the two very different peoples.

German settlers came to Pennsylvania from the southwest region of German-speaking Europe, the Rhineland, Palatinate, Baden, Alsace, Württemberg and German-speaking Switzerland. They were encouraged to settle by William Penn and the first came in the late 1600s. Between 1727 and 1775 about 65,000 Germans arrived in Pennsylvania and by the Revolutionary War, it was estimated that one third of the population in Pennsylvania was German or German speaking.

They came primarily because the Thirty Years War in Europe (1618-1648) and subsequent wars between France and various German principalities³ thoroughly devastated the countryside causing widespread famine and hardship. Also, in America it was possible to own land, something that was not possible under the feudal social and political structure that still existed in Europe at that time.

German immigrants were largely skilled farmers, craftsmen or tradesmen but usually arrived poor, with at least half of them arriving as indentured servants, also called redemptioners, to pay for their passage to America. But as hardworking, industrious and thrifty people, the typical German settler quickly established himself in his trade, craft or as a successful farmer.

The German settlers of the time lived in close-knit communities and tended to keep business dealings, marriages and social activities amongst themselves. They were strongly attached to their Lutheran and Reformed churches, for which many records still survive. They retained their German customs, social practices and superstitions, and continued to speak the German language for generations after their arrival in this country. They were sober and thrifty, and tended to shun progressiveness. When the Revolutionary War broke out, the German men formed their own regiments; in fact, this practice of forming "German Regiments" continued through the Civil War.

Of these two groups most prominent in colonial Pennsylvania, the Scots-Irish, or Ulster Scots, were more likely to be politically active and were storekeepers, innkeepers, businessmen, traders and land speculators. Intermarriages between these two groups were not unknown, but definitely not common until after the turn of the century in the early 1800's.

³ German as it is today did not exist; instead it was a grouping of separate principalities with separate rulers within what was the Holy Roman Empire.

If Philip was of German ancestry, his lifestyle did not reflect it. He did not live in the areas of Westmoreland County where the German communities were found and he is not found anywhere in the extensive *German Church Records of Westmoreland County* that began in 1772.⁴ He was an innkeeper, farmer and an itinerant trader who also appears to have made an ambitious foray into storekeeping for a period of time and may have been a whisky distiller and trader from time to time. With one notable exception, his business dealings seemed to be primarily among the English and Scots-Irish people. His Revolutionary War service was not with a German regiment, nor did the muster rolls of his units show any German names. Even the name "Freeman" strongly suggests English roots, and has never been found spelled in any other way that would suggest Anglicization of a German name.

On the other hand, he did marry one woman who was definitely from a German family and another who was also German-Swiss or was, at least, married to two men of German Swiss origins prior to her marriage to Philip. Information about most of Philip's children is sketchy, but of the marriages we know about, none were with families of German ancestry. In the 1780's he did have some significant business dealings with a German Catholic merchant from York County who appeared to be a supplier and/or lender to Philip Freeman, but that connection did not seem to indicate that it was due to any German background on Philip's part.

On the whole, however, evidence points to his ancestry being English or Scots-Irish. The name Freeman is most commonly found as English, with records of the name dating back to the 12th century when surnames were only beginning to take hold. A freeman was a free man, not bound by servitude to an overlord as was common during feudal times and became attached to given names as a surname. The same happened with people's occupations (Miller, Farmer, Driver, Smith, Weaver or Tanner), where they lived (taking the name of the village or town), something that otherwise helps to identify them (Brown, Wise, Young) or generational names such as Johnson (son of John) or Richardson.

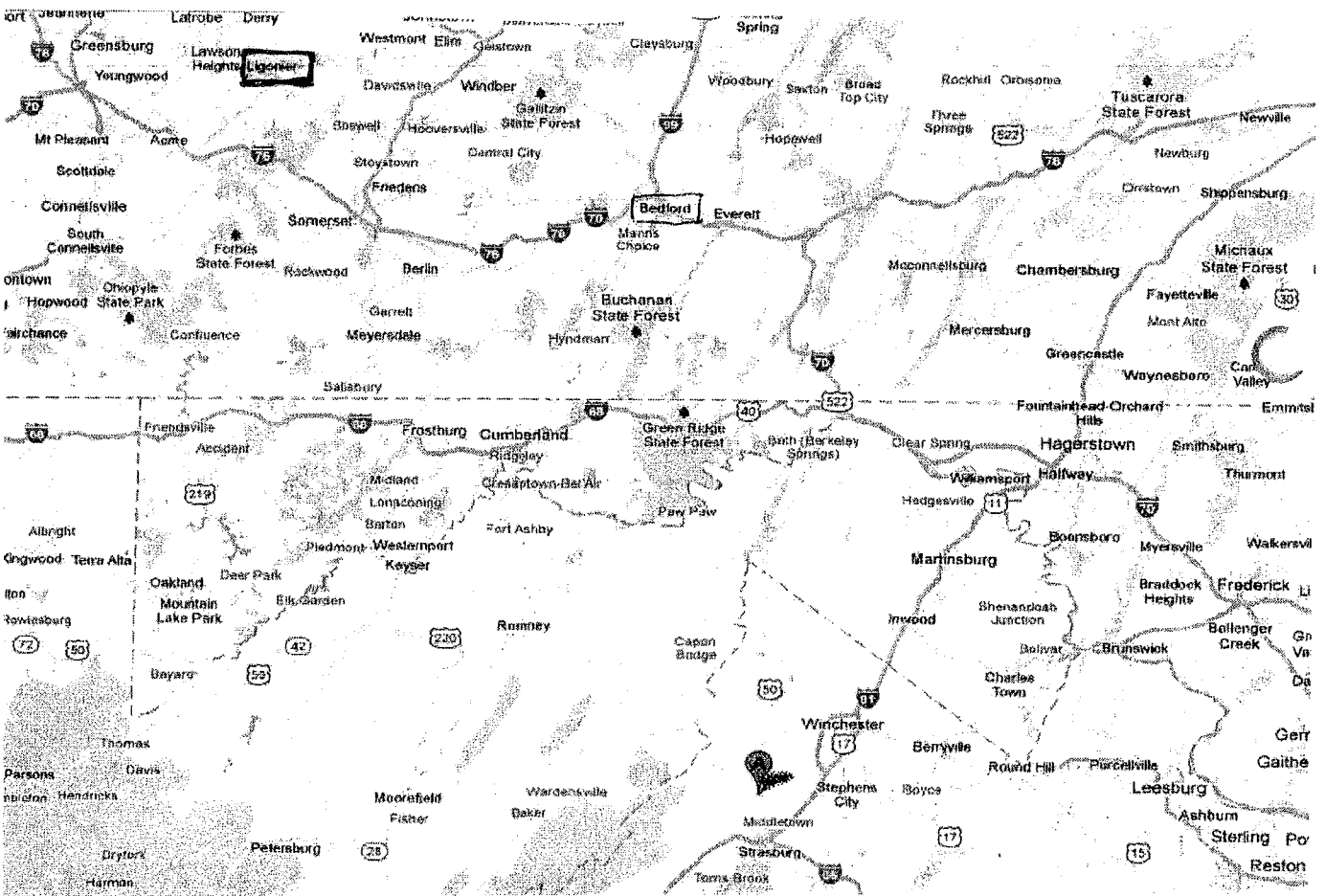
There were large numbers of Freemans coming from England as early as the early 1600's. Freeman families from New Jersey, Virginia, Pennsylvania and North Carolina in particular were examined in an attempt to find a connection with Philip Freeman. No credible link has

⁴ The *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, transcribed and published by the Reverend Paul Miller Ruff, are a meticulous collection of church records for the German Churches there during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They are a primary source of information for the German families from the region.

been found to date, but there is still hope that new information will surface placing him with his ancestors.

Early Years – Virginia?

Philip Freeman is known to be in the Ligonier Valley of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania by January 1773, but was probably there at least by 1772 or earlier. Like the other settlers who came to the western portion of Pennsylvania about the time land opened there for settlement in 1769, he migrated there from other previously settled areas. But where?



"A" is approximate location of Philip Freeman land in Frederick County in the Northern Neck of Virginia.

Some credible evidence points to the upper Shenandoah Valley in Frederick County, Virginia as being where Philip may have lived, for at least some time, prior to his arrival in Pennsylvania. This Northern Neck

of Virginia was one of the areas from which large numbers of people migrated into western Pennsylvania, particularly those areas claimed by Virginia. The northern area of the Shenandoah Valley began to see the arrival of settlers in the late 1720's and in 1738 Frederick County was formed as a new county in Virginia, with Winchester as the county seat.

Large numbers of German, English and Ulster Scot settlers, along with a considerable community of Quakers, came from Philadelphia, Chester, Lancaster and Cumberland Counties in Pennsylvania, traveling along the old Indian Path which came to be known as the Great Wagon Road. The Road began in Philadelphia, passing through Lancaster and York, then turning south across the Potomac River and on to Winchester. From there it continued to the Carolinas and Georgia.

In 1748, a 16-year old George Washington arrived in Winchester from Virginia as a member of a surveying party that came to Frederick County to survey the lands of his friend Thomas, Lord Fairfax. Washington maintained a surveying office there, and then during the French and Indian War he commanded the colonial forces there at the headquarters for General Braddock. He then represented the region in the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1758 to 1765.

One young man who traveled the Great Wagon Road from Pennsylvania or New Jersey to Winchester was Daniel Morgan. In 1753, at about age 18, he arrived in Winchester, which remained his home for the rest of his life. He became a wagoner for Braddock's army during the French and Indian War and was with Braddock and George Washington on their catastrophic march to Fort Duquesne in 1754. During the American Revolution, he became one of the greatest battlefield tacticians in the American Army and formed the legendary "Morgan's Rifles". In early 1777 he was assigned to raise the 11th Virginia Regiment of the Continental Line and one of the men who signed on in Winchester was Philip Freeman.

Land records in Frederick County, Virginia show a Philip Freeman who was granted a warrant for 260 acres of land "across the Little North Mountain" in the Opiquon watershed on December 14, 1767. The land was surveyed on April 12, 1768 by Peter Stephens with George Snapp acting as a chain carrier.⁵ Adjacent landowners were John Snapp

⁵ In order to complete his work, a surveyor used 33 foot wrought iron chains with 8 inch links for taking measurements. Surveyors would employ local men to help carry and manage these chains. In this case, a notation of (?) is shown to indicate that the name of the second chain carrier was omitted.

(Schnepp, Schnapp), George Snapp, Richard Fawcett, Michael Rape (Reape), and Isaac Zane.⁶

This land was located about a dozen miles south of Winchester near present-day Marlboro. One of the adjoining landowners was Isaac Zane, who in 1772 built the Marlboro Iron Works and during the 1770s employed many skilled craftsmen. It is estimated that nearly 2,000 people lived in or around Marlboro during the Revolutionary War due to this furnace. During the Revolutionary War this iron works was one of the largest suppliers of ordinance to the continental army.

There are records of this Philip Freeman in the area in 1767, when he was granted a warrant to the land. In May of that year, he acted a chain carrier on surveys of land for Henry Bower and for Richard Fawcett for land adjoining or located very near his own land.⁷ This indicates that he was physically in the area at the time.

Also in the area at about the same time was a Thomas Freeman who in August 1768 acted as a chain carrier for the survey of land in the same general area warranted by Benjamin Bowman.⁸ A Thomas Freeman was also was a witness to a lease between Frederick Unsult of Frederick County, Virginia to Jacob Miller of Frederick County, Maryland in May of 1764.⁹

A Harriss Freeman was a chain carrier in 1764 for a survey conducted on land warranted by Brian Bruin (a Catholic who later moved on to Louisiana due to religious persecution).¹⁰ This land was in present day Hampshire County, at least 25 or 30 miles from where Philip Freeman's land was located in 1767. A connection is possible, but unknown.

In the Minutes of the Frederick County court records in 1743, the first year for operation of the courts in the county, are three notations, without specific dates but definitely some time in November and December.¹¹ The first, on page 26 of the original Minute records, shows that a suit was entered by Elisha (Elijah) Isaac against George Freeman.¹² It is not clear what type of suit it was, but an "attachment"

⁶ Joyner, Peggy Shomo, *Abstracts of Virginia's Northern Neck Warrants & Surveys of Frederick County 1747-1780* Volume III, page 15.

⁷ *Ibid*, Volume II, page 15.

⁸ *Ibid*, Volume II, page 15

⁹ *Ibid*, Volume I, page 15

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Volume IV, page 7

¹¹ The Frederick County Court Records begin in November of 1743.

¹² Davies, John David, *Frederick County, Minutes of Court records 1743-1745, 2003*. Page 13

was held by Henry Smecher (Strickler), Robert Edge and Timothy Henry. On page 37, a judgment is granted and the sheriff summoned the three men who had been charged with holding the "attachment". On page 25, it simply states "Elisha Isaacs vs. George Freeman, attachment, witness Henry Strickler. It is assumed that whatever the "attachment" was, it was handed over to Isaacs at that time. It could have been money, but it also could have been a horse, a gun or some similar possession over which ownership was at issue.

Who was this George Freeman? The name is used with some frequency by later generations of Philip's family, making it worth wondering whether this was an earlier Freeman related to Philip. Thomas Freeman appears to be physically located near Philip Freeman on these records, but there is no definitive evidence of a connection between this George, Thomas, or for any of the other Freemans found in the Frederick County area.

There is no record of any Freeman in any other early Frederick County records, including tax records, records of Frederick Militia units, fee records, land records, church records and others. The Freemans (Philip and Thomas) who apparently settled along Cedar Creek and Little North Mountain in 1767 made little impression and probably moved on after a few years.

The argument for this being the Philip Freeman who later settled in Westmoreland County is still strictly circumstantial. The time period is right; someone of that name is physically there in 1767, 1768 and is mentioned in land records in 1772 and 1774 although this does not mean he was physically present in the area on those latter dates. After that he is never again in any record found afterwards. The proximity of this land to the Zane iron furnace makes it very likely that the original warrant land was absorbed by the furnace lands during the war years. Philip himself may have sold his warrant to Zane in an unrecorded transaction.

Philip Freeman shows up in the records in Westmoreland County beginning in January 1774 but he appears to have already been settled there before that time. In the 1760's and 1770's, many settlers from this Frederick County area migrated up the Braddock Road into Pennsylvania. Was he one of them? Our Philip Freeman went to Winchester in 1777 to enlist in the 11th Virginia Regiment, but why would he do this? Did he specifically go there to enlist, and if so, why? Or was he already there for some other reason?

Freeman Families in America

While the name Freeman is not one commonly found in large numbers in eighteenth century America, it is found in virtually every colony. Freemans were among the earliest settlers in Massachusetts, Virginia and New Jersey. Later generations of these families migrated into North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee. There were also Freeman settlers in eastern Pennsylvania in Chester County, York County and Northumberland County, but not in large numbers. Due to Philip Freeman's statement in his pension application that he had lived in Pennsylvania "since the Revolutionary War and in the state from my infancy", it makes the most sense to focus on the probability that he spent at least a part of his early childhood in Pennsylvania.

The following is by no means a complete list of all Freemans found during the 18th century, but for purposes of future research, at least some are outlined.

A Freeman family in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania was originally German with a German spelling to the name, such as Friemann or Freyman. There are numerous records of the family during the period in question, but nothing that would suggest any connection to our Philip. Freeman families in York, Berks and Chester Counties appear to have been English and at least some were Quakers, but so far nothing found to date ties Philip to any of them.

Freemans who appeared to have been Welsh Quakers were in Upland (now Chester County) before William Penn got his grant in 1681. There were still Freemans in York and Chester Counties a century later and found in public records and the Census of 1790. To date, no connection, even a circumstantial one, has been found to Philip Freeman.

There were a significant number of Freemans in Henrico and Goochland Counties and James City (Jamestown area, near Williamsburg) in Virginia. They were early English settlers, in the area by the 1620's, and appear to have been prosperous and prominent land-owning families. There was a Freeman family in the area of Norfolk, Virginia who moved on to North Carolina and some on to Kentucky during mid to later 1700's. There is no record of any Philip among these, or any good candidates to be Philip's parents.

A prominent Freeman family from England settled in New Haven, Connecticut in 1635 and became founders of Milford, Connecticut.

Some of this family moved to become founders of what is now Newark, New Jersey and others settled around Morristown. There was one Philip Freeman (b. 1744) found in this family who served in the Revolutionary War, but he and a brother both died of illness early during his service with a New Jersey Regiment. However, at least two members of this family did migrate to Fayette County, Pennsylvania after the war and one to the area of Frederick County, Virginia.

John Cole, who married Nellie (Nelle) Freeman (born 1749) was in Frederick County, Va. and served in the same Virginia regiment as Philip Freeman in 1777. Both the Cole family and Freeman family came from the Morristown area of New Jersey, but from records available from her Freeman family (Hannah Astwood/Stephen Freeman Descendants), we were not able to identify any brothers or other relatives who could have been Philip and found no likely candidates for his parents. It was an enticing clue, but it appears to be mere coincidence that John Cole and Philip Freeman were in the same company.

Another member of this same New Jersey Freeman line was John Freeman, who, with his son Edmond, was settled in Franklin Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania by at least 1780. They were innkeepers, landowners, slave owners and appeared to be fairly prosperous men. No connection has been found to date to Philip Freeman, either before or after their settlement in Fayette County.

A Thomas Freeman, with his son Samuel, was in Tyrone Twp. (later Franklin), Fayette County, Pennsylvania by 1770. Thomas was a "Gentleman Justice" from Yohogania County, Virginia, which included claims of Virginia for what later became Washington, Fayette, Westmoreland and Greene County, Pennsylvania. He was also an agent for George Washington for his lands in what is now Perry Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. He and his son also appear to have been prosperous land and slave owners, originally from Virginia. No connection has been found to Philip Freeman.

Another Philep Freeman (sic) was shown as being in Rostraver Township, Westmoreland County with his family in the 1790 Census, but is not our Philip. He moved on within a few years, probably further westward, and made no discernable mark on the local history.

There are several Freemans who could potentially have some relationship to Philip, but there is currently no evidence other than proximity.

As early as 1762 a Thomas Freeman appears on a tax list for Middleton Twp., Cumberland County, Pennsylvania for 200 acres of

warranted land. This was near the town of Carlisle, which by 1763 was a fairly well-populated town and had been settled by Ulster Scots. He also warranted 100 acres along Tuscarawa Creek in 1755. Benjamin Freeman, relationship unknown, had 174.2 acres surveyed and patented along Shavers Creek in 1782. George Freeman was a member of a Flying Camp regiment, Capt. Robert Cluggage's Company, from Bedford County 1776 (included present day Fulton, Somerset, Huntington, Blair and Cambria Counties). In March of 1779¹³ Mary Freeman, widow, was granted letters of administration for a John Freeman in Bedford County.

A Thomas Freeman was settled in Westmoreland County, in northern Hempfield Twp. or Salem Township, near the site of Hannastown, by or before 1777. This Thomas, along with Adam, and James Freeman, served with the Westmoreland County Militia (Rangers of the Frontier), 8th company, Capt. William Love's Company during the Revolution. A William Freeman was in the same area, but did not serve with this Militia. This may be the same Thomas as referenced above from Cumberland County, or these may be sons of that Thomas, but there is nothing that currently proves this relationship. One of this Freeman family is described as being "Irish" in a historical account of the Indian-Tory attack on Hannastown in 1783, which is the way the Ulster Scots (Scotch-Irish) were commonly described at that time. Thomas and William were among signers in Hannastown in 1774 of the petition to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in which aid was requested in the Indian Wars and the war being waged over the Virginia-Pennsylvania boundaries (Dunmore's War). Despite the proximity of only a few miles, there has been no connection found to our Philip Freeman.

A Richard Freeman appears in Survey Book 1 page 3 as having 400 acres on Chestnut Ridge in Mount Pleasant Township in 1785. This has no bearing on Philip or his family, as this Richard Freeman was in Philadelphia and acting as a nominee for another to hold land here and in other areas. He probably never left Philadelphia and is very unlikely to have been related to our Philip.

Philip was probably born to parents already in America. There are long lists available for Freemans who arrived in America from Great Britain. One of these could easily be an ancestor of our Philip, but there is nothing found to date that would indicate any relationships. Some of these Freemans were indentured servants, who would have arrived in America with the expectation of having to work off their passage with a number of years of labor for a master who paid the ship captain for his fare. Others were convicts, expelled from England due to debts or crimes ranging from serious to quite minor. These convicts were usually sold

¹³ Bedford County, Book of Wills, volume I, page 26.

into indentured servitude for a period of time. Still others appeared to be farmers, tradesmen or merchants who were men of at least some means, coming here to build a new life and perhaps bringing families with them.

The Freeman Family, published by the Genealogical Research Institute, Arlington, Virginia, 1973 includes lists of immigrant Freemans (not all inclusive), lists of Freemans who served in the Revolutionary War, and a listing of all of heads of families named Freeman from the 1790 Census. This Census included 394 Freeman families in twelve of thirteen colonies, primarily Massachusetts (88), North Carolina (75), New York (42), Virginia (28), Pennsylvania (28) and South Carolina (25). An additional 1,795 single Freemans, mostly young men on the frontier, were also counted. By 1790, of course, a great many of these Freemans were far from where they started out, constant migration being the norm in Colonial and post-Revolution America.

Because we know that Philip Freeman was illiterate¹⁴, or at least could not write his name, it is less likely that he came from a family of means, even moderately so. Most families in settled areas and families of tradesmen, prosperous farmers or merchants had at least some exposure to reading and writing. Literacy rates in New England were quite high, while literacy in the more sparsely settled southern colonies was much lower. Quaker families had a high ratio of educated people and German families even higher with church congregations often establishing schools for the children of the congregation (although in the early years, much of their education was in the German language). Frontier families were reliant on another family member, usually the mother, to pass along the reading and writing skills. If family members were absent or uneducated themselves, the children were also likely to be illiterate; conversely, people who were able to at least read and write tended to place value on teaching their children these skills if possible. Also, people in the frontier areas tended to place less value on education and were more intent on day-to-day survival. This proves nothing, but makes it more likely that he came from a family living in a frontier region, possibly with a mother and father also illiterate or perhaps a mother who died before she could pass along any education to Philip.

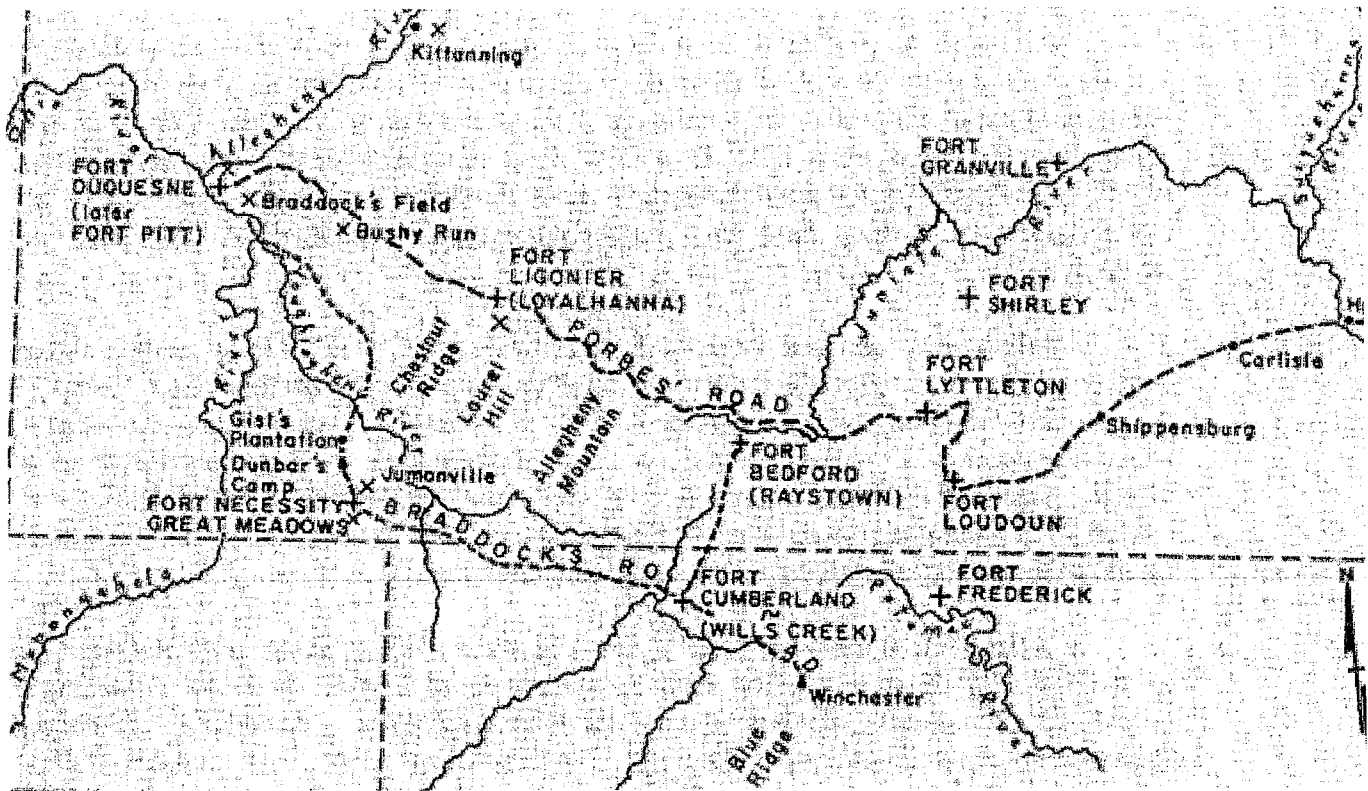
¹⁴ Throughout the records, Philip Freeman uses a mark to sign his name rather than a signature. He does not, however, use the usual "X" but rather a curled symbol similar to a "G" or an open "6" with a dot in the open loop on the right. This identified him positively as the same Philip Freeman and not another when examining documents. Several documents exist with his original mark, but even those which have been recopied, such as in Westmoreland County deed books, consistently show this mark as opposed to the "X" most commonly used in those days. Also, his pension applications were written by others, possibly due to his age and infirmity at that time, but more likely because he could not write them himself.

Efforts to find even a clue as to who Philip's parents were have been fruitless to date. Similarly, there is no clear evidence of any other family members except one – the Jacob Freeman who is buried beside Philip and Mary in the cemetery in Stahlstown. This Jacob is shown to have died in 1840 and no age or date of birth is shown, but census data places his age at between 8 and 18 years younger than Philip. He lived either on Philip's land on the base of the Laurel Ridge in Fairfield Township or within a mile of there until about 1820, when Philip and Jacob both moved to Mt. Pleasant Township (later became Cook Township), and continued to live within a mile or two of each other for the rest of their lives. They had children with similar names (Mary, Jacob, Philip, John, Samuel, Elizabeth and George) and Jacob and his son are buried next to Philip and Mary. He may have been a nephew or a cousin, but more likely a brother. Based on what his actual age was, he could also have been a son of Philip. There is nothing found that actually pinpoints his age or relationship to Philip, but proximity and logic leads to the conclusion that the relationship was a close one.¹⁵

Recently, there have been people posting information on internet sites that a George Freeman and Sarah Ann Cox were his parents, from Virginia's Tidewater regions or, later, North Carolina. None have presented any evidence to support this. In fact, research shows that Sarah Ann Cox was married to George's brother Holman Freeman and that they had several children who are well-documented, none of them named Philip. This George Freeman born in 1712 married someone else (her name unknown), had three children – none named Philip – and died in 1738 (his will is on file), several years before Philip was born. This appears to be nothing more than someone who assumed Philip's father's name was George simply because Philip named his first son George, then looked for a George who lived during a time when the dates fit. Unfortunately, others pick up on this and perpetuate it as fact, with no supporting evidence. In this case someone has created a family that never existed by citing George's incorrect date of death, an incorrect spouse and lists children he never had.

If Philip Freeman was born somewhere in southeastern Pennsylvania it is likely to have been between Philadelphia and the Cumberland Valley east of the Appalachian Mountains. Perhaps his family was among the many Ulster Scots who arrived in America in the early 1700s, populating the frontier areas of the Cumberland Valley. Or his ancestors may have originally come from England, perhaps settling originally in New England, New York or New Jersey before coming to Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, there is no current evidence for either scenario so his origins still remain largely unknown.

¹⁵ See more about Jacob in "Who was Jacob Freeman" Page 137.



A 1756 map of Pennsylvania area including the territory in dispute during the French and Indian War, then considered the western frontier. Shows the Forbes Road from the east and Braddock's Road from Virginia.

ARRIVAL IN WESTMORELAND COUNTY

Although he is likely to have arrived in the area some time earlier, at least by 1772, the first known documentation of Philip Freeman is in Westmoreland County, in western Pennsylvania in 1774. This is an entry in a Westmoreland County Civil Court Docket for the January Term of 1774 showing Philip Freeman and Barbara, already his wife, as defendants in a suit filed by Daniel Levoyer for a debt of £20 (twenty pounds).

Philip was almost certainly in the area by 1772 or some time earlier. He was already married to Barbara in Westmoreland County before this suit was filed in early 1774. It is likely that he was the single man "Gazzaway Freeman" (first name probably a clerical error) listed as a single man and landowner on a tax list for Fairfield Township in early 1773, making him already settled on the land at the foot of the Laurel Ridge for which he later received a patent.¹⁶

Philip would have come to the Ligonier Valley some time after the area officially opened up for settlement in April 1769. A flood of settlers came from areas further east in Pennsylvania, traveling through Raystown (now Bedford) along the Forbes Road, over the Laurel Ridge into Westmoreland County. Settlers from Virginia's Shenandoah Valley also pushed northward, following Braddock's Road into what later became Fayette, Washington, Allegheny and Westmoreland counties. From which direction Philip came is still not known with certainty, although the circumstantial evidence found so far makes Frederick County, Virginia a possible, even likely, place of origin.

If he was the same Philip Freeman who appeared in Frederick County, Virginia land records in 1767 and 1768, his disappearance from those records and appearance in Pennsylvania before 1774 is appropriate. In May of 1772, Philip Freeman is cited in Frederick County, Virginia records as an adjoining property owner to land

¹⁶ Early Tax Lists, Bedford County, Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Vol. 22, Pages 25-31. Note that this is the year in which parts of Bedford County, including Fairfield Township, become Westmoreland County on Feb. 26, 1773. This list, created in early 1773, was for the portion of taxes to be owed to Bedford County that year. The Assessment rolls of that part of Bedford County which were made into Westmoreland County (Westmoreland County Historical Society, #317.47) are a typewritten list that was first made as a copy of the original papers. Listed are Barbara Bonjour and Gazzaway Freeman, who is on this list among the landholders of the township. If this was a different Freeman than Philip, he disappeared in any other records, while Philip, who was undoubtedly in the township at the time, does not appear on these lists. It is likely that "Gazzaway" is a clerical error of some kind and that this is, indeed, Philip.

purchased by Michael Tomlin, although this does not prove his actual presence in the area.

In 1767, Isaac Zane, a Quaker from around Philadelphia, purchased land and an iron furnace adjoining the land warranted by Philip Freeman. He expanded his iron furnace operations and was said to have employed many skilled craftsmen. About 2,000 people lived in the area during the 1770's due to the activity of this iron furnace. On April 16, 1774, Isaac Zane filed a Caveat which contested the 1768 survey of the Freeman land boundary with his. If this Philip Freeman is the same one as came to Westmoreland County before January of 1773, then he was not physically present in Frederick County at the time the caveat was filed. There is no record of the outcome of this suit, but it is known that Zane acquired much more land in the area - thousands of acres - which he developed into his Marlboro Iron Works originally built about 1772. It is possible that this expansion included the former Freeman land.¹⁷ It is possible that Freeman simply did not respond to the disputed survey suit and a default judgment was entered for Zane. There is also no record of this Virginia Philip Freeman ever selling the warranted land, but the deed may have gone unrecorded or may remain undiscovered among the collection of land records currently residing in the Library of Virginia.¹⁸

Whether the Philip Freeman in Frederick County, Virginia is the same as the one who settled in Westmoreland County is not proven. If it were the same person, it may have meant that he left Virginia still having a land warrant to the 260 acres in Frederick County. It was not uncommon for settlers with warranted land to simply walk away from that claim rather than pay the price to obtain the final patent, particularly if they have moved on. On the other hand, warrants were also routinely sold to others, even though the claim on the land was still

¹⁷ Zane Iron Works supplied massive amounts of munitions to the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. Zane, a wealthy and generous man who often paid militia soldiers and widow's pensions out of his own pocket. He was never paid for much of the ordinance he supplied to the army, was virtually bankrupt by 1783 and died in debt. The small town of Marlboro, Virginia is where the iron works once stood. The site is now on the National Register of Historic Places.

¹⁸ Searches through land records in the Virginia Archives have failed to produce an original copy of the land warrant of 1767 or any sale or transfer of that land later. This collection consists of the patents as recorded by the office of the Secretary of the Colony. These copies were hung on strings in the office and, as time was available, they were recorded in bound volumes. A random method of selection of documents to be entered accounts for the haphazard dating in the early volumes, and the method of hanging the patent on string accounts for loss of documents. The system of recording was improved in the 19th century. Rather than having duplicate copies made and entered in a bound volume at intervals, the patents were recorded when issued. All other accompanying documents including surveys were annually destroyed.

not a permanent one, and this land appears to have had real value.¹⁹ It is also possible that the rapid development of the iron furnace operations by Isaac Zane detracted from the value of the land from Freeman's standpoint. If the Virginia Philip Freeman ever sold this land warrant, no record has been found. After 1774, there are no records of Philip or any other Freeman in Frederick County.

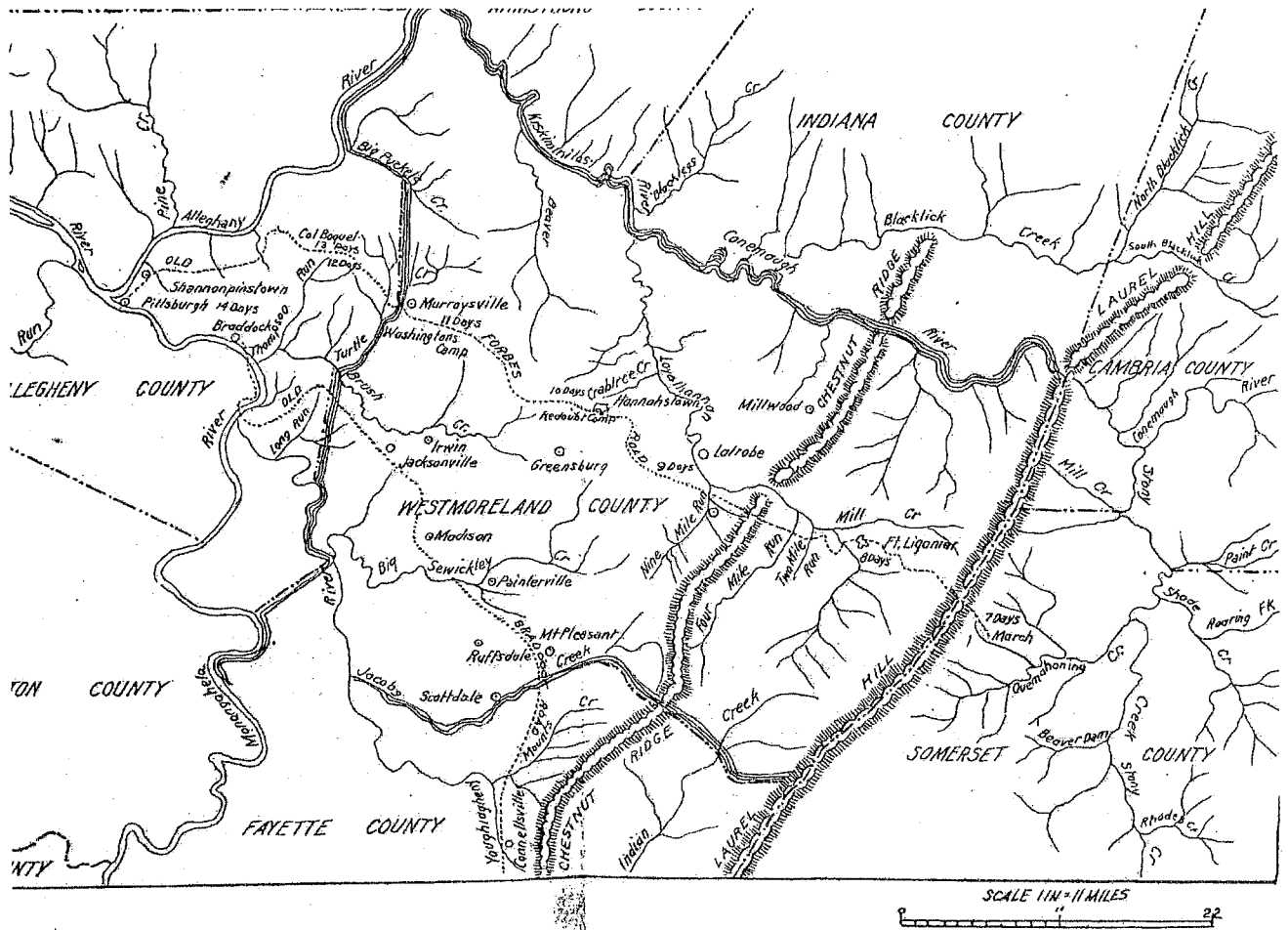
The Fairfield Township Land

Philip Freeman laid claim to two tracts of land along the Forbes Road at the foot of the Laurel Ridge in Westmoreland County. When he made application for these warrants is unknown; warrant applications are held at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania but are not indexed. Initial claims for land often took the form of "tomahawk" claims, with the claimant making marks on the trees around the borders with a tomahawk. In those times, possession was what was important and it was respected by other settlers.

These two tracts, known as Liberty Hall (410.40 acres) and Deerlick Ridge (238.5 acres) adjoined one another along the foot of the Laurel Ridge in what was then Fairfield Township (present day Ligonier Township). As land claims were made in those days, they were often given names that meant something to the person claiming the land (for example, Jones Retreat, Smith's Reward or Pleasant Meadow). It is not known why Philip would have used these names. A deer lick was generally an outcropping of salt or rocks with saltpeter that drew deer which would lick the salt, so perhaps there was a deer lick on the land. It is also curious that there is a Deerlick Ridge along the Capacon river (present day Hampshire County, West Virginia) only about 20 miles from where the Virginia Philip Freeman had his land warrant. But the name Liberty Hall remains a mystery.

Philip, like many other settlers, may have made application for warrants, but did not actually receive those warrants until many years later. Indian attacks during the summers and the Revolutionary War delayed the warrant and surveying process, so most warrants were not issued until after 1784. Philip did not actually receive warrants for his land until February 7, 1785 for Deerlick Ridge and January 3, 1786 for Liberty Hall.

¹⁹ A personal visit to the region shows that the area is still very rural, with gently rolling hills at the foot of the Shenandoah Mountains, populated with farms, small wineries and many apple orchards.



MAP OF WESTMORELAND COUNTY, SHOWING ROUTE TAKEN BY GEN. FORBES

The Forbes Road was constructed through the wilderness between Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier in the fall of 1758 by General John Forbes. The road went from Fort Bedford, over the Laurel Ridge, through the Ligonier Valley, over the Chestnut Ridge and eventually on to Fort Duquesne at current day Pittsburgh. General Forbes needed a road to transport men and supplies to the western side of the mountains so that he could attack the French at Fort Duquesne (later Fort Pitt). It was built as a military road, as opposed to one meant to make travel easy and convenient. Instead of following the natural contours of the land, streams, or valleys, it was built as much as possible on high ground to maintain defensible and strategic positions. As a result, it was a very difficult road to travel. It was rocky, steep, winding and treacherous. It was not unusual for wagons and pack animals to be mired in mud, or for wagons to break away on a steep, rocky slope or be lost over an embankment. The Braddock Road, located to the south and built by General Braddock several years earlier from Winchester, Virginia to Fort

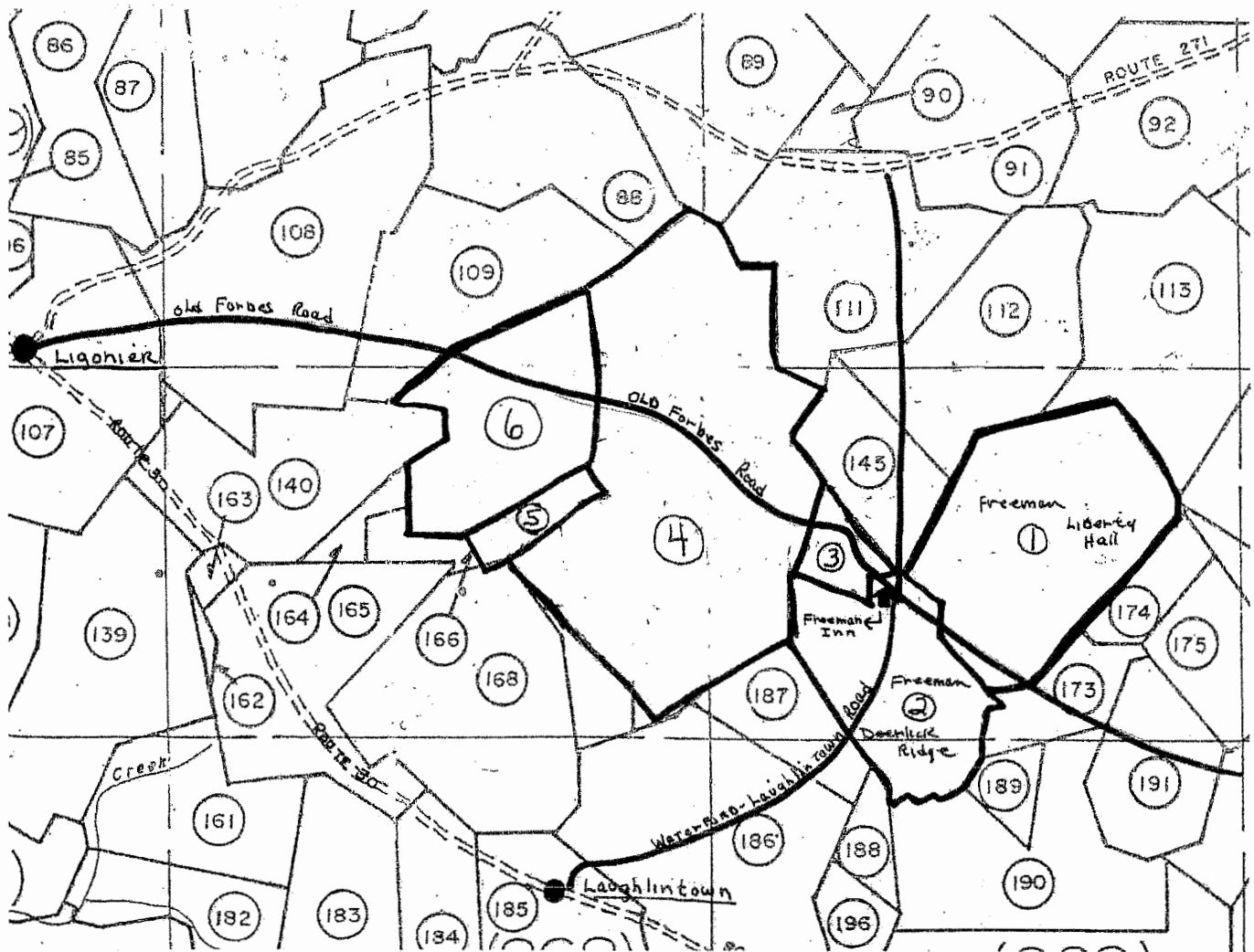
Duquesne, was not much better. It was not until many years later, in 1790, that another road was built to accommodate settlers and traders. After construction of this new State Road (following present day Route 30) the old Forbes Road was effectively abandoned. Traces of the road remain today, with a few stretches of modern roads following its approximate course, but it has for the most part disappeared.

The Forbes Road and Laurel Run intersected both tracts of land with Deerlick Ridge to the south of Liberty Hall. The path of the old Forbes Road generally follows current day West Road or LR64066 west from its intersection with Laughlintown-Waterford Road a few miles north of Laughlintown. To the east of this intersection, the Forbes Road has disappeared, but would have continued eastward to cross current day Penrod Road near the old Penrod Cemetery.

A few years ago, the tax mapping office in Westmoreland County produced maps of each township showing the original patent lands. From this map, we are able to see the exact location and shape of the Freeman tracts. They are today found about two miles north of Laughlintown. The land and the inn Philip built there was along the Forbes Road at the crossroads of what is today the Laughlintown-Waterford Road and West Road (aka Old Forbes Road, LR64066). It was once part of the Swank farm, on the western side of the Laughlintown-Waterford Road and the southern side of West Road, on what was the Deerlick Ridge patent.

The description for the Deerlick Ridge patent includes reference to "Bullock's Defeat" on the western boundary where the Forbes Road passed through the property. This refers to a battle, more accurately known as "Bullits Defeat" during the French and Indian War on the afternoon of May 23, 1759. A wagon train of 15 wagons under the command of an officer named Bullit, on its way to Fort Ligonier from Fort Bedford was part of an attack by Indians. Many soldiers were killed or captured and wagons burned and horses killed. From contemporary accounts, it was three or four miles from Fort Ligonier along the western slope of Laurel Hill. There are accounts of people finding debris from the wagons and their contents many years later along this very steep section of the road.²⁰

²⁰ A roadside Pennsylvania State Historical marker from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is found on Old Forbes Road SR 101050, Ligonier, marking this location.



Location of Freeman Land in Fairfield Township from
Original Patent Maps
(Now Ligonier Township)

1. Philip Freeman's Liberty Hall patent of 1787. 410.40 acres
2. Philip Freeman's Deerlick Ridge patent of 1787 with location of his inn shown along the Forbes Road.
3. "Bullitt's Defeat", the steep, rocky area along Forbes Road site of the French and Indian War battle. Not patented until 1856. Referred to on early surveys as "vacant, stony land".
4. General area in which several parcels were located:
 - 300 acre parcel sold by Philip Freeman to Alexander Negley in 1775; sold back to Freeman in February 1789.
 - 200 acre parcel purchased by Freeman from Monteer (Montour) in 1788 and resold to Monteer in 1789.
 - 50 acre parcel sold to Wendell Keller from Jacob Freeman in 1789 for £5; straw party transaction

- 63 acre parcel sold to James White from Jacob Freeman in 1801. Probably where Jacob Freeman and his family lived until after 1810. Never warranted or patented by Jacob. No record of his acquisition of land.
- 5. Property claimed by Arthur St. Clair during this time; later patented by others.
- 6. 403 acre parcel warranted by Wendell Keller in 1786; later patented by James Fisher after purchase of warrant from Keller's bankruptcy trustees.

The land in this area remains, for the most part, undeveloped rural area with the exception of a few private homes. Penrod Road is wooded on both sides for most of its distance, the road being a narrow rural road. The old Penrod Cemetery, very difficult to find, marks the location for where the Forbes Road passed through the property. Much of the land along Laughlintown-Waterford Road is also wooded, with development limited to pasture land, cultivated fields or widely separated private homes. A private house today occupies the site of the Freeman Inn on the southwest corner of the intersection of the Laughintown-Waterford Road and West Road.

Among the surveys in the old Westmoreland County Survey Books, is one in Survey Book I, page 76²¹ which shows land in Mt. Pleasant Township surveyed November 6th, 1786 on a warrant dated August 26th, 1786 to Philip Framan. There is, in fact, no warrant in the records for this land for Philip Framan and no patent is found for Framan or Freeman or any name like it. By tracing the adjacent surveys and warrants, the land is found to be on the border of Hempfield Township in the area of Mt. Pleasant Township that later became Unity Township. It would be located in the far southwest tip of Unity Township. If Philip ever owned this land, there is no further record of it. It is possible that when the survey was recopied, the information was copied incorrectly. It is also possible that Philip purchased the warrant from the original warrantee, then sold it to someone else who patented the land. The official records do not show it at all in Philip's name, either as a survey, a warrant or a patent.

While there are no further warrants or patents to Philip Freeman, he appears to have "owned" or at least occupied other land near his patented lands in Fairfield Township over the course of his life. He sold land that there is no record of him purchasing, and at various times may have occupied land he did not own.

²¹ This survey is not found among the original surveys, only in the Westmoreland County Books, at least not for Framan, Freeman or any name like it in the indexes for warrants.

Marriage to Barbara

On August 24, 1772 an application was made in Bedford County for the Administration of the Estate of Andrew Bonjour, with bond posted by Barbara Bonjour, widow (signs by mark), Thomas Jamison (signs by mark) and Henry Slaughter. Barbara Bonjour, Administrator, posted bond of £300 dated August 31, 1772 conditioned upon making a report in one year, by August 31, 1773. Bonjour was shown as having an estate worth £120, 8 shillings and debts of £180, 2 shillings. Barbara was widowed, with at least two children, living in a sparsely settled, dangerous frontier region with no husband. A woman alone in those days was severely hampered, both socially and legally, when it came to her ability to support herself without a man.

Philip Freeman married Barbara (maiden name unknown) Seidenspinner Bonjour in 1773, probably in the latter half of the year. Barbara had been widowed when her husband, Andrew Bonjour died very suddenly sometime between April and August of 1772. She had been married to Bonjour for about 8 years, with no record of any children by the marriage. Her children by her first husband would have been in their mid teens by this time.

Philip would have been 30 or 31 years old and was probably living on his Deerlick Ridge and Liberty Hall lands along the base of the Laurel Ridge, several miles outside of Ligonier via the Forbes Road. His marriage to Barbara would prove to be a major event that had consequences he could not have imagined at the time.

BARBARA SEIDENSPINNER BONJOUR FREEMAN

Very little is known about the woman who married Philip Freeman sometime in late 1773, including her maiden name, date or place of birth and death, parentage, or origins. Mystery surrounds her, however, due to the belief by Freeman descendants for nearly a hundred years that she was the mother of Philip's children and the same Mary Freeman who is buried beside Philip. Over the years, it was accepted that she was mother to his children because it was easy to find her listed on deeds and other documents as "his wife". Some who were bothered by discrepancies with her name and problems presented by dates came up with theories that her name was really Mary Barbara, or even the farfetched and, frankly, weird story that Mary was a daughter of Barbara and Andrew Bonjour who married Philip after Barbara died.

All of these assumptions are incorrect. A thorough examination of the known facts and circumstantial evidence, and some reasonable assumptions made in conjunction with that information, leads to the conclusion that Barbara was *not* the mother of Philip's children and is *not* the woman buried beside him in the cemetery at Stahlstown. Simple calculation of the ages of the people involved make many of the errors obvious, but other evidence exists as well.

Because Barbara was, in fact, married to Philip for upwards of 18 years and, despite the fact none of the Freeman descendants are related to her at all, she had an interesting and considerable role in the life of Philip and his descendants. Therefore, a more in-depth investigation of her life is warranted.

George Seidenspinner

The first documented appearance of Barbara found to date is on September 28, 1765 when as the wife of Andrew Bonjour, she and Andrew applied for a warrant for 100 acres of land near the town of Raystown (now Bedford), Cumberland County (now Bedford County). The warrant specifically describes her as "his wife late widow George Seidenspinner" and specifies that the land "including an improvement made by George Seidenspinner near Raystown on Shober's Creek joining one Weinmillers tract . . . In trust for the said Barbara & her children by the said George Seidenspinner who first settled on the same land". The warrant also states that within six months a sum of fifteen pounds ten in Sterling (English currency) be paid as well as yearly quit rent of one penny Sterling for every acre "with interest & quit rent from the first of

March 1760". This appears to fix the date of his official settlement, probably by military permit, on the land in the eyes of the Proprietaries²², even though it is possible that he arrived in the region before this date. Thus, by 1765 Barbara is shown to have already been a widow with at least two children, who had remarried, probably sometime in 1764 or early 1765.

By the PROPRIETARIES.

ff. **W**HEREAS *Andrew Bergman & Barbara his wife* of the County of *Westchester* requested that we would allow *them* to take up *One hundred* Acres of Land including an improvement made by *George Smith* near *Payson* on *Shuben* near *Payson* and *Barbara* their *Widow* by the said *George Smith* who first settled on the same land

[PROVIDED the same Land does not lie in, or interfere with, the Manor of *Southern* or any other of our appropriated Tracts] for which they agree to pay to our Use, within the Term of Six Months from the Date hereof, at the Rate of *five shillings* current Money of this Province, for every Hundred Acres; and also to pay to us, our Heirs and Assigns, for ever, the yearly Quit-rent of *One Penny* Sterling for every Acre thereof.

March 1760 These are therefore to authorize and require you to survey, or cause to be surveyed unto the said *Andrew Bergman & Barbara his wife* at the Place aforesaid, according to the Method of Townships appointed, the said Quantity of *One hundred* Acres, if not already surveyed or appropriated, and make Return thereof into the Secretary's Office, in order for Confirmation; for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant: Which Warrant and Survey, in case the said *Andrew Bergman & Barbara* fulfil the above Agreement within Six Months from the Date hereof, shall be valid, otherwise void. G I V E N under my Hand, and the Seal of the Land-Office, by Virtue of certain Powers from the said PROPRIETARIES, at Philadelphia, this *Twenty eighth* Day of *September*. Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty *four*

Surveyor-General

²² The Proprietaries were the heirs of William Penn from whom all land claims were granted prior to being relieved of their rights to the land as a result of the Revolutionary War.

George Seidenspinner arrived in America aboard the ship "Paliena" (Patience") on September 16, 1748²³. The surname Seidenspinner was, and still is, extremely rare. This passenger is the only one with this surname, or any like it, listed on any of the surviving ship passenger lists into the Port of Philadelphia in the eighteenth century. The name has also been seen as Sydenspinner or Silkspinner (the English translation). Searches among available records for this period show no other people with this surname; even today the surname is fairly rare in the United States, although fairly common in parts of Switzerland, which may be where George Seidenspinner came from.

This passenger on the *Patience* was 28 years old. He was next found in January of 1752 on the estate inventory of Thomas Potts, Jr. in what was then Philadelphia County.²⁴ Thomas Potts and his son John Potts had the largest iron business in colonial America. They owned iron mines, forges and foundries in several states and were very wealthy. Pottstown, Pennsylvania was named for the family. Thomas Potts died in 1751 and among the goods and chattels of value included in the estate inventory was George Silkspinner, a Dutch Servant man²⁵, who was valued at £12. For him to have a value attached to him is a clear indication that he was serving time as an indentured servant or redemptioner, as many German immigrants did to pay for their passage to America.

This also means that George and Barbara Seidenspinner were almost certainly not married until after January 1752 when he was still an indentured servant. Indentured servants were not permitted to marry, although George may have had a much easier indenture than many. As a servant to a very wealthy man's household, he was likely to have been engaged in some sort of personal or domestic service or provided a service that required a particular skill instead of harsh manual labor that many others were subjected to. Five years was generally the length of the indentured servants' term according to Pennsylvania law, so he would have been free in the fall of 1753.

The French and Indian War, which began in 1754, had precipitated the construction of the Forbes Road from the eastern reaches of Pennsylvania, through Fort Bedford, across the Laurel Mountain and Chestnut Ridge to Fort Ligonier and through to Fort Pitt, which later became Pittsburgh. Fort Bedford was a staging area for

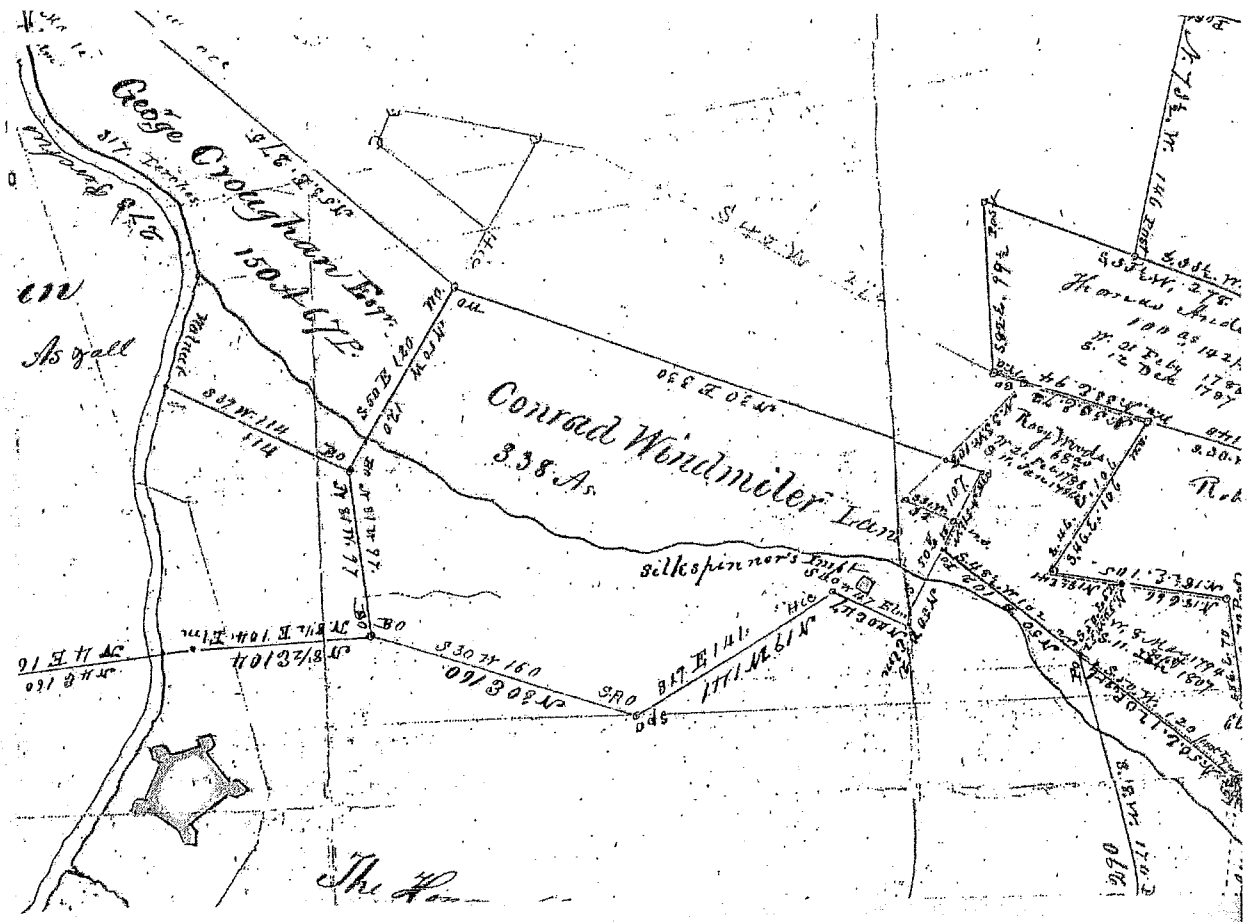
²³ Strassberger and Hinkle, Pennsylvania German Pioneers, Volume I

²⁴ Memorial of Thomas Potts, Jr. Who Settled in Pennsylvania, Isabella Batchelder James, Cambridge, MA
Privately printed. Openlibrary.org

²⁵ The term "Dutch" was commonly used to refer to German immigrants, coming from the word "Deuetsch" meaning German.

troops and supplies and in the summer of 1758, when the fort was constructed, the area was occupied not only by about 6,000 troops, but 1,000 pack horsemen and wagoners as well as the thousands of sutlers and camp followers who accompanied them.

The military depended on a wide array of sutlers, merchants and craftsmen who supplied needed goods and services to the army. Among those who came to Raystown with the army in 1758 was a man named Conrad Winemiller (Weinmuller, Windmiller) from Seven Valleys in York County, about six miles from Hanover. He is said to have been a blacksmith employed by the army, but he is also said to have had a grist mill and a sawmill on his land along Shober's Run. An old map of Bedford (formerly Raystown)²⁶ shows the land warrants and surveys of many original or early settlers. The land of Conrad Windmiller lies along Shober's Run and on his land is a notation that shows "Silkspinner's Improvement", consistent with the language of the 1765 warrant. It is not shown on a separate parcel of land, even though it was surveyed, and it was never patented based on the original warrant.



²⁶ Provided courtesy of Bedford County Historical Society.

Sometime between late 1753 and about 1757 George Seidenspinner (Silkspinner) obviously married Barbara. They came to this area, probably with Forbes' army in the summer of 1758 or shortly thereafter. They were one of the settlers granted a military permit for land due to goods or services of some kind provided to the military settlement. It is not known what his occupation was, or what was notable about his settlement, but his "improvement" is curiously the only one shown on the map except for the fort itself. This structure is located less than half mile from the fort, along Shober's Run and must have been notable in some way for it to appear on a map that did not show structures on any of the other lands. Recall that this "improvement" was also mentioned on the 1765 warrant; this was highly unusual since warrants were for the land and were not known to mention improvements. The land today is in the approximate area of Bedford Middle School and the Elks Golf Course. It is still a very nice piece of land.

Barbara's husband George Seidenspinner died in or before 1764 which made him about 43 or 44 years of age at that time. There has been no documentation found for his death, and no estate was filed for him in Cumberland County. Neither the Register of Wills nor records of the Orphans Court have any record of any Seidenspinner, Silkspinner or reasonably similar name. But the September 1765 land warrant by Andrew and Barbara Bonjour clearly refers to Barbara as widow of George Seidenspinner. Based on the information contained in the 1765 land warrant, we can assume that when he died, Seidenspinner was living on this land "joining Conrad Weinmiller" referred to on that warrant.

The area at this time was a very primitive and dangerous place to live, in the midst of the French and Indian War. There were many ways to meet a sudden and premature death. The French and Indian War was fought in America from 1754 to 1763, coinciding with the Seven Years War in Europe by the same combatants, France and England. In America, however, the French enlisted the assistance of the Indians against the British, the result being many deprivations against settlers in frontier areas. In 1763, some of the Indians, disgruntled over the outcome of the war, banded together against the British in Pontiac's Rebellion. During the summer of 1763 settlers all over the Pennsylvania frontier stayed in or near forts and blockhouses due to the frequent and vicious attacks by the Indians. Colonel's Bouquet's victory over the Indians at Bushy Run that summer brought about a treaty that ended the violent uprising, but Indian troubles continued for nearly thirty more years to come along the frontier.

Records show that during June of 1763 the fort at Bedford was sparsely defended by only about a dozen Royal Americans until the commanding officer succeeded in forming two companies of fighting men from surrounding forts and volunteers among the settlers. The Indians did not attack the fort directly, but instead attacked settlers in the surrounding areas and supply trains coming to and from the fort. At that time there were about 90 families in the area, most of who fled to the fort for refuge. Many did not make it to safety, with records showing "some forty odd families were murdered and scalped and many taken into captivity".²⁷ The men would venture out in groups to try and tend crops, and were often attacked with more fatalities. There are unfortunately no records to show the names or details about these victims.

It is possible that George Seidenspinner may have been among those killed during those raids in June 1763. It is speculation, of course, since there were plenty of ways to meet an early death on the frontier, but given the knowledge that the Seidenspinners were living in the immediate area during this time, it is not unlikely that George's death could have occurred as a result of the events of that deadly summer.

The wording of the 1765 land warrant to Barbara, widow of George, and her new husband Andrew Bonjour is quite curious and highly unusual for the day.²⁸ According to the laws of that time, any property she may have had would now belong to her new husband. It is possible that warranting the land for benefit of Barbara and the Seidenspinner children was due to Bonjour's good graces, but highly unlikely. It is much more likely that Barbara, in possession of a piece of property with some kind of improvement that was valuable, made the warranting of the land in this manner a condition of her marriage to Bonjour. It is almost a certainty that this trust situation had to have been set up well prior to her remarriage.

Generally warrants were put in the name of one person, almost always a man, and the warrant focused on simply describing the land in question. In this case, great pains were taken to describe the trustee situation, the fact that there was an improvement on the land, the early date of settlement and other details.

²⁷ *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania, Volume I*, pages 476-489, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896.

²⁸ Note by author: I have examined many land warrants for various parts of Pennsylvania during these early years and have never found one written like this one. There appear to have been pains taken to include Barbara on the warrant as co-trustee and detail the fact that it was for benefit of the children. Warrants are normally taken out with just the warrantee's name. I have seen a few in women's names, but none quite like this one.

This trustee situation would have given Bonjour no personal ownership or rights to profit from the land without permission from Barbara. For a woman to be this aggressive in those days would have been highly unusual, and since Barbara was illiterate, it is likely that she had advice and assistance from someone with a legal background – a military officer perhaps? This was, without a doubt, planned carefully. It seems to indicate that her property and whatever improvements and activities were on it had significant value, giving her unusual leverage.

Whenever it was that George Seidenspinner died, Barbara was remarried soon after, probably no later than some time in 1764. This is not surprising; a widow with at least two young children in a primitive, sparsely populated and dangerous frontier area has little choice but to remarry. If there was potential to continue running her late husband's business, as a woman in those days she would have been severely hampered, both socially and legally, from running it herself.

Andrew Bonjour

Andrew Bonjour is probably the man shown as Andreas Bonjour who arrived in America in October of 1754 aboard the ship "Peggy"²⁹. His origins are not known with certainty, but it is likely that he came from an area of French-speaking western Switzerland, in the Bernese Alps where the Bonjour name is very prominent. He appeared on an early census in 1754 in Philadelphia, probably taken right after his arrival. He was an early settler who was in the Ligonier area prior to the construction of Fort Ligonier in 1758. It is possible that he was among the wagoners and pack horsemen recruited in the York, Lancaster, Chester and Cumberland County areas in 1755 by Benjamin Franklin to serve the army. A pay list of the militia at Fort Ligonier in 1763 shows him to be on the roster of pack horsemen serving the military contingent at Fort Ligonier from May 1762 until October 1763.³⁰ His service undoubtedly extended before and after these dates as well. He may also have been among the men who were enlisted to help build the Forbes Road that year, being already settled in Ligonier as the fort was built in the fall of 1758.

His settlement in the area now known as Ligonier predated the construction of that fort, at least to the extent that he had some sort of land claim with primitive buildings constructed there at the time the fort

²⁹ Strassberger and Hinkle, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, Volume I, pages 637, 638, 640.

³⁰ *Western Pennsylvania Genealogical Quarterly*, Vol. II, page 89 (originally printed in *Western Penna. Historical Magazine*, 1963).

was being planned. On a hand-drawn map of the area, Bonjour is shown as the owner, either as a squatter or as a result of military permit, of land with one or two buildings and the spring, known as "Bunger Spring" where the builders of Fort Ligonier originally planned to situate the fort.³¹ "Bunger" is undoubtedly a phonetic derivation of the name Bonjour. The spring would have been very valuable, not only to him as occupant of the land, but to the settlement and the fort, dependent upon springs and streams for water. This appears to be property which was still owned by Bonjour at the time of his death and later sold to Arthur St. Clair by his widow.

The spring is still a local landmark in Ligonier, found on Bunger Street next to an apartment building. In 1985 the spring was described by Paul Welty as being large, with top and sides of stone, very well built and easy to see, located about 80 or 90 feet from the street. At that time it was described as having a substantial flow, but because of the neglect of the area by the land owner, there was talk of filling it in. Apparently, that did happen, since in June of 1998 the spring had been filled in, the water channeled to a pipe or drain, and the lot was neatly mowed. The stone spring head, however, was still clearly visible.

During his marriage to Barbara, Andrew Bonjour was an innkeeper and had a license to sell liquor in Ligonier. He was also constable for a period of time up to the time of his death in 1772. He may have met Barbara as a result of his travel back and forth between Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier as a wagon driver carrying ammunition, equipment, and provisions for the military. He may have known George Seidenspinner, who obviously provided some sort of service or goods to the military at the fort. Given the very small population of the region at that time and the likelihood that they both were involved with support for the military, it is easy to imagine that they knew one another. When George died Barbara needed a husband and, in a frontier area where available women were undoubtedly very scarce, Bonjour acquired a wife and access to a valuable piece of property.

It looks like Barbara and Andrew Bonjour lived in Ligonier after their marriage. There is record of a Charles Beatty, missionary, who writes that he "put up at Bonjour's in Ligonier" in September of 1766 and other records show Bonjour's presence in Ligonier. But they obviously maintained the claim on the land near Fort Bedford.

Andrew Bonjour was appointed Constable of Fairfield Township in April of 1772 and died within two or three months. Bonjour died sometime between the April Session of the Court, when he filed a civil suit in

³¹ Lewis Clark Walkinshaw, *Annals of Southwestern Pennsylvania*, page 207.

his official capacity and sometime in the July session of the court when that suit was dismissed due to the death of the plaintiff. His death was probably very unexpected - an accident or sudden illness perhaps - and he died intestate with no will. Once again, Barbara, found herself a widow, with children, debts and needing a husband.

The Bedford Property

The 105 acre property in Bedford settled by George Seidenspinner shows all the signs of being a valuable piece of land. It was very nicely situated on both sides of Shober's Run and was less than ½ mile from the fort. A survey of the property clearly showed a spring running from the hillside toward Shober's Run.

There is record of Joseph Shenywolf, a downstream property owner³², filing a caveat against Bonjour that was heard by the Land Office on Monday, May 25, 1767.³³ Shenywolf contended that Bonjour's occupation or use of his land somehow interfered with Shenywolf's own intended use of his land which entailed considerable effort and investment. The Land Office determined that whatever improvement or activity was occurring on the Bonjour land was no deterrent to Shenywolf. Shenywolf had filed a caveat against another adjoining owner as well and also lost the argument in that case. This gives some indication that the Bonjour warranted land had continued to be occupied or utilized for some purpose well after Barbara's marriage to Bonjour.

Whatever activity was ongoing there, it was probably one that utilized the water in the stream or the spring since land belonging to the Proprietaries lay between the Seidenspinner/Bonjour land and that of Shenywolf. This activity probably provided something the military needed and could have continued after George Seidenspinner's death. A spring with good water that provided a strong and steady supply would have been particularly valuable.

That Seidenspinner could have been operating a stillhouse and making whisky is a particularly interesting possibility. One of the critical elements of distilling liquor is a clean reliable source of good water. The demand for distilled or brewed liquors would have been strong, not just from the military, but from the general population.

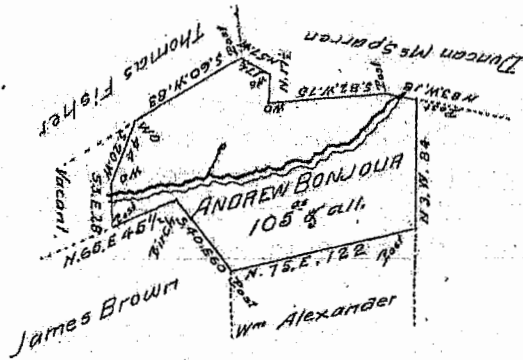
³² Shenywolf warranted land along Shober's Run that is today, in part, Bedford Springs Resort.

³³ Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Vol. I, page 177, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Pennsylvania Dept. of Instruction, Pennsylvania State Library, 1894.

In those days it was not advisable to drink the water since it was not purified; men, women and children all drank brewed or distilled liquids on a regular basis. It was used on a universal basis and was socially and economically of huge importance. Whiskey was regularly distributed to soldiers in the army as part of their daily rations, so sales to the army would have been profitable. Andrew Bonjour was an innkeeper with a license to sell liquor, so having such a source would have been a huge advantage for him.

The warrant for this Bedford land was not surveyed until many years later, in 1790, although this was not unusual. The Indian unrest and actual warfare were ongoing until after the end of the Revolutionary War. The Indians were stirred up by the French until after the end of the French and Indian War, then by the British during the Revolution. During this period there were conflicting governmental claims as well, with the Penn family giving warrants in areas where the Virginia boundary was in dispute and vice versa. A patent on this land was never finalized, at least with this warrant and this survey. The record is blank for the patent information, although someone obviously did patent it at some later time. A new warrant process could have taken place after the original warrantee failed to follow through with a patent and the property had been abandoned. Or there could have been a sale of the original warrant to another party, something that would not necessarily have been recorded.

The 1790 survey has some errors, not in the boundaries it fixes, but in the location described on the survey. The official warrant for this land describes it as being "near Raystown on Shober's Creek joining Weinmiller's Tract. . . ." Raystown was the original name of Bedford, and Shober's Creek still comes from the south into the town of Bedford. The creek passes generally east and south of present day Bedford and through property of the current-day Omni Bedford Springs Resort. The survey, however, describes this land as being in Donegal Township of Westmoreland County. This is clearly an error. The survey also refers to Barbara as "Widow Leebspinner", probably due to the surveyor's difficulty reading the handwritten warrant.



In pursuance of a Warrant bearing date Sept 28th 1765. Surveyed July 15th 1790 unto Andrew Bonjour and Barbara his wife late Widow Leebspinner the above described Tract of Land situate in

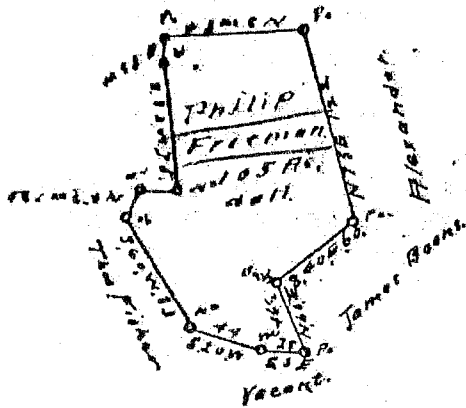
★ Donegal Township in the County of Westmoreland containing One hundred and five acres and allow^{es} of six p^{er} Cent for roads &c.

Benj Lodge D.S.

To Daniel Brodthead Esq
Surveyor Genl

There was a second survey found among the back pages of the copied survey books in the Westmoreland County court house. It is unfinished in that it does not bear a date, or give a location of the property or reference a warrant. These survey books contain hand-drawn copies of the original surveys. The survey shown to Andrew Bonjour (shown above) is the original from the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, not a redrawn copy. There are several pages of surveys in a similar unfinished condition in the copied books, there apparently being problems with warrants or the

surveys themselves. But this particular one, clearly matching the 105 acres then in Bedford County, was marked as belonging to *Philip Freeman*. It looks like it could have been done about the same time as the 1790 survey that was attached to the original warrant and was done by the *same surveyor*. It was purely by accident that a similarity to the Bedford property was noticed, otherwise this second survey would never have been identified.



Surveyed - on a
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The only explanation for this survey to have Philip Freeman's name on it was that he tried to have it surveyed in his own name. If so, this would have been about the time Philip returned to Westmoreland County from York County and was formally separated from Barbara. For whatever reason, the survey was never completed and filed and Philip never patented the land. No one associated with the original warrant did.

It is interesting that the original survey clearly shows a spring on the property. This region is known for the many mineral springs along Shober's Run. Some of these were known to produce clear and good-tasting water. Less than a mile from the Seidenspinner property is the area that became Bedford Springs, with people visiting the area to "take the waters" for their health by the early 1800's. There is an old family story, told by Glenneda King via James Freeman, that Philip Freeman married Barbara "to get that spring". It had always been assumed the story referred to the Bunger Spring in Ligonier; but since Barbara sold the Ligonier property to Arthur St. Clair in 1773, before she married Philip, perhaps it referred to THIS spring on the Bedford property instead.

Barbara's Date of Birth

Barbara's date of birth and death remain unknown, as does her maiden name. Reasonable assumptions can be made, however, based on certain life events which are known.

It is known that Barbara and George Seidenspinner were probably married sometime between 1754, after his indenture was done, but before spring 1758 when they probably would have gone to Raystown with the army as Fort Bedford was being constructed. Assuming that this was her first marriage (there is no evidence that she was married prior to Seidenspinner) the average age of marriage for women of German descent was 23 years old. Allowing for a span of several years, her date of birth would most likely fall approximately between 1731 and 1734. This would also place the date of her son Joseph's birth at about 1756-59, which is also appropriate for him to be of age to join the army in 1776-77.

Marriage to Philip Freeman

In September of 1773, Barbara, as Administrator of the Bonjour estate, sold property to Arthur St. Clair, including property in Fairfield Township adjoining St. Clair's mill and for "the house and lot where Barbara Bonjour now lives" in Ligonier.³⁴ The property included:

- A tract of land (no acreage given) in Fairfield Township on both sides of Mill Creek;
- A house and lot where Barbara Bonjour now lives in the town of Ligonier;
- One barn with one lott (sic) in front and two lotts in back, in the town of Ligonier.

This includes the property where the "Bunger Spring" was located and where Andrew Bonjour operated his tavern. With this sale, Barbara is agreeing to sell property, including the house she is living in, possibly to pay debts for the estate. It may also indicate the approximate time of her marriage to Philip Freeman as she sold her former home.

³⁴ The deed is shown as dated May 3, 1773, but the recopied version in the Court House shows it was not witnessed and recorded until September of 1775, two years later. This is undoubtedly incorrect and one of the many errors that occurred when the original deed books were recopied in about 1907. Barbara is shown as "Bonjour" on the signature and not "Freeman" and the deed is recorded with other deeds from 1773.

In July Term of 1773, Charles Brookens sued Barbara Bonjour for £147, 5s, 8p. Unless it was improperly recorded on the docket, this appears to be a suit against Barbara herself and not against her as Administrator of the Bonjour estate. This entry is essentially a confession of judgment by her attorney, Arthur St. Clair, admitting that she owed the money. It was a considerable amount of money for the times and suggests some sort of business dealings may have been involved instead of a personal matter.

Plaintiff Charles Brookens was an inhabitant and an innkeeper in Ligonier at least as early as 1761 when a young missionary named James Kenney noted in his journal that he "stay'd at Charles Brookens this night" in May 1761.³⁵ This places him as a very early resident there, probably as a result of an original military permit, and he would undoubtedly have known Andrew Bonjour. In 1779, however, he was shown on a Bedford County tax list as also having 150 acres in Bedford Township, Bedford County, with no horses, cattle or sheep. There is no evidence that he lived there; the land may have been for other purposes or simply an investment. This land would have been within a short distance of the 105 acres warranted by Andrew and Barbara Bonjour for benefit of her children by Seidenspinner.

Perhaps Bonjour was engaged in some business with Brookens in Bedford County. If there were some sort of business venture operating on the Bonjour/Seidenspinner land in Bedford, this may explain the caveat filed by Joseph Shenywolf in 1767 in which he protested that the use of the land interfered with improvements or activities on his own land. If this was a business deal involving the Bedford land, suing Barbara, now as sole remaining trustee, would make sense.

Philip Freeman and Barbara, his wife, were plaintiffs in a suit against Daniel Levoyer for a debt of £20 filed during the January Term of Civil Court in 1774.³⁶ This would have been sometime between January 1, 1774 and March 31, 1774 and is the first documented evidence of Philip in Westmoreland County and shows Philip and Barbara as already being married. Barbara, as Administrator of the Estate of Andrew Bonjour, was a party to another suit with Simon Eaker also filed during the January term.³⁷ This suit does not include Philip, which is appropriate since the suit had to do with her duties as Administrator of the Estate

³⁵"Journal of James Kenney 1761-1763", Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 37.

³⁶ #215, January Term of Quarter Sessions, 1774. Levoyer was an adjoining property owner to the Bonjour property that Barbara sold to Arthur St. Clair in 1773.

³⁷ #25 July Term, 1773, Civil Court docket

Therefore, Philip Freeman appears to have married Barbara in the latter part of the year 1773. He was about 30 years old and Barbara would have been about 10 or 12 years older with at least two children, a son at least 15 or 16 years old and one or more children only a few years younger. It leads one to doubt that this marriage was made for traditional reasons and consider that it was one of convenience for one or both of them.

In the 1774 October Term of the court, Philip Freeman was recommended for a license to sell liquor the following year. It is the first record of such licensing. In April 1773 Philip was not among those recommended for a liquor license at that time.³⁸ This indicates that he had probably begun operating his inn in Fairfield Township along the Forbes Road after his marriage to Barbara in late 1773.

Between June and October of that year 1774, settlers in and around the Westmoreland County settlement of Hannastown drew up and signed a petition asking the governor to send aid due to the Indian wars and unrest due to Virginia's claim to the region. This unrest, known as Dunmore's War, was a conflict between the Colony of Virginia and the Shawnee and Mingo Indians as a result of settlers invading and settling lands along the Ohio River where the Indians had treaty rights. Complicating the tension was the conflicting claim on parts of the region between Pennsylvania and Virginia. Lord Dunmore of Virginia provoked the situation with the ulterior motive of firmly establishing his control over parts of the region, including Fort Pitt and areas that were later established as Fayette, Washington and Allegheny County in Pennsylvania. Attacks on settlers all along the frontier took place, led by John Connolly, Alexander McKee and Simon Girty who were little more than outlaws, terrorizing the settlements on behalf of Dunmore during that year. Hundreds of settlers fled eastward and others sought refuge in the forts and blockhouses. Crops did not get planted, were destroyed, or did not get harvested. Even after Dunmore agreed to settle the conflict in late 1774, the outlaws Connolly, McKee, Girty and others continued their malicious attacks into February of 1775. With anti-English feelings continuing to build as the colonies approached a war for independence, the people of Westmoreland County were particularly bitter as a result of the deprivations imposed upon them by Lord Dunmore and his minions, who they associated directly with the English Government.³⁹

To make matters worse, the winter of 1774 was severe and due to the summer violence and the lack of harvested crops, food was scarce.

³⁸ *History of Westmoreland County, Volume I*, page 44, Pennsylvania by John N Boucher. New York, The Lewis Publishing Company, 1906

³⁹ *Ibid*, page 122

The abundant game in the surrounding forests and willingness of all the settlers to share what they did have prevented many from starving. But conditions in the region did not get much better for years to come, until after the close of the Revolutionary War.⁴⁰

The date upon which a final inventory and accounting of the Bonjour estate was to be filed, August 31, 1773, had come and gone, with no accounting filed. By late 1774, the co-administrators of the estate, who had joined in posting the £300 bond required by the court for administration of the estate, were obviously getting nervous about Barbara's missed deadline. Henry Slaughter and Ann and William Jamison as Executors of the Estate of Thomas Jamison, seem to have pressed Barbara for some sort of guarantee that they would not personally be held liable for any obligation or financial penalty as a result of her failure to settle the estate. The solution appears in a document written and signed on January 7, and recorded on May 27, 1775 in Deed Book A, page 49 in Westmoreland County.

While Philip would not have been personally liable for any debts of Andrew Bonjour's estate, according to the laws of the time he would have been liable for any personal financial obligations of his wife. Barbara would have been personally liable for the bond posted when she was granted Letters of Administration for Bonjour's estate and her new husband would have assumed that liability. This document provides for Jamison and Slaughter to be indemnified against any obligations as a result of the bond. As security, Philip and Barbara offered two parcels of land in Fairfield Township. These were described as adjoining tracts of 324 acres and 300 acres which were undoubtedly the land later warranted and patented by Philip known as Deerlick Ridge and Liberty Hall. At this early date, Philip may have applied for a warrant, but it took years for the land office to issue warrants and have surveys completed. It was common practice to mortgage or sell land claims for which permanent title had not yet been received through the patent process.

The Capias Case

In the summer of that year 1775, as the county was learning of the Battles of Concord and Lexington, a local flurry of independence fervor produced the "Hannastown Resolutions" a document similar to the Declaration of Independence in purpose and style. Also that summer, an unusual case was filed in the Westmoreland County Courts. Barbara Freeman, plaintiff, filed suit against Philip Freeman, defendant, in a case

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, page 65

during the July Term of Court. The docket in the office of the Prothonotary of Westmoreland County does not specify the purpose of the case, and any original records from the case are long lost.

It was a *capias* case, a common form of starting a civil suit, which required the sheriff to seize the person of the defendant and to hold him until the case was answered or bail posted. Bail was set at £300, a very large sum in those days. The case is marked CCC&C (Cei Corpus and Committum), which means that the defendant has been taken into custody and committed. Given that this particular case was between a husband and wife, what could it have been about?

To begin with, what would have given Barbara standing to file any suit against her husband? At this time, common law provided that a wife lost title to all of her personal property at her marriage. All of her current or future assets became the property of her husband. This did not change until 1856. Also, prior to the Act of April 11, 1848, P.L. 536; 48, P.S. 64 a married woman could not sue her husband. One way Barbara could have been able to sue was in her official capacity as Administrator of the Bonjour estate; while the suit does not specify that she is acting in this capacity, it is possible that it was a shortcut taken by the clerk who prepared the docket.

Another way Barbara could sue her husband is if she was filing as *femme sole trader*,⁴¹ or as a married woman dealing in her own right. This was allowed in cases where a woman had been deserted or abandoned by her husband. Originally, the procedure had been granted to women who had husbands at sea or who were in another occupation that took them away from home for very long periods of time. In these cases, women needed the ability to engage in financial transactions or an occupation or trade in order to support themselves without their husbands.

Philip was obviously still in the area during this time so his prolonged absence is not likely to have been behind her suit against him. Between the time this suit is filed in about July of 1775 and April of 1776, there are a number of public records proving that he was in Westmoreland County throughout the period

It is also possible that Barbara could have sued in her capacity as the trustee for the land in Bedford County held in trust for her and her

⁴¹ *Bouvier's Law Dictionary* for *femme sole trader*

children. Could this have involved some dispute involving the 105 acres of land in Bedford County warranted by Andrew Bonjour and Barbara for benefit of Barbara and the late George Seidenspinner's children? In the event Philip may have tried to claim ownership through marriage to Barbara's interest in the land, could Barbara have had some standing to sue him to prevent this? Or could Philip have attempted to personally profit from whatever activities were taking place on the land?

This is, in fact, the most likely possibility. The case was carried on the books and not settled and closed until 1790 - fifteen years later. That makes it unlikely to have been related to the Bonjour Estate.

The possibility of the Bedford land, and the spring on it, being used to make whiskey from the grain grown by local farmers is very interesting. Whiskey was something that would have been very important to the army during their occupation of Fort Bedford. It would have been very profitable for Seidenspinner as well. Bonjour was an innkeeper and now Philip became an innkeeper after marrying Barbara. Charles Brookens was a farmer and innkeeper; could he have been providing corn or grain to be distilled into liquor, then selling the liquor? Whiskey making was widespread in Western Pennsylvania, so it certainly would not be an unusual undertaking. Many farmers made their grain into whiskey, but not many had a still to do it with. Did the "improvement" referred to on the map and in the warrant include a stillhouse?

Whatever the purpose of the *capias* case brought by Barbara against Philip, it certainly leaves the impression that something unusual was going on. The arrest of Philip in connection with the case gives the appearance of some hostility. Perhaps it was something easily explainable by events of the day, but the purpose is a mystery today. The suit is noted as being discontinued in April 1885, ten years later, when neither Philip nor Barbara Freeman was living in Westmoreland County. The discontinuance may well have been an attempt by a Westmoreland County official to "clean up" old cases that they felt they would never be continued. After all, at that time both Philip and Barbara had been away from Westmoreland County for some years. But the case was reopened and settled with fees paid in November of 1790, over 15 years from when the original suit was filed and during the time Philip appears to be settling up financially with Barbara as their marriage essentially ended.

Last Days before War

On May 16, 1775, Barbara, in her capacity as Administrator of the Bonjour estate, and Philip Freeman had petitioned the court to sell 300 acres of land in Fairfield Township from the estate. It is unclear why Philip is a part of this petition if it is solely related to her administration of the estate. On Oct. 11th, Barbara reported the sale of 300 acres for £100 to David Tate as a result of the petition for the Bonjour estate. No warrant or survey was ever recorded for this land, so apparently what they sold was an unrecorded claim of some type made by Bonjour and later patented by someone else.

This is the last entry in any record related to the Bonjour estate. No final accounting, inventory or anything showing heirs to the estate has ever been found. It should be noted that during parts of 1775 through 1776 public records in Bedford County ceased, probably due to officials being tied up with the beginning of the Revolutionary War. However, a search in Westmoreland County, formed in 1773, also produced no estate records.

By deed dated October 17, 1775 Philip and Barbara sold 300 acres of land in Fairfield Township to Alexander Neagely, another innkeeper, for £120. This land is described as "adjoining lands of John Smith, Daniel McDonal, of Philip Freeman, Bullock's Defeat, and other lands of Philip Freeman" with there being an improvement on the land. From the meager description in the deed, this land would appear to be adjoining the Deerlick Ridge and Liberty Hall tracts later warranted in 1786 and 1787, but a separate piece of land to the north or northeast. Warrantee, Survey and Patent records show that neither Philip or Alexander Neagely ever warranted this land or had it surveyed; it is probably all or in part the land later patented by James Clark in 1797 and 1799. The deed shows that the "improvements thereon erected" are included in the transaction but there is no clue for what these improvements might be.

Also sometime early in October of 1775, Philip was once again arrested as defendant in a suit for an unspecified debt by Daniel Carr.⁴² In April of 1776 the records show that Philip made a payment on account toward the debt due. After living in Westmoreland County for only a few years, and only about two years after his marriage to Barbara, this is the last record found for Philip's presence in Westmoreland County for almost 10 years.

⁴² #44 October Term, Daniel Carr vs, Philip Freeman

The Revolutionary War

The Flying Camp

As 1775 drew to a close, the Revolutionary War became more of a reality to the residents of Westmoreland County as recruitment began for men to join military service. Two companies were sent to Canada for the Quebec campaign in early 1776 and more were sent to join the main army with Washington. But the frontier regions still faced the danger of attacks by English brigands and Indians, so troops were also raised to defend the home front. Unlike 1774, 1775 had been quiet, but this was not to last.

On June 3, 1776 the Continental Congress ordered establishment of the Flying Camp, and called upon Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and New Jersey to recruit men for these units with six month enlistments. The Flying Camp was originally intended to be an emergency means of making highly mobile reserve troops available as needed to Washington's main army and to perform functions such as protecting supply lines, and providing local defense against bands of Tories in the New Jersey area. What actually happened was not what was planned. Because of the Continental Congress's refusal to provide George Washington with more Continental troops, the Flying Camp ended up being used primarily to plug holes in the lines of the regular army on an emergency and as-needed basis. The Flying Camp troops were almost never used a whole battalion fighting together; instead they were broken up in a piecemeal fashion, often by placing individual companies in different locations under different commands at very short notice. As a consequence, almost no records were kept of where they were at any point in time. In fact, in later years the editor of the Pennsylvania Archives, who was attempting to document these units for historical reference, wrote "although Pennsylvania furnished four thousand five hundred troops for the co-called "Flying Camp", it has been impossible . . . to find the names of more than five hundred. . ." ⁴³ This is why so much of the history of the Flying Camp has been lost to obscurity. ⁴⁴

During the Revolutionary War, militia was clearly distinguished from regular army units. Militia units were raised locally, with men who were generally from the same county or maybe even the same township and officers were elected from among them. Training was erratic, at best,

⁴³ Thomas L. Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Series, 7:17

⁴⁴ Francis E. Devine, *Pennsylvania History*, 46, January 1979, page 59-78

and the quality of the officers was not always based on ability, but on popularity. They were considered undependable, poorly trained and generally inferior to regular army troops. The Flying Camp units were further distinguished from the militia units, their deployment and commanding officers being separate from the standard militia units. They earned a reputation for being not only undependable and poorly trained, but undisciplined, drunken and unruly as well.

In early July of 1776, a Flying Camp Regiment under command of Colonel Frederick Watts was assembled near Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pa. Philip Freeman, who was last known to be in Westmoreland County in April, now joined a company of this regiment under command of Captain Samuel McCune. Why Philip went to Cumberland County to join this regiment is not known. If he wanted to fight, there were troops being raised in Westmoreland County at the time. Through great fortune, a copy of a muster roll for this company survived and was in private hands at the time the Pennsylvania Archives was published in 1906. The muster role of McCune's company, dated August 13, 1776 in Philadelphia, shows Philip Freeman as a private in the company of sixty five men and 8 officers.⁴⁵ The names of the other men appear English or Scotch-Irish, with none of likely German heritage. There were four or five names that were similar to names of men in Westmoreland County at that time, but no evidence has been found to show that they are the same people. The muster role notes that each man in the company received a priming wire and brush when in Philadelphia, except the Captain. This indicates that the company was probably an artillery company.

Watt's Regiment of the Cumberland County Flying Camp was among 8 regiments assembled that summer, among them two from Cumberland County.⁴⁶ Enlistments were for six months, until January 1, 1777.⁴⁷ They were marched through Philadelphia, where the above-referenced muster role was compiled on August 13, and by August 20, 1776 had reported to Fort Lee on the New Jersey bank of the Hudson River⁴⁸ where they provided the primary garrison for the fort. The Pennsylvania Flying Camp regiments were under Brigadier General

⁴⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Series, volume VI, page 588,

⁴⁶ Battalions were the practical equivalent of a regiment, with eight companies. The actual strength of a Flying Camp unit was about four hundred men and officers (Francis E. Devine, *Pennsylvania History* 46, January 1979, pages 59-78.

⁴⁷ Some other Flying Camp units from other states, New Jersey in particular, were shown in records as having enlistments up at the end of November. However, on his pension application, John Adlum, a private in Swope's York County Flying Camp Regiment, notes that his unit was formed during the first few days after the Declaration of Independence was signed and that his enlistment for six months was up on January 1, 1777.

⁴⁸ Peter Force, *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-48); 5th Series, 2:256

James Ewing, and General Hugh Mercer was commanding officer of all Flying Camp units from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and Delaware.

Several battalions of Flying Camp were sent to support General Washington during the battle of Long Island, but available records show that Watt's Regiment was not among them. They remained at Fort Lee with two other battalions. Other actions at Staten Island in the 15th of October and White Plains on October 28 took place with involvement of the Flying Camp, but records showing which troops were involved did not include Watts' Regiment. However, in early November, many of the Flying Camp units were used to help strengthen Fort Washington in New York, across the Hudson River from Fort Lee. In fact, the fort was garrisoned largely with Flying Camp units from Pennsylvania, including four companies from Watts' Regiment which prior to this time had been at Fort Lee. By November 14, the garrison at Fort Lee was reduced to only about five hundred.⁴⁹

On November 16, 1776 the British attacked Fort Washington and after realizing that they were being overwhelmed, the Americans were compelled to surrender. It was a disastrous defeat for the Americans. Not only was the fort packed with munitions and supplies badly needed by the Colonial army, but all 2,600 men at the fort were taken prisoner. It was one of the heaviest defeats suffered by Washington's army during the entire war. Prisoners were sent to New York City and enlisted men were imprisoned in sugar warehouses, churches, and other large buildings along the docks and in derelict prison ships.⁵⁰ Prisoners were not considered soldiers, but rebels, and were kept in horrible conditions, with no food or blankets in mid-winter. It is estimated that of the 2,600 taken prisoner at Fort Washington, as many as 1,900 died. The officers fared better, being kept in better conditions, but many were held for years later. Colonel Frederick Watts, commanding officer of the Cumberland County Flying Camp in which Philip Freeman was enlisted, was also taken prisoner and not released until mid-1777. General Washington, hearing of the horrible conditions under which the prisoners were being kept, arranged for a prisoner exchange which took place sometime between late January and mid-February. The released prisoners were in such bad condition that many died anyway. Others were too debilitated for further military service.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.729-730.

⁵⁰ The British were notorious for using derelict ships as prisons. Prisoners were housed on these ships in horrible conditions and many died. One of the most notorious of these ships is the Jersey, which was anchored in New York harbor during the Revolution and on which over 8,000 men were known to have died.

Of the nine companies in Watts' Regiment, five apparently were left behind at Fort Lee. There is no way to know for sure that Philip was with one of these five companies at Fort Lee, but it is virtually certain that he was not at Fort Washington. Of the available lists of soldiers who died in New York prisons during 1776-1777, there are no names matching those on the muster rôle of Philip's company. But more importantly, it is known that Philip was in Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia to join George Rice's Company of the Virginia State Troops early in 1777—something he could not have done if he were released from prison in New York in poor physical condition in February. He was either with one of the companies that remained at Fort Lee or was classified as "ineffective", that is, too sick to fight at the time. This would not have been unusual, since disease was rampant due to bad food, bad camp sanitation, bad water and poor or non-existent medical care.

Philip would almost certainly have been at Fort Lee when on November 19th, three days after Fort Washington surrendered, and the remaining troops from New York crossed the Hudson River to Fort Lee. Fort Lee was not actually a fortified location, but a field fort, or armed camp. While 2,000 troops were still there, the British attacked and the Americans, who were unprepared, suffered a collapse of discipline and fled leaving precious equipment and supplies behind. The retreat southward through New Jersey continued on November 20th to Hackensack then November 23rd to Newark. Here the wounded and sick went west to Morristown, New Jersey and the remaining effective troops went south to Brunswick.

On November 29th, Washington and his army arrived in Brunswick, New Jersey and stayed until December 1st. On November 30th, the enlistments expired for many Flying Camp units with only 5 month enlistments terms. They were asked to stay for just a few weeks longer, but all New Jersey men refused and went home. The army which was numbered at 28,000 on a few weeks before was only about 3,000 by December 1 due to enlistment expirations and desertions.

Washington's meager army marched on through Princeton to Trenton by December 2nd. For the next five days, what remained of the Colonial army traveled by boat across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania, making sure they took all available boats with them to their side of the river. It was the lowest point in the war for Washington and the Continental Army and his prospects for being able to maintain an army, much less winning the war, were bleak. They were low on recruits, supplies, munitions and, more than anything, morale.

At this time, General James Ewing was in command of the remaining Flying Camp units from Pennsylvania, whose enlistments were

not due to expire until the end of December. The five remaining regiments from Cumberland, York and Lancaster counties had lost 80% of their original strength, but still had 600 men between them. Unless he were among the sick and wounded, or unless he had deserted, which was common, Philip Freeman would have been among these. They were still well-armed and had 30 artillery guns. During December, these remaining men from the Flying Camp units crossed the river on boats and conducted guerilla raids on the Hessian troops. These sneak attacks were very effective due to the disruption they caused more than the actual damage done. In addition to scouting and gathering intelligence, they drove the Hessians crazy.⁵¹

On December 19, 1777 Thomas Paine published "American Crisis" in pamphlet form. It began "These are the times that try men's souls". It found its way into the hands of the soldiers and provided great inspiration to the tired and dispirited men. After this publication was disseminated, some of the militia returned for an extended duty and recruitment began to pick up. In late December, with more enlistments due to expire at the end of the month, Washington offered a bounty of \$10 to all militia (including flying camp) and continental troops to stay for an additional six weeks after the December 31 enlistment expirations. Six weeks proved to be too much for most of the tired, ragged and dispirited men, but many accepted additional two week extensions.

On Christmas, Washington made his famous daring attack on Trenton by crossing the Delaware River from Pennsylvania into New Jersey on a cold snowy night. Not everything went according to plan, including the part of the invasion intended for Ewing's Flying Camp brigade. Five hundred men were to cross the river below Trenton Falls and cut off communications with English and Hessian troops at Bordentown. Unfortunately, the ice dams that formed on the river prevented the crossing and their part of the operation did not happen as planned. Without these and other troops that could not make it across the river, Washington was forced to limit his operations to the garrison at Trenton instead of being able to go on to a more extended attack.

There are no existing muster rolls or pay records to prove that Philip Freeman was still with the Flying Camp now under General Ewing, but records do indicate that on December 22, muster included the remnants of a regiment commanded by Col. Frederick Watts.⁵² On December 28th Ewing still had the "remains of the old Flying Camp, who

⁵¹ David Hackett Fisher, *Washington's Crossing*, Oxford University Press, 2004, page 195

⁵² Col. Watts was a prisoner of war from Fort Washington being held in New York at this time. It was customary to continue to refer to the commanding officer for the regiment even though he was not actually there.

were mostly farmers from the counties of York, Cumberland, Lancaster, Chester and Bucks." On records showing American Dispositions in New Jersey on January 1, 1778, the South Trenton Force, commanded by Brigadier General James Ewing had 600 men including men from Cumberland County, Watts Regiment.⁵³ There is every reason to believe that Philip Freeman was still there when Washington crossed the Delaware and defeated the Hessians at Trenton.

When the last of the six month Flying Camp enlistments expired on December 31, 1776, it marked the end of the Flying Camp experiment. Because it never functioned as it was meant to do, and because it was broken up and scattered, never fought as a consolidated brigade, and records of its actions were so poorly kept, it has been largely forgotten. At the time, the experiment was considered a failure, but in hindsight, those companies of Flying Camp provided a critical but largely anonymous service, being where they needed to be to help Washington's troops through this difficult period for the colonial army.

What did Philip do at the expiration of his original enlistment on December 31, 1776? Did he go home? Or was he one of the soldiers to accept the bounty offered to stay with the army for another few weeks? We have absolutely nothing to indicate what his decision was; all we know is that within weeks was in Frederick County Virginia.

It is interesting that the Hessian prisoners taken at Trenton, more than a thousand men, were escorted back across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania the day following the Battle of Trenton. From there, they were escorted by a militia company of Pennsylvanians,⁵⁴ under the command of an army Captain whose name does not appear in any records found to date. A chronicle of their journey does survive, however, in which the Hessians are escorted through Philadelphia, to Lancaster and on to a camp in Winchester, Virginia. Their American escorts are described as being dressed in rags, with even their feet wrapped in rags because they had no shoes.⁵⁵ In Philadelphia and Lancaster, the Hessian prisoners were paraded through the streets and taunted, but generally the prisoners were treated well. Washington had ordered humane treatment for all prisoners of war, having heard of the horrible conditions under which the Fort Washington prisoners were being kept by the British. The troops escorting the Hessians eventually found them not to be monsters to be regarded with hatred and fear, but

⁵³ David Hackett Fisher, *Washington's Crossing*, page 409.

⁵⁴ David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, page 379.

⁵⁵ Joe Sarver, *The Hessians*, Aaron Publishers and Editorial Services, Livingston, Texas, part 1, prologue, page 1

generally were average, honorable men of humble origins who joined the Hessian army because it paid well.

The Americans escorting the prisoners were to be met at the Virginia border by Virginia militia, who would continue the journey to Winchester, Virginia where the prisoners would be incarcerated in a converted tobacco warehouse.⁵⁶ When the Virginia escort did not show up, it is reported that most of the Pennsylvania militia refused to go any further and went home, possibly because, by this time, their enlistments were expired or even their enlistment extensions were expiring. The Captain, now in charge of a thousand prisoners, told them that the escort from Virginia was on its way and assured them that they could keep their personal effects and would be treated well in Winchester. He asked them to give their word that they would continue the march unaccompanied towards Winchester while he rode on ahead to find the Virginia militia escort. They gave their word of honor to do this and not try to escape. Within a few days, after finding the Virginia militia, the Captain found the Hessian soldiers still on their way to Winchester, just as they promised. This honorable behavior endeared them to the people of Winchester and they were treated well during their time there.⁵⁷

This tale is interesting due to the fact that their arrival in Winchester, Virginia, probably sometime late in the month of January, 1777, coincides with the formation of a company of the Virginia State Troops under command of Captain George Rice on January 18, 1777. One of the men who joined this company was Philip Freeman.

⁵⁶ Ibid, page 1

⁵⁷ Ibid, page 1

MILITARY PAY AND MUSTER ROLLS FOR PHILIP FREEMAN

All records are for Philip Freeman, Private with a rate of $6 \frac{2}{3}$ dollars per month (£2)
 Pay records for each month are assumed to be dated early the following month if not specified
 These records were recopied from the originals; minor transcription errors are possible.

Date of Record	Record	Assignment	Period Covered	Amount	Comments
Undated some time between September 9, 1778 and November 1778	Special Roll	11th and 15th Virginia Regiments, Capt. George Rice's Company, Commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan - made agreeable to General Orders of September 9, 1778	Probably September of 1778	N/A	This appears to be some sort of special head-count, possibly during one of the reorganizations of the Continental Army. It only shows his date of enlistment as March 3, 1777 and his time of service as being for 3 years.
July 1777	Pay Roll	11th Virginia Regiment, George Rice's Company, Commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan	Enlistment date through June 30, 1777. Commencement of pay noted as being March 18, so pay would be for part March, April, May and June 1777	\$ 23.10	Enlistment date shown on an undated Roll (above) agrees with this pay calculated as of March 3.
July & August, 1777	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Company in 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan	2 months pay and two months subsistence, July and August 1777	13 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars plus 5 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars	Regular pay
July & August, September 1777	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Company in 11th Virginia Regiment	Includes pay for July, August and September 1777 plus subsistence pay for July 2 to August 2.	25 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars	This appears to be a duplicate of his pay for July and August with September added, and for his subsistence pay already paid during previous month. Why was he paid twice for July and August? Was it a mistake?
November, 1777	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. in the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Lieut. Col. Nicholas	From Oct. 1 to Oct. 31, 1 month	£2	Under "Remarks" is noted "Deserted Oct. 15. Since Philip is AWOL he is not there to receive this pay
November 3, 1777	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Company in the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Col. Nicholas.	Muster roll for the month of October 1777	N/A	Under "Remarks" is noted "Deserted Oct. 15
December 1777	Pay Roll		Pay Roll for November 1777 missing; was AWOL during this time.		Record missing for this pay period
January 8, 1778	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Company in the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Capt. William Blackwell	Muster roll for the month of December 1777	N/A	Under "Remarks" is noted "Returned from desertion December 26, 1777
January 1778	Pay Roll	Captain George Rice's Company in th 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Capt. William Blackwell	Pay for the month of December; credited with 1 month pay	£2	Under "Remarks" is noted "Returned from desertion December 26, 1777. Despite the fact that he was AWOL during most of the month of December, he is paid for a full month.
February 1778	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. of the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Capt. Charles Porterfield	Pay for the month of January 1778, one full month	£2	Regular pay
February 3, 1778	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. of the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Capt. Charles Porterfield	Muster roll for the month of January 1778	N/A	Muster Roll not marked as to location, but would have been at Valley Forge

Military muster rolls and pay records, page 1

Date of Record	Record	Assignment	Period Covered	Amount	Comments
March 7, 1778	Muster Roll	Captain George Rice's Co. of th 11th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Major Thomas Snead	Muster Roll for February at Valley Forge	N/A	Note: Major Thomas Snead resigned March 8, 1778
March 1778	Extra Pay	Captain George Rice's co. in the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Capt. Charles Porterfield for the extra pay agreeable to General Orders, February 16, 1778	This extra pay was issued to all soldiers at Valley Forge for persevering over the difficult winter. It was apparently ordered in February but issued in March	£2	Would have been at Valley Forge even though record not marked
March 1778	Pay Roll	Captain George Rice's Co. of th 11th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Major Thomas Snead	Pay for February 1778 for one month	£2	Regular pay. Muster roll not marked as to location, but would have been at Valley Forge
April 6, 1778	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co, of the 11th Virginia Regiment of Foot commanded by Charles Porterfield	Muster roll for month of March 1778	N/A	Valley Forge shown as location on the record
April 1778	Pay Roll		Pay record for month of March 1778 is missing		Record missing for this pay period
May 1778	Muster Roll	Captain George Rice's Company in the 11th Virginia Regiment of Foot commanded by Lieut. Col. John Cropper	Muster roll for month of April 1778 at Valley Forge	N/A	Record marked Valley Forge as location. (Taken from original records)
May 1778	Pay Roll	Captain George Rice's Company in the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Lieut. Col. John Cropper	Pay for April 1778 for one month	£2	Record does not show location, but would have been at Valley Forge
June 1778	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Company in the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Lieut. Col. Cropper	Pay for month of May for one month	£2	Record does not show location, but would have been at Valley Forge
June 7, 1778	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. of the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Lt. Col. John Cropper	Muster Roll for May 1778	N/A	Record marked Valley Forge as location. Remarks: On Guard
July 1778	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. of the 11th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lt. Col. John Cropper (*See note)	Pay for month of June for one month	£2	*Note: About May 1778 the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiments were incorporated and designated the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment until about September 1778.
July 13, 1778	Muster Roll	Capt George Rice's Co., 11th and 15th Virginia Regiments of the 2nd Battalion of General Woodford's Brigade, commanded by Lieut. Col. John Cropper	Muster Roll for June 1778 at Camp Paramus	N/A	Remarks: On Guard Note: The official date on which the army left Valley Forge was June 19; this unit obviously left earlier.
August 1778	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co., of the 11th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Morgan (*See Note)	Pay for month of July 1778, one month	£2	
August 1778	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co., 11th Virginia Regiment, or the 2nd Battalion of General Woodford's Brigade, commanded by Lieut Col. John Cropper	Muster Roll for July 1778 taken at White Plains	N/A	Remarks: On Guard

Military muster rolls and pay records, page 2

Date of Record	Record	Assignment	Period Covered	Amount	Comments
September 1778	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. of the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment of Foot commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan	Regular pay for August 1778 for one month	£2	
September 1, 1778	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co., of Foot in the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiments of the 1st Battalion of General Woodford's Brigade, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan.	Muster Roll for August 1778 taken at Camp White Plains	N/A	
October 1778	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. in the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (*See Note)	Regular pay for September 1778 for one month	£2	*Note: About May 1778 the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiments were incorporated and designated the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment until about September 1778.
October 28, 1778	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. of Foot in the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment of the 1st Battalion of Gen. Woodford's Brigade, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan	Muster Roll for September 1778, but dated Oct. 28th. May include most of October as well. Roll taken in Newark	N/A	Roll taken in Newark, New Jersey. Remarks: On six days leave
November 1778	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. of the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment of Foot commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan	Pay for month of October 1778	£2	Regular pay
November 7, 1778	Muster Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co. of the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment of the 1st Battalion of General Woodford's Brigade, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan	Muster Roll for October 1778 at Pompton, although previous muster roll dated Oct. 28 at Newark	N/A	Remarks: On fatigue
December 1778	Pay Roll	Capt. George Rice's Co., in the 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (*See Note)	Pay for month of November 1778	£2	
December 2, 1778	Muster Roll	Late Capt. Rice's Co. of Foot, now commanded by Lieut John Barnes, in the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment, 1st Battalion of Gen. Woodford's Brigade, commanded by Col. Buford	Muster roll for November 1778 taken at Pompton (Pompton Plains, New Jersey)	N/A	Location of muster Pompton, New Jersey
January 1779	Pay Roll	Capt. Slaughter's co. of Foot, 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan	Pay for December 1778, one month	£2	
January 13, 1779	Muster Roll	Capt. Philip Slaughter's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Muster roll for month of December 1778	N/A	Record is noted "Furlough" under Casualties.
February 1779	Pay Roll	Capt. Philip Slaughter's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Pay for month of January 1779	£2	

Military muster rolls and pay records, page 3

Date of Record	Record	Assignment	Period Covered	Amount	Comments
February 3, 1779	Muster Roll	Capt. Philip Slaughter's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Muster roll for month of January 1779.	N/A	Record is noted "Furlough" under Casualties.
March 1779	Pay Roll	Capt. Philip Slaughter's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Pay for month of February 1779	£2	
March 4, 1779	Muster Roll	Capt.-Lieut. Philip Slaughter's co., 7th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Muster Roll for February taken at Middlebrook, New Jersey.	N/A	Record is noted "Furlough" under Casualties.
April 1779	Pay Roll	Capt.-Lieut. Philip Slaughter's co., 7th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Pay for month of March, 1779	£2	
April 3, 1779	Muster Roll	Capt.-Lieut. Philip Slaughter's co., 7th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Muster Roll for month of March 1779	N/A	Record is noted "Furlough" under Casualties.
May 1779	Pay Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan, in General Woodford's Brigade (**See Note)	Pay for month of April 1779	£2	
May 5, 1779	Muster Roll	Capt.-Lieut. Philip Slaughter's co., 7th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Muster Roll for month of April 1779 at Camp Middlebrook	N/A	**Note: This company was designated at various times as Capt.-Lieut. and Capt. Philip Slaughter's and Lieut. James Wright's Company
June 1779	Pay Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan, in General Woodford's Brigade (**See Note)	Pay for month of May 1779	£2	
June 11, 1779	Muster Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan, in General Woodford's Brigade (**See Note)	Muster roll for May 1779 taken at Camp Smiths Clove, New York	N/A	Remarks: On Detachment (detached to another command on temporary basis, but accounted for with regular assigned unit)
July 1779	Pay Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan, in General Woodford's Brigade (**See Note)	Pay for month of June 1779	£2	
July 2, 1779	Muster Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan, in General Woodford's Brigade (**See Note)	Muster roll for June 1779 at Camp Smith's Clove, New York	N/A	

Military muster rolls and pay records, page 4

Date of Record	Record	Assignment	Period Covered	Amount	Comments
July 3, 1779 (August 3?)	Muster Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan, in General Woodford's Brigade (**See Note).	Muster roll for July 1779 taken at Camp Ramapough (Ramapo, New York). Writing on record not clear - could be dated Aug. 3, possible error by copier.	N/A	Remarks: Light Infantry Date shown is only 1 day from previous muster and would only include 3 days of July. Possible error by copier that should be Aug. 3 as date roll is taken. Smith's Clove and Camp Ramapough are about 20 miles apart.
August 1779	Pay Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Pay for month of July 1779 one month	£2	Remarks: Light Infantry
September 1779	Pay Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Pay for month of August 1779, plus one month's subsistence pay at 4 1/3 dollars	\$11	Remarks: Infantry
October 1779	Pay Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Pay for month of September 1779 plus subsistence for one month at \$10	\$ 16.67	Note: amount of subsistence pay increased substantially
October 1, 1779	Muster Roll	Lieut. James Wright's company, 7th Virginia Regiment in Gen. Woodford's Brigade, commanded by col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Muster roll for September 1779 at Camp Ramapough (Ramapo, New York)	N/A	Remarks: Infantry Record shows an enlistment date of November 1776, which is not correct and may be a copying error.
November 1779	Pay Roll	Lieut. James Wright's Co., 7th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Pay for month of October 1779 plus subsistence pay of \$10 per month	\$ 16.67	
November 8, 1779	Muster Roll	Lieut. James Wright's company, 7th Virginia Regiment in Gen. Woodford's Brigade, commanded by col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Muster roll for October 1779 taken at Haverstraw, New York	N/A	Remarks: Infantry Record shows and enlistment date of November 1776, which is not correct and may be a copying error.
December 9, 1779	Muster Roll	Lieut. James Wright's company, 7th Virginia Regiment in Gen. Woodford's Brigade, commanded by col. Daniel Morgan (**See Note)	Muster roll for November 1779 at Camp near Morris Town (Morristown, New Jersey)	N/A	Remarks: Light Infantry
December 1779	Pay Roll		Pay record for month of November 1779 is missing		
December 1779	Pay Roll	Capt. Abraham Kirkpatrick's Co. in a detachment of the 2nd Virginia Brigade commanded by Col. Febiger.	Pay for months of December 1779, January, February and March of 1780 plus subsistence of \$10 per month.	\$ 50.00	This appears to be mustering-out pay covering what remains of his enlistment (Dec, Jan, Feb) plus three months of subsistence pay. His enlistment date was March 3, so the month of March was probably not included in the pay.

*Note: About May 1778 the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiments were incorporated and designated the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment until about September 1778.

**Note: This company was designated at various times as Capt-Lieut. and Capt. Philip Slaughter's and Lieut. James Wright's Company

The 11th Virginia Regiment

Philip Freeman joined Captain Rice's company of the Virginia State Troops in Winchester, Virginia with an official enlistment date of March 3, 1777. It was made up of volunteers from Frederick and Augusta Counties in Virginia, frontier areas where the recruits were likely hearty settlers and backwoodsmen. George Rice was a resident of Frederick County, Virginia and was an experienced officer, having served under George Washington in 1755 in support of General Braddock and in 1756 on the staff of Colonel Boquet during the French and Indian War. If our Philip Freeman was the one who had a land warrant there in Frederick County in 1767, it is possible that he may have known George Rice as well as some of the other men who joined this company. If in fact he had lived here for any length of time, he may also have known Christian Febiger, Daniel Morgan, Charles Porterfield, or George Washington himself.

Why was Philip there in Virginia at that time? What brought him there after the expiration of his enlistment on December 31, 1776, instead of back home? Could he have been among the Pennsylvania militia who escorted the Hessian prisoners as far as the Virginia Line? If so, could he have decided to come to Virginia instead of back to Westmoreland County or to York County where Barbara was probably now living? Did he already know people in Frederick County who may have convinced him to go there to reenlist? Or did something happen that may have caused him not to go back home? If so, then why Virginia?

The answer may be some combination of these. He had spent only about four or five years in Westmoreland County before leaving to join a militia unit, not from Westmoreland but Cumberland County. So was he running away from something there? Or could he have been avoiding a return to Barbara? It is already known that some sort of friction existed between them - if not outright marital warfare. If so, what brought him to Virginia as opposed to somewhere else? Before he lived in Westmoreland County he appears to have lived in this area of Virginia and may have had ties there. Morgan's Rifles had already become legendary; perhaps he hoped to be one of them. It is interesting speculation, but all we really know is that he came.

In September of 1776, finally coming to the realization that the short enlistments which were common among most of Washington's troops up to that time were impracticable, the Continental Congress called for an army of eighty-five infantry regiments to be raised for the duration of the war, fifteen of those from Virginia. The 1st through the

9th Regiments were reorganized from existing Virginia troops already engaged in the war. The 10th through the 15th Regiments were new recruits.

Daniel Morgan arrived in Winchester, Virginia at age 17 in about 1753, probably from New Jersey. He was a tough, colorful, rabble-rousing frontiersman but also a hard worker and tough fighter. He was a wagon driver on Braddock's ill-fated campaign against the French at Fort Pitt during the French and Indian War and early in the Revolutionary War commanded a company of riflemen from Virginia who fought at the Battle of Boston and the Battle of Quebec in 1775. He was captured at Quebec and not exchanged until January of 1777, when he was promoted to Colonel and given command of the new 11th Virginia Regiment .

The 11th Virginia Regiment had ten companies and was often referred to as "Morgan's Rifle Regiment" although this was not accurate. However, it did have a higher proportion of riflemen than other regiments. Many of the officers and enlisted men had served with Morgan in a specialized rifle corps in 1775 and 1776, although the last four of those rifle companies was taken prisoner at Fort Washington in November of 1776 and remained there until sometime in February 1777, with many of the men too debilitated to return to duty. Five of the ten companies of the 11th Virginia were designated as rifle companies, those commanded by Blackwell, Porterfield, Bruin, Long and Calderwood. Of the others, many of the men carried rifles, but when the regiment moved north, George Washington ordered most of the men to be issued muskets instead.⁵⁸

Men who came from the back country of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia commonly carried a "rifle-gun" which was developed by German gun-smiths in Pennsylvania. It had a longer range than muskets - up to 200 yards as opposed to about 50 yards, and was very accurate due to the "rifling" or pattern of grooves cut into the barrel walls. It was particularly efficient in the hands of experienced marksmen who came from these backwoods frontier areas. It was a weapon which had been developed in America and was unknown to the English and Hessian armies, giving the Colonial soldiers who used it a distinct advantage. It was particularly distressing for the British officers who were often targeted and picked off from long distances by experienced riflemen. There was a popular story at the time that to qualify as one of Morgan's Rifles, a man had to be able to shoot a button off of a British officer's uniform at 100 yards.

⁵⁸ Michael Cecere, *An Officer of Very Extraordinary Merit: Charles Porterfield and the War for American Independence 1775-1780*, page 39, Heritage Books, 2004

While muskets did not have the range and accuracy of rifles, they were faster to load and could be fitted with a bayonet, both important considerations. There was also the problem of ammunition supply, the need to have different types of ammunition for different weapons. The musket was the primary weapon used by the Continental Army, but specialized companies did use the rifle. Rifle companies generally led the order of battle, with sharpshooters picking off as many of the enemy as possible; then they would fall back and let musket-carrying troops generate a more general fire and attack with bayonets. Generally three out of nine or ten companies in each regiment were rifle companies; in Morgan's 11th Virginia, five of the ten companies were rifle companies.

Philip's company appears to have been an artillery company. Its captain, George Rice, was noted to be "Captain of Reserve Co. No. 9, Artillery, 11th VA Reg't" ⁵⁹, and Philip was known to have been in an artillery company in the Flying Camp the year before. There is no way of knowing, but it is possible that Philip Freeman carried both muskets and rifles from time to time. As he moved from different commands over his three year enlistment, he may also have changed weapons. He was at various times shown to be in companies under command of William Blackwell and Charles Porterfield, both known to be assigned to rifle companies. He was not however, a regular member of what came to be known as "Morgan's Riflemen" or "Morgan's Rifles", the buckskin and moccasin-clad sharpshooters who became legendary for their exploits. His name is not among those known to have been part of these elite units. He is also known to have been with the 11th Virginia Regiment during the time Morgan's Rifles were detached to New York at the Battle of Saratoga.

The 11th Virginia Regiment was organized on February 3, 1777 with nine companies, but those nine included the four rifle companies who had been captured at Fort Washington over two months earlier. In April, four more companies were added to make up for these. On April 15th, Captain George Rice's company of the Virginia State Troops was transferred to the 11th Virginia Regiment as well, although it is not clear when or where they actually connected with the regiment. The regiment joined Washington's army sometime in April, although Rice's Company may have been late to arrive due to the late transfer of the company to the regiment. The first record of Philip Freeman with the regiment is receiving pay for the time of his enlistment through June 30th 1777 as a member of Captain George Rice's Company, Col. Daniel Morgan

⁵⁹ Doster, Ben Hill, the Doster Genealogy, Richmond, Va. William Byrd Press, 1945.

commanding officer. He began to receive pay on March 18, although the official date of his enlistment was established as March 3.

The original pay records and muster rolls for soldiers in the Continental Army were recopied by hand in the 1890s onto preprinted cards with the information for individual soldiers on separate cards. Each record has the soldier's commanding officers listed as well as information related to the pay roll or muster record. The original documents have recently been made available on www.ancestry.com. They are difficult to read but show the entire muster roll and include information as to the number of effectives, absents and total men. It is interesting to note that while the army considered 60 men a full company, many of the muster rolls show less than 30, which includes men who are absent and field officers. During the winter and spring of 1778 at Valley Forge, Philip Freeman is show on several muster rolls as being one of only ten or 11 effectives on a dwindling muster roll decimated over the months by deaths, illness and desertions.

Daniel Morgan officially took command of the 11th Virginia Regiment on January 1, 1777 but his command did not last long. On June 1st General Washington ordered a list of the army's very best riflemen. On June 13th, the five hundred very best of these riflemen were put under command of Morgan. Many of those chosen were from Morgan's 11th Virginia Regiment, leaving the regiment at less than full strength. The men who were chosen continued to be accounted for on the muster roll of their home regiment and simply noted to be "on detachment". Colonel Christian Febiger was put in temporary command of the 11th Virginia Regiment while Morgan's Rifles spent the next several months in New Jersey and New York, including the Battle of Saratoga.

Meanwhile, the 11th Virginia Regiment, now under the temporary command of Col. Christian Febiger, moved northward to join Washington's army. Washington had left his winter camp in Morristown, New Jersey and moved to Middlebrook, where Philip and his 11th Virginia Regiment probably met up with them. Washington's army consisted at that time of some 14,000 men including militia, 11,000 of which were fit for duty. At any point in time, a significant number of this total was "ineffectives", that is, wounded, sick or otherwise unable to report for duty. Washington had also undertaken to inoculate his troops against smallpox. This involved injecting the live virus which caused the men to become sick, but with a mild form of the disease that would leave the subject immune to further attacks of the deadly illness. New recruits would have been segregated into invalid camps while the inoculation took place. It is also known that Washington ordered this inoculation practice at Fort Lee the previous winter, so if Philip Freeman did not encounter the inoculation at one place, he probably did at the other.

British General William Howe had left his comfortable winter sojourn in New York, captured from the Continental Army the previous fall, and headed toward Philadelphia. His goal was to capture Philadelphia, the colonial capital. Expecting an occupation, the Continental Congress had departed Philadelphia moving first to Lancaster, then York, Pennsylvania. Washington anticipated that Howe would attack Philadelphia, he just did not know how or where. Instead of marching south through New Jersey, Howe had loaded his army onto ships and took a long circuitous route by sea up the Chesapeake Bay. On August 24th, Washington and his army left Middlebrook, marched through Philadelphia to Wilmington, Delaware and by September of 1777 Philip and the 11th Virginia Regiment, assigned to Woodford's 3rd. Brigade, General Sterling's Division, were positioned along the Brandywine River in southeastern Pennsylvania preparing to do battle with the British.

When the British and Continental armies met at Brandywine on September 9th, the Americans were defeated by a vastly superior British force, but not without making a good account of themselves. They failed to stop Howe's advance into Philadelphia, and the British established their headquarters at Germantown, some six miles east of the city of Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, Washington's army endured a long march in terrible weather and had found its number reduced drastically by desertions, illness and more expiring enlistments. The 11,000 effectives that had been the Continental Army in early September was now reduced to about 6,000 but Washington was determined to make another attack on Howe. When he received news that a large portion of Howe's troops had been dispatched along the Delaware River, Washington resolved to make a daring attack the British headquarters at Germantown.

Philip Freeman and the 11th Virginia Regiment were with the Continental Army when the attack took place on October 5, 1777. Unfortunately, the attack proved to be something of a comedy of errors, with accidents, miscommunication and confusion ultimately causing defeat. The Americans, however, came tantalizingly close to victory. The fact that they had been so audacious as to attack Howe's headquarters and come so close to winning the battle in spite of the problems that occurred made the effort a relative success. Afterward, the Continental Army was cheered in spite of the defeat and the French came closer to approving aid to the struggling Americans.

The muster roll for the month of October 1777, probably taken in early November, shows Philip Freeman as deserted on October 15th, a few days after the Battle of Germantown. After the battle, Washington's cold,

hungry and exhausted army had marched west, engaging in several skirmishes with Howe's pursuing troops. Howe pulled back and Washington moved toward winter quarters at Valley Forge, arriving there on the night of December 19th. Philip was noted as having rejoined his unit on December 26, after an absence of about ten weeks, to spend that miserable winter at Valley Forge.

What caused Philip to desert and where he went during this time is unknown. Desertions were a serious problem for the Continental Army during the war. The scarcity of food, basic provisions and supplies, repulsion with frequent corporal punishment, arduous duties, lack of pay, poor attitude of officers, disease, and enticement by the British to defect were among the most common reasons for desertion. For some soldiers, most of whom were farmers, the reasons were economic; if they were not home to get crops into the ground in the spring, or harvested in the fall, they faced economic ruin and literal starvation for their families. It is estimated that 20% to 30% of the Continental Army deserted at one time or another. Punishment for desertion ranged from minor to draconian, from pardon to execution. The severe shortages of men to fill the army's ranks often caused authorities to look the other way, at least to some degree. Records were sometimes marked "on furlough", "sick absent" or "on command" so as to preserve morale of the remaining troops. On three occasions general amnesties were offered. The first was on April 6, 1777 and another on March 10, 1779. The third was offered in December of 1777 if the soldier returned before January 1, 1778. Few soldiers took advantage of these amnesties; word that they were being offered was not spread well and many deserters never knew about them.

Why did Philip desert and where did he go? Obviously one possibility is that he simply walked away for one of the most common reasons. Another possibility is that he was wounded during the Battle of Germantown and chose to seek medical care elsewhere to avoid the fetid death traps that military hospitals tended to be in those days. Soldiers who were close to home and reliable assistance often did this. It is known that Joseph Seidenspinner, almost certainly Barbara's son, joined a York County regiment of the Pennsylvania Line in about 1776, making it likely that Barbara was in York County at or about the same time as Philip first entered the army in mid-1776. She is known to have lived in or near Hanover, a location fairly easily reached from Germantown, Philip's last major battle.

Did Philip leave with the intention of returning? In December of 1777 when a general amnesty was offered for deserters who returned before January 1st, he appears to have been one of the soldiers to take advantage of it, returning only a few days before the January 1, 1778 deadline. It is interesting to note that upon his return, his pay records

show that he was paid for all of October and all of December; there is no payroll record for November so either it is missing or he was not paid for that month that he was away. It also appears that he was credited for service during this time, without which his enlistment would have been lengthened. This implies the possibility that there was either forgiveness for the desertion or consent to the absence. Reviewing the original muster rolls for Philip's company during his enlistment shows many desertions, but Philip is the only one shown as returning voluntarily.

Philip did return and spent that cold, hungry and generally miserable winter at Valley Forge. An examination of the original muster rolls for the months of that winter show a total of only 18 effectives and 10 sick or absent in November 1777, after the battles at Brandywine and Germantown. As the months go by, Philip returned, but others are shown as deserted or now dead. By May of 1778, there are only 10 effectives, with a total of 18 in the company. Philip Freeman is shown to be marked as present and effective for all of this time.

There is currently no way to know with certainty why he deserted, but there is an inclination to think that he left for a purpose, intending to return. He was not a rookie soldier, having served with the Flying Camp before reenlisting with the Virginia Regiment. He knew what he was in for. He was one of the few men in the regiment who was consistently on the effectives list throughout that winter at Valley Forge and the only one shown as having returned from desertion. And later, during the summer of 1779, he is one of a small number of soldiers hand-picked for an attack on Stony Point.

The Virginia Line, back under command of Daniel Morgan and part of Woodford's 3rd Brigade, were camped at Valley Forge on a hill opposite Washington's headquarters, back from the river. History tells us that George Washington chose to use the time in that winter encampment to forge a newly enhanced army. With the strength of his own character and charisma, and with the help of Baron Frederick Wilhelm Augustus von Steuben, Washington formed a bond of unity with the men and officers of the Continental Army that could never be broken.

In the spring of 1778 the British learned that the French had agreed to come to the aid of the Americans in their fight against the British. Anticipating that the French were more likely to attack New York than Philadelphia, and placing more value on holding New York, the British evacuated Philadelphia and, under command of Sir Henry Clinton, headed northward through New Jersey. Washington, with his newly trained and reorganized army, set out to stop him by ordering an attack at Monmouth Court House.

Philip Freeman's regiment was now under General Lafayette's Division as a result of a reorganization of the army at Valley Forge. Washington originally chose LaFayette to lead the attack, but General Charles Lee, long a thorn in George Washington's side, exercised his seniority and was granted the opportunity. Lafayette's troops were part of the 4,000 attack force under command of General Lee on a stiflingly hot and humid June 28th, 1778. Due to the incompetence and apparent cowardice of General Lee, who after some initial indecision and confusion ordered his troops to retreat, Lafayette frantically alerted Washington of the situation. Washington arrived on the scene and in a rare public show of anger, turned around the retreat and prevented a rout. Toward evening, as Clinton's troops were preparing to withdraw, Washington moved General Woodford's Brigade, including the 11th and 15th Virginia Regiments, toward a renewed attack on the British. But some time during the night Clinton was able to quietly move his heat-exhausted troops out of reach and Washington was not able to keep him from reaching New York. On the morning of the British retreat, Virginia riflemen followed a train of the enemy, taking a number of captives including the coach of a general officer. It was a battle that, if it were not for the actions of General Charles Lee, might have been a notable victory and might have considerably hastened the end of the war.

After the Battle of Monmouth, the last and longest battle between the two main armies, the Continental Army moved in easy marches to White Plains, New York. This was the site, in October of 1776, of an earlier battle after which Washington was forced to leave New York in British hands. After two years of war, Washington, with his ill-equipped, poorly trained army of farmers and shopkeepers, had fought what was arguably the best army on the planet to a standstill. For Philip Freeman, who had participated in the New York campaign as a soldier with the Flying Camp, there had to be a sense of *déjà vu*.

The remainder of 1778 would be relatively quiet for this portion of Washington's army, with most of the fighting during the later part of 1778 and 1779 on the frontiers, in the south, or on the lakes and seas. Washington had positioned his army to guard the Hudson River against the British, who were now encamped in New York City. He did not want the British to be able to control the river, thereby splitting the New England colonies from the colonies in the middle and southern regions.

Philip Freeman was on the muster rolls at White Plains, New York in July and was listed as being "on guard". In August, the muster roll shows that he is still in White Plains Camp but his unit moves to Newark, New Jersey in September, where he is shown as having six days

leave.⁶⁰ He moves to Pompton Plains, New Jersey by November where he is shown as being on fatigue, which is a military term for work of a non-military type done by soldiers, such as digging trenches, building shelters, or other physical labor. In "Records of the Revolutionary War" by W. T. R. Saffell,⁶¹ a muster roll taken November 30, 1778 shows 53 privates and 14 officers, although no notation was made of effectives, sick and absent, etc.

Beginning in December, Philip Freeman is marked as being on furlough for the months of December 1778 and January, February, March of 1779. This practice of granting winter furloughs was common; armies generally did not campaign during the winter due to difficulties of travel and supply and the decision was often made by officers to reduce the number of men they had to feed and house during the winter months. It is likely that Philip went home, wherever that was at the time, during this period of time.

Philip remained in Captain George Rice's Company, 11th Virginia Regiment, Woodford's Brigade, Lafayette's Division, but direct command of his regiment underwent many changes over the past two years of this enlistment. Daniel Morgan was often off on other assignments with his rifle corps, so while he remained officially in command of the 11th Virginia Regiment, direct command is often shown as being Col. Christian Febiger, Lieut. Col. Nichols., Capt. William Blackwell, Captain Charles Porterfield, Major Thomas Snead, and Lieut. Col. John Cropper. In about May of 1778, the 11th Virginia Regiment and the 15th Virginia Regiment were combined as one Regiment until November 1778. After that time, another reorganization occurred redesignating the 11th Virginia Regiment as the 7th Virginia Regiment.

Another change that occurred after November 1778 was that each regiment was required to maintain a company of "light infantry". Brigadier General "Mad Anthony" Wayne was given command of this Corps of Light Infantry, a temporary seasonal unit of four regiments of light infantry drawn from all of the regiments of the main army. Each regiment consisted of 300-350 men and the total force included an artillery detachment. General Daniel Morgan wanted this command and was severely disappointed when the assignment went to Wayne, who had less experience with light infantry than Morgan.⁶² As a result, Daniel Morgan tendered his resignation and went back home to Winchester,

⁶⁰ It makes one curious where he would go on a six-day leave near Newark, New Jersey. There had been various Freeman families in the Newark area since the mid-1600's, but no evidence has ever been found to tie Philip to those Freemans.

⁶¹ W.T.R. Saffell, *Records of the Revolutionary War*, page 264, Heritage Books, Inc., 1999

⁶² Morgan's Rifles essentially acted as light infantry units since their inception.

Virginia. The Continental Congress refused to accept his resignation and designated him as "on furlough" until he eventually agreed to return when the southern campaign ran into trouble in 1780. During this time, his continues to be listed as commander of the 7th Virginia Regiment on pay and muster roll records for his troops, even though he was not present and on duty.

Light infantry was traditionally a group of soldiers who were to forge ahead of the main body of the army to provide a skirmishing screen, that is, to harass the enemy and delay their advance. They generally carried lighter arms in order to facilitate mobility. These were generally the best, most reliable and most experienced men, who could move fast and act quickly for important and dangerous assignments. The members of the light infantry units were handpicked from among men of the regiments. It would have been an honor to be chosen for such an assignment. In Philip's pension application in 1819 he spoke of being "promoted" even though he continued to be shown as a private on the records of his regular company. He was undoubtedly referring to the elevated status of being chosen for this duty.

The 1st Regiment of this Light Infantry was commanded by Col. Christian Febiger and included six companies of Virginia troops and two from Pennsylvania. From shortly after the time Philip Freeman returned from winter furlough in the spring of 1779, he was noted on muster rolls as being "on detachment" which meant that he was away from his regular unit for a special assignment of some type. For the remainder of his enlistment he is shown as being "light infantry". It was during this time that he would have been among the approximately 1,200 to 1,300⁶³ handpicked light infantry troops led by General Anthony Wayne in the attack against Stony Point.

The muster rolls during this period continue to show Philip Freeman as being a member of his regular army company in the 7th Virginia Regiment, noted as being "on detachment" or "light infantry". It was standard practice to carry men on special assignment on the muster rolls of their regular company. This practice, of considering men on detachment to a special assignment as still part of their regular regiment, is quite confusing when examining records. He would continue to show up only on the muster and pay rolls of his regular army company until December 1779. In August of 1779, he also receives subsistence pay of 4 1/3 dollars per month, but beginning in September and through the end of his enlistment he is paid \$10 per month subsistence pay.

⁶³ Accounts differ as to how many men actually took part in this attack on Stony Point, ranging from 1,200 to 1,600. Most accounts tend toward the lower number.

On his pension applications many years later, Philip told of being at the Battle of Stony Point and at some point under the command of a Captain Gamble. This was Captain Robert Gamble of the 8th Virginia Regiment who was on detachment to the Light Infantry 1st Regiment commanded by Col Christian Febiger. He led one of the eight companies made up of men from the 7th and 8th Virginia regiments of the regular army. Surviving accounts of a muster role for Gamble's company on July 15, 1779 when Stony Point was taken, shows several men who were in Philip Freeman's regular company, but Philip is not named.⁶⁴ Errors are possible; one man was named twice on the same roster, but the list is original and not likely to carry serious error. Philip's 1818 pension application only tells that he was "transferred successively from the company of Capt. Rice to the companies of Capt., Charles Porterfield, Capt. Gammell (Gamble). His 1821 application said that he was in a company "commanded first by Captain George Rice next by Charles Porterfield and afterwards by Captain Gamble". However, after being detached from his regular regiment from May 1779 until December 1779, Philip shows up on the payroll records for December 1779 (when the Light Infantry was disbanded) as being paid for service in Captain Abraham Kirkpatrick's Company in a detachment of the 2nd Virginia Brigade commanded by Colonel Febiger (the Light Infantry). Abraham Kirkpatrick was also a captain of a company under Col. Febiger at Stony Point, as was Gamble. This record of several months later shows Philip in Kirkpatrick's company, not Gamble's. It is likely that he was with Gamble's company at some point for him to specify this name in his pension application, but perhaps his assignment at Stony Point was elsewhere. Despite the passage of almost 40 years between his Revolutionary War service and his pension applications, Philip's memory is remarkably good, but may easily not be infallible. It is known that one company of artillery was included in the assault and after the battle turned the captured British cannon back onto them at Verplanck's Point. Philip Freeman was, at that point, an experienced artilleryman. It is clear that Philip did serve with the Light Infantry and was at Stony Point.

The Battle of Stony Point was fought on the night of July 15-16, 1779 and was the last major battle to take place in the northern theatre of the war. It was unusual because of the way it was fought, with a small force of light infantry made up of hand-picked troops in a sneak attack during the night.

General Wayne, anxious to put his Light Infantry Corps to use and acting on George Washington's orders, developed an ambitious plan to recapture the fort at Stony Point, New York, an American fort that had

⁶⁴ Waddell, Joseph Addison, *Annals of Augusta County Virginia, 1726 to 1831*, Second Ed., page 266, C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, Staunton, Va. 1902

been captured by the British only a few weeks before. Its capture put West Point, only sixteen miles upriver, in danger. Wayne's troops, who were becoming unmanageable in camp due to inactivity, needed to get into action.⁶⁵

The site of the fort was imposing. It stood on a steep, rocky promontory that jutted out into the Hudson River. When the river was high, the road to the fort flooded and the site was virtually an island. It was guarded from the river by British warships and sentries watched a swampy area at the base of the cliff. The river side of the promontory was covered with thick tangled vegetation and fallen trees and the redoubts on top of the cliff was the site of a placement of brass twelve-pounders. Beyond that was an abatis⁶⁶ running around the cliff with still more trenches and cannon.

Wayne had discovered a weakness in the fort's defenses. When the tides on the river were very low in the right phase of the moon, a sandbar would become usable as a bridge from the marsh to a spot below the cliff that could not be reached by the gunfire or cannon of the fort's defenders. The British did not realize the sandbar existed, so no guards watched that area. Wayne was also able to find out that the British had not yet completed their fortifications and was able to carefully engineer an approach for his attack.

Wayne took great care in moving his troops into position for the attack, intercepting anyone who may have observed their movements. Strict discipline was maintained among the troops to make absolutely certain their approach was not observed. The troops were given incentive for success by the offer of cash prizes for the first men into the fort and the value of any spoils taken from the fort would be divided among the men.

Philip would probably have been with Col. Febiger's command and among the 600 men on the right column as they approached the fort. The soldiers carried unloaded muskets, with strict orders to use bayonets only during the initial attack. Even General Wayne only carried a bayonet instead of a firearm. The British troops were surprised and overwhelmed by the Americans. Col. Febiger with his right column cut off the British as they attempted to retreat and accepted the surrender of the British commander. The combination of surprise and brilliant tactics resulted in a great victory for the Americans, boosting morale and proving that they were capable of responding to discipline and training as

⁶⁵ Smith, Page, *A New Age Now Begins, A People's History of the American Revolution*, Volume 2, (McGraw Hill, 1776), page 1343.

⁶⁶ An abatis is a defensive obstacle formed by felled trees with sharpened branches facing the enemy.

well as the British, who were considered one of the best armies in the world at that time.

The Americans stripped the fort of all transportable supplies and munitions and burned what was left. The value of the captured booty was valued and split up between the men who participated that night. As an enlisted man, Philip would have received about \$140 for his share, which was the equivalent of about 21 months pay, quite a windfall.

Wayne's Light Infantry Corp saw little action through the rest of the summer and fall of 1779. Part of the orderly book of Capt. Robert Gamble still survives for the period between August 21 and November 16, 1779.⁶⁷ It provides daily copies of orders issued affecting his company.⁶⁸ It also details a considerable amount of problems with drunkenness, desertion, theft and various misbehavior that was punishable, much of it by as many as 50 "lashes on the back well laid on". There were also notes about drilling of the troops and concerns by George Washington that proper uniforms were not being maintained.

After leaving Stony Point, the Light Infantry moved to Fort Montgomery, a Revolutionary War fort near West Point, on August 21 and remained there until October 4th. They then moved to Haverstraw, New York for three days, then a few miles southwest to Kakiat, New York on October 8th. On October 31st, they moved south to Paramus, New Jersey and on November 14th were only another few miles south in Acquackanonk, New Jersey, now Passiac. During this time, there is no indication that any fighting took place. There were certainly no major battles fought during this time, since the British had decided to maintain the safe haven of New York City. There is no record of where the Light Infantry was after November 14th but when Philip was discharged, he was in Philadelphia. He notes in his pension application that his discharge was signed there by Col. Febiger so the Light Infantry appears to have moved south instead of back north toward Morristown, New Jersey to join Washington for winter camp.

The Light Infantry was disbanded sometime in December and Philip, whose enlistment was up on March 2, 1780 received his final pay all at one time. The determination must have been made that it would

⁶⁷ Orderly Book of Captain Robert Gamble of the Second Virginia regiment, Commanded by colonel Christian Febiger, August 21-November 16, 1779, page 1 to 32, www.newrivernoportes.com/va/gamble1 8/10/10.

⁶⁸ George Washington required all officers to keep orderly books, which essentially copied any orders given that affected their company, regiment, brigade or division on a daily basis. This was a highly repetitive process, resulting in hundreds of officers essentially copying the same orders in their orderly books every day. But the purpose was to ensure that no officer could plead ignorance to orders issued.

have been unproductive for Philip to go back to winter camp with the regular army just to be discharged on March 2. Until this time, he had been shown on muster and pay rolls with his regular regiment, the 7th Virginia. On this final pay roll, he was shown as being in "Capt. Abraham Kirkpatrick's Company in a detachment of the 2nd Virginia Brigade commanded by Col. Febiger", which makes him part of the Light Infantry. He received a final pay of \$50, which appears to be mustering out pay for what remained of his enlistment, December, January, February and two days of March, plus subsistence pay of \$10 per month for three months.⁶⁹

The winter of 1779-80 was known as the "Winter of Deep Snows" and was the coldest and most prolonged winter of the 18th century. In January the harbor in New York froze over and the British feared that the Americans would cross the ice to attack. By February the snow was four feet deep in the mountains of Pennsylvania. The frigid weather continued into March. Philip appears to have gone to Hanover, Heidelberg Township in York County, where Barbara and her children were probably already living. This would have been an easy trip from Philadelphia.

After Philip's discharge, the 7th Virginia Regiment was sent to South Carolina where nearly all were killed or captured. Many died as prisoners aboard the infamous prison ships in Charleston Harbor.

⁶⁹ On August 18, 1779, the Continental Congress, in recognition of their "patriotism, valor and perseverance in defense of the rights and liberties of their country" provided for "the sum of 10 dollars be paid to every non-commissioned officer and soldier monthly for their subsistence in lieu of those articles originally intended for them and not furnished". This was to help make up for the clothing and other provisions that the army should have provided but had not, primarily due to the inability to do so either financially or as a result of unavailability.

York County 1780-1787

When Barbara moved from Westmoreland County to Hanover in York County is not certain, but she was probably there by about mid-1776, or possibly before. It is most likely that she moved east from Westmoreland County some time in 1776 when Philip enlisted in the Flying Camp Regiment. Joseph Seidenspinner, who was probably her son, first appears as a member of a York County Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line in 1776-77 so it is likely that she was there by then. It is where Philip went after his discharge and stayed for several years afterward.

Her exact reasons for moving east are not known; she may have gone to stay with family living in eastern Pennsylvania when Philip joined the army, not wanting to live alone. Or she simply may have been among the many frontier settlers who went back to safer regions to escape the frontier violence during this period of time. The Western Pennsylvania frontier continued to experience deprivation, kidnapping and death as a result of Indian attacks. This was something that Barbara was likely to have feared greatly, since she was undoubtedly living in or near Fort Bedford during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War afterwards in 1763. Her husband George Seidenspinner may have been victim of Indian attacks during the summer of 1763. While married to Andrew Bonjour and later, during the atrocities committed by Simon Girty and his gang during Dunmore's War in 1774, she would have known the fear and havoc such attacks brought. Living along the Forbes Road after her marriage to Philip, miles from the nearest settlers' fort or blockhouse, life would have been very hard. The possibility that she simply refused to continue living in western Pennsylvania and the likelihood of hostility between her and Philip should not be ignored.

The English now stirred up the Indians to wreck havoc on the settlers along the frontier areas of Pennsylvania and New York. Between the years of 1777 and 1783 families lived together for months at a time inside blockhouses and stockade forts for safety. Crops were difficult to sow, tend and harvest in fear of attacks by bands of Indians, Tories and renegade white savages like the infamous Simon Girty and Alexander McKee. Livestock was destroyed or stolen. People were killed or taken prisoner. Bounties were paid for scalps by not only the English, but later by the Penn family as well. Many men were away serving in the American army as Washington fought the English; others fought in the Frontier Rangers, who defended the frontier from the marauding Indians and renegades. Many settlers, afraid of the constant attacks and unable to scratch out a living under such circumstances, began to leave the frontier and go back east.

There were a number of well-documented attacks that took place in the area of Fairfield Township over a period of several years. Philip was away on military service at that time, but if there were anyone living on the land, they would have been in great danger. It was nearly impossible for people to work in their fields unless others stood guard. Collective farming efforts were practiced and few people lived outside of the forts and blockhouses. On July 13, 1782, while people worked in the fields, a group of about 150 Indians and Tories attacked Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland County at that time. The town was burned and many people killed or kidnapped an historic event in the region. It was the last attack of the Revolutionary War in Western Pennsylvania, after which peace returned.

By 1776 Barbara's children had to have been at least young adults. Son Joseph was probably born between 1755 and 1759 to be old enough to join the army in 1776-77. Even if the youngest was born at the time George Seidenspinner died, his or her age would be at least 13 years old by that time.

Joseph Seidenspinner

Joseph Seidenspinner was almost certainly Barbara's son by George Seidenspinner. The surname is so exceeding rare, even today, that someone of that name and of the right age and in the same area as Barbara is not likely to be anyone else. Joseph Seidenspinner was originally a member of the 10th Pennsylvania Regiment, raised in Philadelphia in September 1776 to include companies from York County. It was later merged with the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment on July 1, 1778. Joseph was on the muster roll for the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment as a sergeant in Col. Richard Humpton's command on September 10, 1778 and with them during the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line that occurred on January 1, 1781 in protest of miserable conditions, lack of food and shelter, and no pay for many months. The Pennsylvania Line was disbanded after the mutiny on January 17th, 1781. Records show that he received additional depreciation pay of £86.18.1½ in York, Pennsylvania in April of 1781 as a result of the mutiny settlement. It proves that he was in service between at least early 1777 and August 1780 and still in service in 1781 to be eligible for this depreciation pay.⁷⁰ There is no record found of when he first enlisted, but for him to be a sergeant by September 1778, it is likely that he had been there for at least a while before that time, probably 1776 when the regiment was formed. This would have made Joseph a minimum of 18 years of age in

⁷⁰ Pennsylvania Digital State Archives, Revolutionary War Abstract Card File, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Website, ARIAS (Archives Records Information Access System)

1777, born 1759 or earlier, appropriate to have been Barbara and George Seidenspinner's son. It also places him in York County, which is where Barbara certainly was around this time.

Joseph Seidenspinner married a woman named Magdalena and had two children, Anna Maria born May 17, 1786 and a son Joseph, born September 21, 1787. This son was born posthumously; his father Joseph Seidenspinner died on January 16, 1787 and his will was probated in Lancaster County on July 11, 1787 with Magdalena Seidenspinner as the executor. He would have still been a very young man, probably between 28 and 30 years old, so for there to have been a will, his death must have been anticipated in enough time for its preparation. On the other hand, his son was born just short of what would be considered a full gestational period after his death; he had to have been conceived not long before his father died. So it must be assumed that he was reasonably able-bodied until shortly before his death.

The 1800 Census for Lancaster County shows a Widow Seidenspinner with two females and one male under age 16. This is undoubtedly Magdalena and her two children. By 1810 no Seidenspinner is found, with Joseph's young widow possibly remarried. Searches of indexed census materials show a very small number of Seidenspinner families later in the 1800's, but virtually all of them were recent immigrants. What happened to Joseph's family is not known.

Post Military Activity

Philip did return to where Barbara was living in Hanover, York County, after his enlistment was up in early 1780. Why Hanover was chosen as a place to settle once they moved east is not known, but it is likely that there was some sort of family connection. This would be particularly important for Barbara; she would not have simply moved to a place where she knew no one and had no means of support. There is no definitive evidence of a family connection, but it is from eastern Pennsylvania that George and Barbara Seidenspinner came before moving with the army to Fort Bedford. Barbara's family may have been from this area of York County, or one of her family may have settled there with a spouse.

One man with whom there seems to be a particular connection is Wendell Keller, a merchant and innkeeper in Hanover, York County. Philip Freeman had extensive business dealings with him during the years between at least 1785 and 1791. These business dealings only lasted about six or seven years, but they seem to have had significant

impact on both of their lives. Although there is nothing found to prove a link between these families, it is a place to look for a possible connection.

After arriving home in Hanover from his military enlistment, Philip Freeman once again joined the militia, since all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 54 were required to join the local militia if not currently serving with the Continental Army. From October 10 to December 10 in the fall of 1781, Philip showed up on the muster roll of Captain Andrew Foreman's Company of the York County Militia. In November and December of 1781, Philip was on the pay roll of the militia for serving as a guard at Camp Security.

In the spring of 1781 this prisoner of war camp was built in Springettsbury Township, York County just east of the city of York. Camp Security was run by the local York County Militia and housed over 1,500 British, Canadian and Hessian prisoners and their families between summer of 1781 and April of 1783 when the last prisoners were released.⁷¹ The militia members took turns on guard duty, on cycles of two months on duty and two months off. It was common for some militia members to have others serve their guard duty for them. On at least one occasion Philip is shown to be receiving pay for having served the tour of duty for John Marshall, another member of his company.⁷² Having only recently returned from three years in the regular army, Philip may have been using this guard duty as an occupation until he established himself in something else. Being a substitute for men in his company who already had regular occupations might have been a good deal for both parties, but it would have kept Philip away from home much of the time.

There are no deeds for Philip or Barbara Freeman or any Seidenspinner in York County, during this period or any other. If he owned land, the deed was never recorded upon purchase or subsequent sale. He does appear on the tax list in 1783 for Heidelberg Township (which included the town of Hanover at that time) with 5 acres of land and three inhabitants. These inhabitants were likely to have been Philip, Barbara and one of George Seidenspinner's children, perhaps an unmarried daughter. By 1783 Joseph Seidenspinner would have undoubtedly been established in his own household and possibly married so it is very unlikely to have been him. Philip also is taxed for one unidentified tract of land in Fairfield Township, Westmoreland

⁷¹ In 2010 the site of this camp remains undeveloped, but a residential housing development is planned. Efforts are currently underway to preserve the site and undertake additional archaeological digs. It is one of the top 11 endangered historical sites of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

⁷² Pennsylvania Archives, Sixth Series, Volume II, page 775, Harrisburg Publishing Company, State Publishers, Harrisburg, Penna. 1906

County during 1783, although this tax does not denote residency and there is no evidence that he was present in Westmoreland County.

During the winter of 1782-83 there was a severe "camp fever" at Camp Security and many people died. The term "camp fever" has been used at various times to refer to a number of diseases, including smallpox or influenza, but most commonly to typhus, typhoid fever or cholera. Militia guards from the camp would have been very susceptible to any epidemic at the camp, which could be the source of Philip's lengthy illness. One of these fevers during the eighteenth century could easily have incapacitated a man for months. By April of 1783 the war was over, the prisoner of war camp was closed and the Camp Security prisoners were released.

In the 1783 October Sessions of the York County Court, Philip petitioned the court for recommendation for a license as a peddler and hawker (essentially a traveling salesman) from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. He specifically stated in the petition that he had been "sickly for a considerable time past" and that he now wishes to take up this new occupation for which a license is required. The court forwarded its recommendation to the Commonwealth that he be licensed, although appears that the license was not issued before March 30, 1784, when a new law was passed governing peddlers and hawkers in the Commonwealth. It required that a bond be posted to insure appropriate character, honesty and good behavior of the person receiving the license, there having been problems with peddlers dealing with citizens in a dishonest manner and swindling of customers was commonplace. The bond was required from the license holder and two other citizens willing to vouch for his suitability. In July Sessions of the Court in 1785 Philip posted the appropriate bond (£100) with £50 each posted by Wendell Keller and Francis Gillmeyer, both innkeepers in the town of Hanover, Heidelberg Township, York County. He was granted a license during the same session of court.

The Petition of Philip Freeman of Hanover Town in the County of York was Read to the Court Setting Forth.

That the Petitioner hath been sickly for a considerable Time past, And That he hath an Inclination to go Pedling through this Common Wealth with such Wares and Goods as may be lawful, but being not yet Licenced for that Purpose, Prays the Court To Recommend him to the President and the Supreme Executive Council of the Common Wealth of Pennsylvania, That he may obtain their Licenced for a Pedlar and Hawker.

Which being considered by the Court It is thereupon Ordered That the said Philip Freeman, be and is hereby Recommended to his Excellency the President and the Supreme Executive Council for their Licenced, for a Pedlar, and Hawker in this Common Wealth agreeable to the Acts of General Assembly of this State in such Case made and Provided.

The Petitions of the following Persons, Praying the Recommendations of the Court to the Supreme Executive Council for their Licences to keep publick Houses at their Respective dwellings in this County were Read and allowed Viz

Jacobs Meyer	York Town
Mary Mettel	York Township
Jacob Hauffelt	Windsor
Andrew White	Reading

The petition from Philip Freeman to be licensed as a peddler and hawker in October Sessions 1783 (York County Court Docket page 161)

Philip once again posted the necessary bond in July Term of 1786, with Wendell Keller and Adam Gempshorn, another innkeeper, posting bond for him. In the July Term of 1787, the bond was again posted with Francis Gillmeyer, innkeeper of Hanover, and John Sharp, who was licensed for operating a keeping house in Dover Township. In 1786, Philip was also granted a license to sell beer in Heidelberg Township, an indication that he was also running some sort of tavern.

From the records showing Philip's association with a long list of innkeepers and tavern keepers, it is clear that he is again in a business involving alcoholic beverages. Whether he was manufacturing, selling or distributing liquor and beer is not known, but he was obviously associated with the industry. Could this be what he was peddling?

That this was our Philip Freeman and not another of the same name is certain. Copies of the three above-referenced bonds show original signatures for the bondsmen and Philip's signature is by his usual mark, the exaggerated "6", sometimes with the dot on the open end as seen on other documents that still survive.

purpose of said well and truly believe that he and shall also observe and have due regard in every respect to a certain Act of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth entitled "An act for regulating Hawkers and Peddlers" passed at Philadelphia the thirteenth Day of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty four, then the above obligation to be void and of none effect or else to be and remain in full force & Virtue

Sealed & Delivered
in the presence of us

Carole Green
H. Miller

Philip C. Freeman
mark
Thos. J. Walker
Adam G. Jones

Signature page of the bond for Philip Freeman's peddler's license March 30, 1784, showing Philip Freeman's mark.

Where Philip was traveling with his new profession is not known, but there are records related to him in Westmoreland County during this time. A Philip Freeman served on a jury in Westmoreland County in 1784, although this was probably not our Philip. Another Philip Freeman lived briefly in Rostraver Township about this time and a Philip Freyman is found in the German Church Records living in Hempfield Township for several years about this time as well. Philip is also on a delinquent tax list for 1785-86 in Fairfield Township, although this does not necessarily denote permanent residency.

In 1785, the *capias* case filed against Philip by Barbara in Westmoreland County in 1775 is dismissed. Normally, a dismissal occurs if the plaintiff requests it, or if the prosecutor or judge finds that there is no further reason to carry the case as open business of the court. Perhaps the purpose of the suit is no longer valid or, as may be the case here, the parties were no longer present and pursuing the matter. It is likely that the local authorities dismissed the case knowing that neither party was in Westmoreland County and had not been for a number of years. The case had been open for ten years with no activity and they probably found no reason to keep it open.

After the Revolutionary War came to an end, the processing of applications for land claims resumed on the western frontier. Warrants were finally issued for the applications made sometimes years before and surveys were made in preparation for issuance of patents. On February 7, 1785 a warrant was issued for Philip's claim on the land known as Deerlick Ridge and it was surveyed on March 28th. On January 5, 1786 the final patent for 238½ acres was issued and fees paid to the Commonwealth. On January 3, 1786 a warrant for Liberty Hall was issued and the land surveyed on March 23. The final patent was issued on August 8, 1787. It was not necessary for Philip to be physically in Westmoreland County for this process to occur so it cannot be used as evidence that Philip was there. But the Survey Office would have confirmed with land claimants that they were still in possession of the land and that the warrant was still valid. Many of the original applications were from settlers who had sold the claim or warrant to others or who had moved on and were no longer interested in warranting the land. In the case of the latter, the application for warrant was cancelled and claim was returned to the Commonwealth.

Many settlers found themselves holding a warrant on land, but unable to raise the cash necessary to make the purchase final and obtain a patent. A large amount of Western Pennsylvania land was purchased by speculators from the eastern part of the state who then leased the land to settlers who had to raise cash to pay the rent. The scarcity of cash resulted in barter being the primary means of exchange. And

whiskey was the hands-down favorite product for barter, followed by furs and skins.

Whiskey was considered nothing short of being a necessity in the frontier areas of Western Pennsylvania. The use of whiskey was virtually universal – used by men and women, old and young. It was served at all gatherings, at meals and between meals as a “pick-me-up”. It was part of the social fabric of the time.

It was also an economic necessity. Due to the lack of cash, the barter system was widely utilized. A farmer took his grain to someone who owned a still and had it distilled into whiskey, for which he paid a fee, most likely part of the whisky. He the farmer then took the whiskey to the local merchant to barter for things only obtainable from the east, such as manufactured iron goods or salt. But the whisky brought only a small price locally; in the east it could be sold for far more.

Where Philip traveled with his wares for sale from 1785 through 1787 is not known with certainty, although it likely that he went back to Westmoreland County. He certainly would not have been the only one in those days who took manufactured goods to Western Pennsylvania to exchange them for distilled liquor that could be sold back east for a good profit. The various innkeepers back east who participated in posting his license bond would have benefited. It is also possible that some of the whiskey he brought back eluded excise tax collectors; Wendell Keller was known to have had a large amount of untaxed liquor confiscated in 1787. Philip could have made several trips back and forth each year.

In 1786 Philip was on a state tax list showing that he was taxed for one tract of land in Westmoreland County (Deerlick Ridge was patented in January of that year) in Westmoreland County and was listed as a being a single man. The bond for his peddler's license in 1787 still clearly states that he was from Heidelberg Township, York County. It is certain, however, that he was living in Westmoreland County by some time in late 1787 or early 1788, that he permanently resided there for the rest of his life and that Barbara probably did not live with him.

Return to Westmoreland County 1788-1798

In 1785 a new county seat was established in Westmoreland County to replace the miserable little village of Hannastown, which was an even worse place to conduct business than before the 1782 Indian raid that burned the town to the ground. The town of Newtown, in Hempfield Township was chosen and a new courthouse was built in 1786. It later became known as Greensburg, when in 1799 Newtown was officially renamed after Revolutionary War General Nathaniel Greene.

The first court session was held in the new log court house on January 7 of 1787, site of the Westmoreland County Courthouse today. There was something of a land rush for lots around the court house and restrictions were placed on the price that these lots could be sold for, £2.5. On October 27, 1788 William Jack sold Lot #45 to Philip Freeman. It was located across the street from the courthouse at the corner of the south side of what is today East Otterman Street and the east side of North Main Street. The building occupying the site today was originally the Barclay's Bank & Trust Company but has been converted to offices for multiple businesses.

Where previous land transactions have described Philip as "innkeeper" or "yeoman", this deed describes Philip as being a "store keeper" and the improvement on the lot #45 as being "where the said Philip Freeman now lives", which indicates that he had been there long enough prior to buying the property to construct a store that probably also doubled as a dwelling. He probably struck a deal with William Jack to allow him to lease the land and construct the building prior to actual ownership transfer.

Philip was in Hempfield Township in Newtown and operating some sort of a store and/or inn across from the new court house by late 1787 or early 1788. He was also issued a license to sell liquor in 1789 and 1790 and according to a 1789 document had a ten-plate stove on the property. Iron stoves were of various sizes and were made up of plates that fit together. A ten plate stove was an unusually large size, with the additional plates forming an oven and two hinged doors; it is considered the first real cook stove instead of a stove primarily used for heat. It would have been something of a marvel at that time and it would have been costly to acquire. So Philip appears to have been running a store and possibly an inn or a tavern, catering to people who came to use the new courthouse.

A number of years ago, in a weekly column called "Vignettes" published in the Greensburg Tribune Review by a local historian, the late Robert VanAtta, was the information that the inn operated by Philip Freeman on Main Street between 1788 and 1792 was called the "Black Bear Inn". What his evidence was for this is not known. It should be noted, however, that Philip did not own this property after August of 1790, another innkeeper having taken it over.

It is interesting that Philip was able to run a store since he signed his name by mark, normally a classic sign of illiteracy. Even with some mathematical ability, the inability to read and write could have made it difficult to keep his store accounts, even with the barter system in place.

On September 30, 1788, just before he purchased the property for his store/tavern, Philip "of Hempfield Township, Storekeeper, and Barbary, his wife" mortgage Philip's Fairfield Township property of Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge for £608.15.9, a very large sum due within one year, a short period of time. The mortgagee is Wendell Keller, described as a storekeeper of Hanover, York County. The borrowed money appears to have been used for a number of things. First, it was used to purchase the property for his store/tavern and construct the building. The furnishings and inventory would also have been purchased to establish his new business. This money was also apparently used to pay an old 1775 debt to Daniel Carr, which was now shown as being paid in full as of October 6.

Finally, on October 17, 1788 Philip purchased 200 acres for £100 "on the headwaters of the Lawyelhanna (Loyalhanna) with lands of Philip Freeman on the east" from Alexander Monteer (Montour). None of the lands adjoining Liberty Hall or Deerlick Ridge to the east had yet been warranted or patented by this date, so what Philip purchased was some informal sort of a claim on the land, perhaps the application for a warrant made by Monteer.

Philip appears to have had grand plans, setting up a new business, paying off old debts and buying more land next to his two patents along the Laurel Ridge. It appears to have been carefully planned in advance of his moving back to Westmoreland County. The activities of the prior few years had made him more ambitious and Wendell Keller was obviously part of this plan.

Both Philip and Barbara are shown as signing the mortgage to Keller with their marks, with the same witnesses from Westmoreland County. But was Barbara actually present to sign the deed? Or was Keller actually in Westmoreland County for that matter? Or could they have arranged for attorneys to acknowledge consent without their

presence due to the distance involved? This transaction by proxy would not be an unknown occurrence, even with the unreliable, primitive mail service of the day. There is evidence of Wendell Keller in York County records during almost identical periods as his signature is found in Westmoreland County during a time when a trip of almost 200 miles across the mountains to the western frontier was a long and arduous journey. Events that occur within the next year or two also make Barbara's presence in Westmoreland County a matter for serious speculation.

1789 – A Landmark Year

By early 1789 Philip was established in his new business as a storekeeper in the new county seat of Newtown (Greensburg) Westmoreland County. He was 46 or 47 years old, not a young man for that time.

On January 2, 1789 Philip purchased a piece of property for £9 from William and Catherine Beass (Best), containing about 3½ acres and located in Hempfield Township, only about a quarter of a mile from Philip's new store/tavern. The lot was triangular in shape and vacant land without improvements. It appears to have been a leftover piece from a larger tract which had been separated from the larger piece by the newly laid North Main Street. This property was outside of the main part of town and the price paid was market price at the time.

Also in January of 1789, Philip Freeman was listed on petitions for roads to be built to Greensburg from Turnbull Iron works and from Jacobs Creek Iron Works. It is interesting that the site of these furnaces is very near the site of a furnace that operated along Jacob's Creek between about 1810 and 1820 known as the Mt. Pleasant Furnace. It was operated for short part of that time by a son of Philip Freeman.

On February 17, 1789, Alexander Negley (Neagley), now of Allegheny Township, later to become Allegheny County, sold Philip Freeman the same 300 acre tract of land that Philip sold to him back in 1775. The Negley family no longer occupied the land. In early March of 1778, during the Revolutionary War, scouts reported Indian attacks along the Laurel Ridge near the Negley farm. The Negleys and four of their children narrowly escaped to Ligonier⁷³ through the snow on a horse-drawn sleigh, pursued all the while by the Indians. Mrs. Negley

⁷³ Probably Fort Preservation, the settlers' fort constructed near the site of the original Fort Ligonier. The exact location of this settlers' fort is not known, but people from Ligonier and surrounding areas took refuge there.

gave birth to another child only a few weeks after this incident and steadfastly refused to move back to the farm.⁷⁴ During that summer, the family moved to 300 acres along the Allegheny River near Fort Pitt and became a prosperous and influential family in the history of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Their land along the Allegheny River was later donated to the City of Pittsburgh and is where Highland Park and the Pittsburgh Zoo are located today. Alexander Negley's granddaughter married into the Mellon family, founders of the Mellon Bank and still today one of the wealthiest families in the country. One of the Mellon family country estates, Rachelwood, was later built in Fairfield Township and the original Negley farm is reputed to be included within its boundaries.

Philip now owned Liberty Hall (410 acres) and Deerlick Ridge (238 acres) which were both patented. He also owned two additional tracts totaling 600 acres adjoining these for which he had no official recorded title, the 3 ½ acres parcel along North Main Street in Hempfield Township and his store property in Greensburg across from the courthouse. But he also had a large mortgage to Wendell Keller to pay for all of it, due on September 30, 1789.

Then on February 27, 1789 a highly unusual but significant transaction took place. In Westmoreland County Deed Book D, page 76, a document from Philip Freeman to George Bender was recorded for lot #45 in Hempfield Township. This was Philip's store, and the document recorded is not a deed, but a guarantee in deed form supplemental to a separation and financial agreement between Philip and Barbara Freeman, with George Bender acting as surety to guarantee that the terms of the agreement were met. It states:

"Philip Freeman and Barbary, his wife, having separated and Barbary agreeing to reserve 20 pounds (£20) and that only for every year . . . of her natural life and whereas the George Bender standeth security for the payment aforesaid . . ."

This language seems to hint that there was another agreement, separate from this one, spelling out terms of their separation. These terms must have included the stipulation that Philip pay Barbara what would now be considered "support payments" of £20 per year. Barbara was obviously looking for some sort of guarantee that Philip would live up to his promises, at least with respect to this money. Thus, per this document, George Bender would act as surety and if Philip did not live up to his obligations, Bender would be able to sell the land and make the

⁷⁴ C. Hale Snipe, A.B. Litt. D. "Ft. Ligonier and It's Times", Telegraph Press, Harrisburg, PA, 1932.

payments to Barbara from the proceeds of the sale. This arrangement was not unlike the one Philip agreed to in the 1775 mortgage/surety agreement with the executors of Andrew Bonjour's estate when Barbara did not fulfill her obligations for administration of the estate.

Note that there are copying errors on this document, which was recopied from the original, deteriorating document in 1907. The copy of the deed on file shows a date of February 1788, which should be 1789. The acknowledgement date is shown as 1787, which is also clearly incorrect. Philip did not even purchase the property until 1788, a verifiable fact that is cited right within the body of this document, making it impossible for this transaction to be dated or acknowledged before that purchase date. The document is recorded on March 3, 1789, making it logical that the deed date is also 1789. Finally, numerical placement of the deed within the deed book confirms a date of 1789. The date on the deed (showing when the deed was drawn, but not necessarily signed) should be February 27, 1789.

Therefore, Philip and Barbara appear to be in a formal state of separation. Barbara has once again shown herself to be an astute woman by her apparent insistence on this method of securing her financial settlement. It is a strong probability, that Barbara never left York County and that Philip moved back to Westmoreland County alone.

Again, there is nothing on the acknowledgements that would show she was not physically present to sign the agreement. But long-distance arrangements may have been made through attorneys to get this done. There is no clear evidence either way. But one must consider whether Barbara would have been anxious to return to Western Pennsylvania at all. She undoubtedly had a hard life while she was living there, including the loss of two husbands. She probably had another child still living, possibly a daughter married and living in York County. Her son had died two years earlier, but Barbara had two grandchildren nearby in Lancaster County. She could have even been living with her daughter in law or her daughter by this time. She also would have been about 55-58 years old and perhaps not physically able or willing to make the long hard trip back west.

The evidence now appears stronger that their marriage may have been one of convenience from the beginning and that she never had any intention of returning to Westmoreland County.

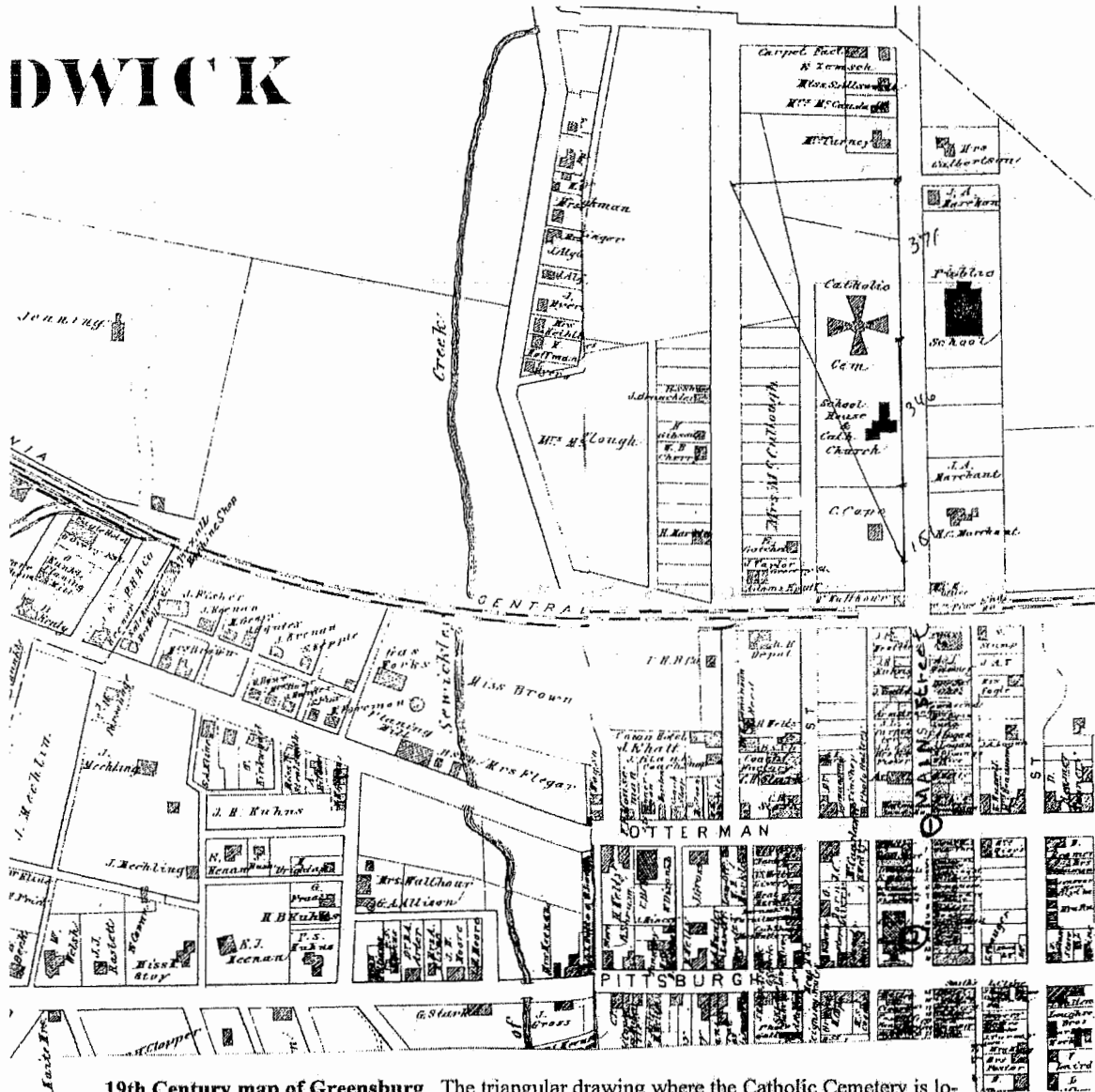
The Catholic Church Land Donation

Only eleven days after the filing of this separation agreement, on March 10, 1789, Philip donated one acre of land to the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church. The consideration of five shillings has been misinterpreted over the years as being payment for the land; five shillings is a token amount, just as one dollar is used for such a transaction today, to satisfy the legal requirement that there be consideration on all contracts. Five shillings is seen as a token payment in other donations of this period as well. Actual exchange of the token payment between parties is normally not made.

This land is part of the 3½ acres purchased only two months before from William and Catherine Beass (Best). The land is where the Blessed Sacrament Cathedral and home of the diocese of Greensburg is now located. The Trustees were John Probst, John Young, Patrick Archbold, and brothers Simon, Christopher and George Roughner (Ruffner). The deed notes "the said Philip Freeman as well and in consideration of the laudable inclination which he has for encouraging and promoting morality, piety and religion in general and more specially in the Town of Greensburg as for the further sum of five shillings". The land was to be held ". . . in trust for the said Roman Catholick Church in the town of Greensburg and the vicinity thereof . . . for the said Roman Catholick Church or place of public burying ground and no other purpose whatever". This is the language of a gift, not simply sale of a parcel of land.

Barbara Freeman, who was still married to Philip, did not join in this deed. Without her signature, she potentially still had a claim to a one-third dower interest in this land until her death. Why Philip did not have her join in the deed is unknown. But if she was not in Westmoreland County, she may not have known about it at all.

DWICK



19th Century map of Greensburg. The triangular drawing where the Catholic Cemetery is located is the 3 ½ acres purchased on January 2, 1789 from William and Catherine Beass. This was later sold as three separate parcels; one parcel of approximately one acre in the center to the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in Greensburg on March 10, 1789 and the two others to John Probst and William Haney in 1797.

- (1) Philip Freeman's first store on lot #45
- (2) Philip's second store lot #13

This donation is virtually identical to the one Wendell Keller made four years earlier in Hanover, York County when Philip lived there. The donation of the land was intended to be for a Catholic Church and cemetery, as that one was. The transaction is an argument for Philip being Catholic even though the Compass Inn biography specifically

states that he was not a Catholic. This statement is one that was clearly inserted after the original biography was written, the writer basing this statement on the assumption that Philip sold the land to the church instead of donating it.

If Philip was a Catholic, was he raised Catholic, or was he a convert, perhaps as a result of his interaction with those who were? Wendell Keller appears to have been a Catholic. Was Barbara Catholic as well? She may have been if she had a family connection to Wendell Keller or other Catholic inhabitants of Hanover.

In 1760 there were only about 1,400 Catholics in the state of Pennsylvania. Of these over 900 were German, the rest primarily Irish (not Scots-Irish, who were Protestant). The German population generally viewed these Catholics with some distrust, having come from areas of the Palatinate where the Catholics governed, often resulting in persecution and oppression of those Germans of the Lutheran, Reformed or Mennonite religions. About the time of the French and Indian War, this distrust was heightened by the fear that Catholics would side with the French, who were also Catholics. This was a fear without grounds, however, since even Catholic German immigrants did not easily forget that the French brought warfare and ruin to their country in Europe during several wars of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. In years to come, many of the German Catholics converted to Protestantism, in many cases simply because they found so few other Catholics to marry. As they married Protestants, they left the Catholic religion. In the late 1800's there was even dispensation given by the American clergy permitting marriage between first cousins to help curtail this loss.

A handful of Catholic settlers arrived in Westmoreland County two years earlier, most from Goshenhoppen in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Several more families arrived the following year. In March of 1789, when this donation of land took place, the first Mass was performed at a permanent Catholic settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains at the house of John Probst, located about two miles west of Greensburg. Father John Baptist Cause stayed only a few days, but Father Theodore Brower arrived late that year as a permanent clergyman. This was an important event in the lives of these Catholic settlers, who up until that time had no clergy. This event coincides closely with the donation of the land from Philip Freeman and Philip's financial settlement with Barbara. All of these events occurred within three weeks of one another.

Was this donation to soothe Philip's conscience and help in some way to elevate local public opinion over whatever trouble occurred

between him and Barbara? This is unlikely since most people in those days were anti-Catholic. Or was it to help smooth over his separation in the eyes of the Catholic Church? Or was it part of a deal he made with Wendell Keller, who does appear to have been Catholic and was loaning a large amount of money to Philip? Given the similarity to the Keller's own donation to the Catholic Church in Hanover several years earlier, the latter seems most likely.

F. Felix Fellner, O.S.B., wrote an article "Roman Catholic Church in Greensburg⁷⁵ and stated that the first Mass was said in the home of John Probst on the Pittsburgh Road (Forbes Road) near Harrison City, with Father John B. Cause as celebrant, in 1789. The article continues:

*"At the time of Father Cause's visit, about twenty Roman Catholic families were known to be in or near the Greensburg settlement. Patrick Archibald had a farm in the upper Ligonier Valley; Richard Archibald was near Fort Allen in 1774; Philip Freeman bought 324 acres west of "Bullit's Defeat" near Laughlintown . . . "*⁷⁶

A slightly different version appears in the same text but on the following page (104), this article written by Rev. Linus Brugger, O.S.B., Pastor, Most Holy Sacrament Church of Greensburg⁷⁷. He writes:

"On March 10th, 1789 a group of Catholic laymen of Greensburg and vicinity formed a committee and purchased an acre and a half of land in Greensburg for church and cemetery purposes. They erected a log church, but when they could not obtain a priest to take charge, the project was abandoned for over half a century."

Still another version of this land donation is found in "Ruffners of Pennsylvania and Collateral Lines 1743-1978" by Jane S. Sweinberger, Axis Printing co., San Diego, CA, 1979, pages 50-51. Philip is listed as one of the 11 heads of Catholic families in Westmoreland County in 1790 that made up the entire congregation at that time. Those listed were:

Ruffner, Christian	wife – M. Ottila Kuhn
Ruffner, Simon	wife – Catherine Griffin
Ruffner, George Adam	wife – Maria Holstein
Freeman, Philip	

⁷⁵ City of Greensburg "A History", by the Greensburg Sesqui-Centennial Corporation, copyright June 1949, Westmoreland County Historical Society, at page 103.

⁷⁶ The Freeman land was east of "Bullit's Defeat" not west.

⁷⁷ This is the Church that stands on the land Philip Freeman donated.

Kuhn, Henry	wife – Margaret Wider
Topper, John	wife – Elizabeth Wider
Griffin, Patrick	
Hartman, Philip	
Probst, John	
Young, John ⁷⁸	
Archibald, Patrick	

From this list we can see the intermarriage between families. Philip was still legally married to Barbara at this time, but no wife is listed.

Jane Sweinberger states that she relied heavily on material at the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia and the account of Reverend Vincent Huber, O.S.B. "Sportsman's Hall" pages 142-173 seems to be relied upon heavily. In April, 1790, land called "Sportsman's Hall" was purchased by these Catholic Trustees, now part of the site of St. Vincent's Abbey and College.

The publication "Catholic Trails West" identifies Philip as coming from Goshenhoppen in Montgomery County with the Ruffners, Probsts and others in 1787 to 1789. If Philip traveled westward at the same time they did, however, it was purely coincidental since he obviously lived there much earlier, traveling back and forth on trading missions, and finally moving back after living in Hanover with plans for opening his store/tavern in Greensburg. There is no evidence that he was ever in Montgomery County, much less living there. This appears to be a case of someone making the assumption that Philip was Catholic because of his donation of land and association with other Catholics.

Father Peter Helbron came to Greensburg in 1799 to attend to the Catholics in Greensburg and that he began to record baptisms in November of that year. Among the record of baptisms, marriages and burials is not one Freeman or any other name of Freeman family interest. By this time, all but one or two of Philip's children have been born and the family was living in Fairfield and Donegal Townships, not in Greensburg, even though Father Helbron would have served the entire region. It is possible that George Freeman, born in 1789, might have been baptized a Catholic if a priest was available at the time, but no records exist for that period.

John Freeman (1834-1910), son of George Freeman and grandson of Philip was still living when "History of Westmoreland County,

⁷⁸ Note that this is not the John Young who was a Scotsman who came to Westmoreland County as a young attorney and later became a prominent judge. He served as an attorney for Philip Freeman at various times and helped him prepare his Revolutionary War pension applications.

Pennsylvania – Genealogical Memoirs” by John W. Jordan, LL.D. was published in 1906. His biography at page 452 of Volume III contains the following account. In it he says:

“JOHN FREEMAN George Freeman, father of John Freeman, was a sturdy and industrious Irishman, who immigrated early in the last century, first settling in Ligonier, Pennsylvania. He subsequently moved to Mount Pleasant Township, purchasing the Mount Pleasant Furnace, and was for many years identified with the iron producing industry of this locality. His religious affiliations were with the Roman Catholic Church. His wife, who was before marriage Catherine Moody, became the mother of ten children.”

This is a son attempting to provide information about his father as a part of filling out his own biography. It is disappointing in that there are significant errors, but it is likely from lack of knowledge on John's part. George Freeman definitely did not immigrate to America – he was born here. Even his grandfather Philip appears to have been born here of parents who were already in America. There is no evidence that George Freeman was an Irishman but if he was, it was probably Scotch-Irish, who were Protestants, and he would have been at least the third generation in America. The Mount Pleasant Iron Furnace was built in about 1810 by others and was only operated by George Freeman for a year or so until it was blown out in about 1820 or 1821. There is no record of there being any deed change hands and his operation of the furnace was only for a short period of time. This was probably an attempt by John to inflate his father's biography. The specific mention of George being Roman Catholic, however, is quite interesting. At the time of his birth in 1789 Philip did seem to have had a connection of some kind with the Catholic Church. Also, being a Catholic, even in 1906 when this was written, would have been outside of the Protestant norm for the time and not likely to be a mistake.

No evidence of any other church affiliation appears anywhere for Philip except his burial in a Protestant cemetery, which may have been a matter of convenience for his children when he died. His son George is the only one of his children that seems to have possibly been Catholic, although he married Catherine Moody, of Scotch-Irish Protestant descent. Of what is known about the others, if originally Catholic, they married Protestants and appear in Protestant records.

Catholics were rare, particularly among the English and Scots-Irish settlers of the time. Converts to Catholicism were even rarer. It should be noted that nothing is known with certainty about where George Seidenspinner came from, but the Seidenspinner family name in the eighteenth century was most commonly found in the Alpine regions of western Switzerland. After the reformation, Catholicism maintained a stronghold in only a few areas, mostly these alpine regions bordering France, which was Catholic. While no extensive research has been done on the Keller family, the German-speaking Keller families also appear to have been concentrated in the same western regions of Switzerland and Alsace and Lorraine, also bordering France. It is possible that both the Kellers and the Seidenspinners were Catholic. There was an Andreas Keller on the same ship to America as George Seidenspinner, although no connection is known. If there were a family connection, however, it might be an explanation of why Barbara went to the Hanover area when she left Westmoreland County, and why Philip, may have established some connection, even if a temporary one.

It must be considered that Philip's affiliation with the Catholic Church, whatever it was, may have been a matter of convenience at the time. It may have been to please Wendell Keller, his business partner, and the donation may have been done at the request of Keller. Even the linking of Philip with other Catholic settlers may have been done by authors looking for any connections to make with the Catholic settlers. Perhaps a connection with Catholics was broadened to assume that Philip was Catholic.

This is something that may never be known with certainty. He did obviously have some kind of affiliation with either the Church or at least to Catholic settlers during this period of time. But whether he ever was a practicing Catholic, even for a short time, remains a point of considerable dispute.

More 1789 Land Transactions

On March 13, 1789, three days after the donation of land to the Catholic Church, Philip conveyed the same land that he recently repurchased from Alexander Negley to Wendell Keller. Again, this is land that at that time was not warranted or surveyed by anyone, so what he was selling was a quasi-legal claim of some sort. Barbara again did not join with Philip in this deed as his wife, although they were still legally married and her failure to sign did not extinguish her dower rights.

Philip, still legally married to Barbara even though separated, could sell or mortgage land without having her signature, but not

without causing potential problems to the purchaser of the land or the mortgage. In Pennsylvania, a wife had a partial life interest, called dower rights, in the real estate her husband owns during his lifetime. Unless she joins in a deed her husband makes, conveying this interest, the purchaser of that real estate faces the possibility that she could later claim her interest. It is possible to convey without a wife's signature, but dangerous for the buyer if the seller should predecease his wife. Thus, it was possible that a separation agreement between Philip and Barbara would have required her to sign such real estate related documents that he required to conduct his business and personal affairs.

Some time in the mid 1980's, the Westmoreland County Historical Society came into possession of many old papers, all originals, which were originally the property of one of the old prothonotaries of the county. These papers had been in possession of his descendants until recently. Among those original papers was one to which Philip was a party. It is not recorded and would otherwise have been lost. This paper is interesting because Philip's mark shows clearly on it. Many of the old docketts and deeds show that Philip signed by mark, but others did not. This is one of the few original documents with Philip's mark; others include the bonds for his peddler's licenses in 1785, 1786 and 1787 and his license to sell spirituous liquors currently hanging on the wall of the Compass Inn Museum in Laughlintown.

This document, without background to explain it, was clearly a legal document in which Philip promised to pay for a tract of 100 acres bought at sheriff's sale, with title to be taken in the name of another. The deed was then to be delivered to Philip.

Mr. William M. Sterret

Sir,

Please to bid off to me at Sheriff's sale the hundred acres of land on which John M Granahan now lives, make out the deed in my name & call on Philip Freeman for the money.

Wendell Keller

Mr. Philip Freeman

*Please to pay Mr. Sterret the purchase money of the above mentioned place when the sheriff's deed will be handed to you for it
9th April, 1789 Accepted by me*

his

Philip Freeman

mark

Testis -
John Young

Mr. William Stewart

Sir, Please to bid off to me at Sheriff's
Sale the hundred acres of land on which John
McGranahan now lives, make out the deed in my
name & sell on Philip Freeman for the money
Philip Freeman

Mr. Philip Freeman

Please to pay Mr. Stewart

The purchase money of the above
mentioned place when the Sheriff's
Deed will be handed to you for it
9th April 189 Accepted by me

Philip C. Freeman
mark

Tested - -

John Young

The witness to Philip's mark on this document was John Young, a young Scotsman who was an attorney in Greensburg and later became a respected judge in Westmoreland County. From the handwriting, he appears that he also prepared the document. He acts as an attorney in several transactions for or with Philip and in later years helps him

prepare his Revolutionary War pension application while in the midst of a distinguished judicial career.

On April 20 Philip Freeman, described as a merchant from Greensburg, purchased from John McGuire of Hempfield Township "a certain plantation or improvement containing 100 acres more or less situate in the township . . . aforesaid (Hempfield). . . adjoining. . Philip Freeman and others". This was the extent of a description of the land and there was no recital making it likely that it was a piece of land not warranted or surveyed. The consideration on the deed was £50 and the transaction appears to be tied to the agreement with William Sterret made only eleven days earlier.

The only land known to have been owned by Philip in Hempfield Township at that time was his store on lot #45 in Greensburg and what was left of the triangular parcel of land purchased from Beass a few months earlier. Since the parcels of land next to his store would have been laid out for a town and considerably smaller than 100 acres, the Beass land was the likely adjoining tract. This land was also 100 acres, like the parcel that Wendell Keller asked the sheriff to put into his name. There is no deed on record showing that Philip ever disposed of this tract. If he deeded it to someone else, it was never recorded.

It is interesting that this transaction appears to be only one of a number of similar land purchases by Wendell Keller at that time in April of 1789. Most appear to be straw party purchases, using others to make the purchases and hold the deeds, later to be transferred to Keller. Many of the purchases also appear to be properties sold at sheriff sale. The use of third parties may simply have been to overcome the fact that Keller was not present in Westmoreland County and needed someone else to complete the transactions. Regardless of the methods by which they were acquired, Keller was buying up land, almost certainly for speculation purposes. Speculators who could pay cash for land could then lease the land at high prices to settlers who could not afford to purchase their own.

Birth of George Freeman

On June 13, 1789 George Freeman, son of Philip Freeman and first of his nine children, was born⁷⁹. Philip was 46 or 47 years old. Barbara, with whom Philip had signed a separation agreement less than four months earlier, would undoubtedly have been in her late 50s. This alone would be sufficient evidence that she could not have been the mother of George Freeman. She had also been married to Philip for about 16 years at this time with no other children, and had no known children during her marriage of about seven or eight years to Andrew Bonjour. For her now to have the first of nine children is simply not credible.

The only known source of George's date of birth is a newspaper article in Mt. Pleasant from 1910. The article, detailing a Freeman family reunion, cites an old family Bible that was reputedly owned by George Freeman and passed down in the family. If this Bible still exists, its whereabouts are unknown.

Mary Link

In July of 1789, within weeks of the birth of George Freeman, a young woman named Mary Link was arrested for bastardy, to which she pleaded guilty. This is found in the Office of the Prothonotary entered in Minute Book A, page 157, July Term 1789. The entry is among the first few July cases listed, indicating an action fairly early in the three month term. Bond was posted by Philip Freeman. The case was scheduled to be heard in January Session of 1790, at which time she pleaded guilty and was fined £10. A copy of this docket entry is found on pages 50-A-B-C.

This original docket was started at the Hannastown Courthouse, and has entries in it beginning in about 1782. A mixture of court business is found therein including lists of jurors, civil, and criminal cases. One follows another and sometimes it seems that the pages are not in order. These Minute Books are handwritten, difficult to read and without any form of index.

⁷⁹ A story published in the Mount Pleasant Journal on July 26, 1910 detailed a family reunion to celebrate the 100th wedding anniversary of George Freeman Sr. born July 18, 1789 and Catherine Moody. The article cites an "old family Bible" listing 97 members of the five generations of the family and gives the birth and death dates for George Freeman. The whereabouts of this Bible and whether it still survives is currently unknown. It is the sole known source for these dates.

Pennsylvania

L vs

Mary Link

Bastardy a True Bill.

Process awarded

Referred to January Session 1790 #2 CC

January 6th

Defendant being arraigned pleads guilty and submits to the Court

The Defendant Mary Link judgment That she pay a fine of Ten Pounds for the use of the Commonwealth That she pay the Costs of prosecution and stand committed until the sentence be complied with

Mary Link Ten(dered?) in £100
 Philip Freeman Ten(dered?) in £50
 Fine imposed £10-00-0
 Clerk's fee 1-4-0
 (unreadable) 0-6-6
 Attorney 0-18-0
 Sheriff 0-14-3
 Attorney 0-12-6

Conditioned on the appearance of the said Mary Link to answer etc and not depart etc at January Sessions 1790 Coram

Minute Book A, page 157, #4 July Term 1789 Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania

#4 July Term 1789

Pennsylvania Bastardy A True Bill
 vs. Process awarded
 Mary Link Referred to January Session 1790 #2 CC ?

January 6

The Defendant being arraigned pleads guilty and submits to the Court [This notation made after arraignment in January]

Mary Link Ten(dered?) in £100
 Philip Freeman Ten(dered?) in £50
 Fine imposed £10-00-0
 Clerk's fee 1-4-0
 (unreadable) 0-6-6
 Attorney 0-18-0
 Sheriff 0-14-3
 Attorney 0-12-6

Conditioned on the appearance of the said Mary Link to answer, etc and not depart etc. at January Sessions 1790 Cor am

The Defendant Mary Link judgment that she pay a fine of Ten Pounds for the use of the Commonwealth That she pay the costs of prosecution and stand committed Until the sentence be complied with

These records, taken together with other supporting information, help to present a strong case for Mary Link being the mother, not only of George, but of all the Freeman children. It gives credence to the simple "tradition" statement in the Compass Inn biography which states "There is a tradition that has come down to us from our forefathers that Philip Freeman's wife's name was Mary Link." This statement stood, without support or challenge, and virtually ignored for many years after the biography was written. It is a miracle that it survived in a document that spoke at great length about Barbara Freeman as being Philip's wife and underwent several revisions over the years.

There were various Link families found in Western Pennsylvania during those early years, including a David Link in what is now Armstrong County. There were Links in Fayette County and quite a number of Links associated with the early Indian wars in Washington County. There was no detailed research done into each of these, but German ancestry seems to be common to all of them.

There was, in fact, a Link family (also seen as Linck, Lenck and other spellings) living in Westmoreland County only about two miles away from Greensburg at this time. Conrad Linck was a signer of the Fort Allen Petition of 1774 where the residents of Fort Allen area pleaded for military assistance from the Governor against the Indian raids and the invasion by the forces of John Connely of Virginia during what was known as Dunmore's War. The Fort Allen area encompassed part of Hempfield Township only about two or three miles from the present day city of Greensburg. This document is found reprinted in various places, being rather well-known. This places the Link family within shelter of this settlers' fort as early as 1774.

The work *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, by Paul Miller Ruff, in four volumes is a meticulous translation from original church records of the period 1772-1812. It is the leading source of genealogical material for that period for German families in Westmoreland County. Included in these records are various baptisms and confirmations that pertain to this Link family from the Harrold congregation, about two or three miles from Greensburg.

Piecing together information from these records, it appears that Conrad and his wife Anna Maria Link, had children and other family as follows:

- A son Conrad, who was in 1806 old enough to be married to a wife named Elisabetha with a son born July 10, 1806, baptized November 9.
- A daughter Elizabetha, born December 31, 1770 and baptized March 12, 1780; Adam Jorg and wife Elisabeth as sponsors. This Elizabetha, at age 14 in 1794, was confirmed at the Harrold congregation.
- Maria, a daughter, who in April or May of 1785 was old enough to stand sponsor to a baptism of Maria Elisabetha Shellhammer, daughter of Peter and Catherina Shellhammer
- Herman, probably as son, who in 1783 with wife Elisabetha had a child, Johannes.
- A daughter, Catherina who with her mother, was confirmed at the Old Zion Evangelical Church of Greensburg-Hempfield Township, near Harrold, in May of 1792.

The four volumes of The German Church Records covers a wide area of Westmoreland County which was serviced by various clergymen who traveled among Reformed and Lutheran congregations in different areas within the county. All of the above-referenced entries, however, took place in or near the Harrold settlement, about two or three miles southwest of Greensburg.

Note that the baptism where Maria is a sponsor is entered twice in the original records, one twelve entries away from the first. This was as it was originally entered by Balthasar Meyer in 1785, not an error on the part of the translator, Rev. Paul Miller Ruff. The first shows slightly different dates than the second, but obviously the same baptism. The second notation in the record may have been meant as correction to the previous entry or perhaps Meyer made the second one forgetting that he had already made the first. In each entry. However, Maria Linck or Mary Lincken ("en" or "in" after surname indicating female of the family) is sponsor with Adam Deser and in the second entry she is specifically noted as being single. Even without this notation, it would be logical to assume that she was not married. It was very unusual for a married person to serve as sponsor unless the spouse was named as well. It would have been highly unusual to see, for example, two people married to different spouses serving as common sponsors to a baptism. Today, sponsorship or becoming godparents to a child is largely an honorary or ceremonial thing; in those days, with the dangers faced by illness, accident, Indian attacks or the dangers of frontier life in general, making a commitment to care for a child in the event of a parent's death was a very serious matter.

In the 1790 census there is only one Link in Westmoreland County. There is no Conrad Link, only a David Link with 1 male over age 16 and four females in the area north of Westmoreland County which later became Armstrong County. It could have been a related family, but there is nothing to show this. Conrad's family may have moved on further west, or they may have been missed, which was not uncommon. The early census takers often missed people completely or counted people where they were at the time the census taker arrived instead of where they actually lived.

The 1800 census has no Links anywhere in Westmoreland County. The 1810 census shows two families in Hempfield Township, James Lenk, and Jacob Link. Tax records, which are only available for limited times and places, show no Conrad Link in 1802 but a Conrad Link is shown in 1804 as owning no land, horses or cattle. In 1805 Conrad Link is shown as a tenant (indicates occupancy, used for owners as well as renters) with one horse and no cattle. The final entry for Conrad Link is in 1817 when he owns one head of cattle. Other entries, most of which may or may not be Link (William Linch 1804, William Linck 1810, Thomas Lien 1805, Thomas Licks 1810, Thomas Likes 1813) show nothing that indicates perpetuation of this Conrad Link family.

There is not one Link, Lenk, or Linck in the Grantor Indexes in Westmoreland County from 1773 through 1897, when the next general "L" index starts. There is not one Link or similarly spelled name among the original land warrants or land patents for Westmoreland County. There are one or two Links in the Grantee Index, but not until the late 1800's. Therefore, it appears that Conrad Link, and any other family members in the area, never laid any legal claim to land in the area. They may have come as squatters, or established an informal "tomahawk" claim on the land, as many settlers did, without ever perfecting a claim on the land.

What can be reasonably concluded is that a Maria Link, daughter of Conrad Link of Hempfield Township, lived among the German community two or three miles west of Greensburg, in or near the Harrold settlement. Maria Link was a sponsor to a baptism in May of 1785, making her a young woman at that time at least 16 years old (the minimum age for standing a sponsor to a baptism) and unmarried. She is never again mentioned throughout these records, although other members of a Link family appear occasionally in the four volumes. It is not unlikely that she would have known Philip Freeman as the proprietor of a store only a few miles from her home.

The only reasonable guess as to why Philip would post her bond is that he is the father of her child. As a young woman in 1785 she would

have been at least 20 years old or older in June of 1789, old enough to be the mother of a child. This would have made the age difference between her and Philip twenty-five years or more. This coincides with the birth date of October 1768 calculated from the 1834 date of death on Mary Freeman's tombstone.

There is now evidence that there was such a woman named Mary Link, with the same name seen as in the Compass Inn biography, who lived in the area, and was of the right age to have been the much younger woman buried beside Philip Freeman. We also know that she had an illegitimate child within the same time frame as the birth of George Freeman and that Philip Freeman, not a member of her own family, church or close-knit German community, was the person who posted her bond when she was arrested as a result of that birth.

There is no record of a corresponding charge of fornication for Philip in relation to Mary's bastardy charge. It was common to find these corresponding charges in the records of the day, most entered into the minutes or on the dockets one after the other. For him to have escaped this charge is a matter of interest. Bastardy was, very simply, applied to a woman who produced an illegitimate child and fornication was the charge generally applied to the man involved. At that time, it was more common for women to be punished than men, often simply due to gender inequality. There was, after all, visible evidence of a woman's transgression while the man's part could not always be proven.

There is no absolute proof, no clear documentation, showing Mary Link as the mother of Philip's children and at some later time, his wife. But neither is there such proof for other stories about Barbara or a Mary Barbara being a daughter of Barbara; in fact there is not even circumstantial evidence for those stories - they were pure myth.

Final Days in Greensburg

Financial Troubles and the Last Records of Barbara

The 1790 Census places Philip Freeman in Hempfield Township, still a storekeeper with a household of one free white female and two free white males over the age of 16. One of these is obviously Philip, but who are the other two? It defies logic that the female would be Barbara. It was almost certainly Mary, but where was baby George? And who was the other adult male? As this first census was notoriously unreliable, there are many possibilities. It is possible that the other person was a visitor or even an employee who was there when the census taker arrived. An infant of less than a year old could easily be missed completely.

In the 1790 January Term of the Court of Westmoreland County, case #55, Philip was sued by Wendell Keller for a debt (debt sans breve) of £200 and Philip essentially confesses judgment, that is, admits that the money is owed. The docket for this suit is noted that a stay of execution was granted on January 21, 1790 until January 21, 1793 *fi fa* September 10, 1793. "Fi fa" is an abbreviation of the Latin term *feri facias*, meaning "cause it to be done" or a writ of execution. If the debt is not paid, on September 10, 1793, the sheriff would be empowered to sell Philip's goods and possessions to pay the debt.

At the same time, the first mortgage dated September 30, 1788 from Philip and Barbara to Wendell Keller binding Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge for £608 was marked as satisfied on January 21, 1790, the date of this stay of execution. On the same day, Philip and Barbara Freeman deeded Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge to Wendell Keller for £400.⁸⁰ Keller probably took this land which was actually valued at £400 in lieu of payment for part of the original £608 debt with the £200 judgment to satisfy the rest.

Philip had used the proceeds from this original 1788 mortgage of £608 for building, furnishing and stocking his store, various land acquisitions as well as paying off old debts. Obviously, things did not go as planned and he was unable to pay this mortgage as stipulated by July of 1789. Whatever his big ambitious ideas were in 1787 and 1788 when he moved back to Westmoreland County, they did not appear to pan out as expected and these transactions were a method of restructuring the debt.

⁸⁰ Westmoreland County Deed Book D, page 278

The deed to Keller for Deerlick Ridge and Liberty Hall was from Philip and Barbara, his wife, but it was signed in *different places at different times*. Witnesses to the signature of Philip are William Jones and Michael Huffnagle, with the acknowledgement in Greensburg on January 21, 1790. Witnesses to the signature (or mark) of Barbara, however, were William Cilt and Jacob Rudiwill, acknowledged in York County, with the deed recorded in Westmoreland on July 5, 1790. This Jacob Rudwill (spelling probably copied incorrectly from the original deed when the original deed books were recopied in 1908) was probably the same Jacob Rudisell, Esquire, Judge of the court of Common Pleas of York County who acknowledges another deed from Barbara and Philip in 1792.⁸¹ Judge Rudisell is also found on other legal documents related to Wendell Keller in York County on several occasions.

The separate signing of this deed, Philip in Greensburg and Barbara in York County, indicates that Barbara was definitely not living in Westmoreland County. If she had come to Greensburg with Philip at all, she had by now left there and returned to York County. When she signed the original mortgage of £608 to Wendell Keller in 1788, the acknowledgement of the deed shows no outward sign that it was not done in Westmoreland County. The February 1789 deed with George Bender as surety for her payments from Philip due to their separation also appeared to have been signed and acknowledged in Westmoreland County as well. But were they? Or was her mark attached and attested to by long-distance arrangement? There is a strong probability that all of these transactions were handled by proxy.

Barbara was not a party to the new mortgage between Keller and Philip and it is likely that she agreed to sign the deed because her name was on the original mortgage. Since by signing this deed it released her from that obligation, it was in her best interest. It is clear that the restructured financial arrangements included removing Barbara from any future liabilities.

Philip was still in Greensburg and still a storekeeper throughout 1790. During April Term of the Court he was among those who petition for a road from Bedford County (now Somerset) over the top of Laurel Hill to Cherry Mill (now Lobinger's Mill) and from there to Pittsburgh.⁸² During July Term he petitioned for a road from Deniston's Mills in Loyalhanna to Hannastown, through Greensburg. In October Term he was against a road from Conemaugh to Greensburg contending that there are too many bridges along this route.

⁸¹ Westmoreland County Deed Book 1, page 319

⁸² Roads and Bridges Docket - RD1-411

Also during the April 1790 Term, Philip was one of the twenty or so creditors of James McHim listed on a petition to get him out of jail. He was there for failure to pay his debts. Philip's financial problems appear to worsen when during July Term 1790 he is sued for a debt of £136.8.3 by Samuel Purviance. The judgment against Philip was entered on August 6, 1790 and a stay of execution (an extension) was granted until April 14, 1791. Also during the July 1790 Term, Philip was again sued by Wendell Keller over an unspecified debt and arrested, in a *capias* case, with bail set at £60.

In July of 1790, the Seidenspinner land in Bedford County, warranted by Andrew and Barbara Bonjour as trustees, was finally surveyed. For this survey to take place at that time, twenty five years after the warrant, someone had to have requested it. The warrant had not been declared abandoned after all this time, which means there probably had been some continuing activity on the land. This was most likely to have been Philip. It was also Philip that undoubtedly requested the survey. The existence of a duplicate survey with Philip Freeman's name on it, but undated and unfinished, makes it apparent that he tried to get the land patented in his name. He must have tried to offer some explanation of why he should be granted the patent instead of the original warrantees. It apparently did not work, since the official survey was issued with Andrew Bonjour's name on it referencing the original warrant. Who finally patented the land and when remains unknown, although some in-depth searching in Bedford County Recorder of Deeds Office would probably yield some information.

On August 16, 1790 Philip Freeman "of Greensburg" and "Barbary, his wife" conveyed to George Glenn, also a storekeeper, lot number 45 with its improvements, where Philip had his store⁸³. It is sold for £260 and the deed is witnessed in Greensburg on August 17, acknowledged by Christopher Truby and recorded on October 2, 1790. There is no indication that Barbara signed this deed anywhere but in Greensburg, even though she was clearly in York County just a few weeks earlier. This reinforces the theory that the transactions that took place in Westmoreland County during this period were not done with her present, but by proxy with long-distance arrangements.

On the same day, Philip bought lot number 13 from George Glenn for £80. This property was located on the west side of South Main Street, the third lot from the corner of Main and Pittsburgh Streets.⁸⁴ Why he and Glenn essentially traded properties is not known, but it appeared

⁸³ Westmoreland County Deed Book D, page 304

⁸⁴ Map found in City of Greensburg, A History, 1949, page 237

that he traded down, purchasing a store and lot of lesser value. The transaction may have been to raise money.⁸⁵

On November 19, 1790 the mysterious *capias* case filed by Barbara against Philip back in 1775 is marked as finalized, with fees paid. This case had been discontinued in April of 1785 but apparently it was reopened at some later date. The purpose of this suit remains a mystery, but it seems likely that it was not related to Andrew Bonjour's estate; it now seems more likely that it was something personal between Barbara and Philip, involving money or something else of value, quite possibly involving the Bedford land. George Bender, who was the surety on the financial separation agreement between Barbara and Philip in February 1789, acknowledged full satisfaction on that document as well. This means that Barbara would no longer get her annual payment of £20, the assumption being that she received a final settlement of some kind instead.

Given all of these events together, it looks as though Philip sold the original store to make some fast cash, which he probably used to make a financial settlement with Barbara. Philip and Barbara still appear to be legally married and she signed another deed as his wife in 1792. But the marriage is essentially over. Divorce was possible in those days, but not common.⁸⁶ Of the records found for divorces during this period, nothing has been found for Philip and Barbara Freeman. If Philip and/or Barbara were Catholic, they would have opposed divorce on religious grounds. On the other hand, his donation of the land in early 1789 might have been to smooth things over with the Church, perhaps with an annulment in mind. There is no way to know.

A few months later, on January 18th, 1791 Wendell Keller sold Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge back to Philip for £250.⁸⁷ This is curious, given the fact that Keller took the land in lieu of a £400 debt only a year earlier. At the same time he sold the land, Keller took back a mortgage on the land from Philip for the same amount £250. The only reasonable explanation for this transaction was that Keller did not want the land; what he wanted was his money and by selling the land back to Philip he was once again giving Philip the opportunity to pay back the money he owed. It was likely that Keller was still not going to be made whole for the debt, but he was trying to get what he could.

⁸⁵ George Glenn (Glynn) resold this property to another party about two years later.

⁸⁶ Divorce in Pennsylvania during this time was generally a privilege of the wealth and influential. The Supreme Court of the Commonwealth had jurisdiction over divorces.

⁸⁷ Westmoreland County Deed Book D, page 352

Keller was in deep financial trouble himself. From a case with the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1798 concerning the dower rights of Elizabeth Keller, widow of Wendell Keller, it is known that Keller had to have died sometime between late 1791 and 1795. The case also states that Keller was bankrupt on July 23, 1791 when he was unable to pay but eight shillings to the pound on his debts.⁸⁸ Therefore, when this January 1991 sale of land back to Philip took place, Keller was already in deep trouble and the transaction had to have been an attempt to raise money. This mortgage did not carry Barbara's name, only Philip's, Keller certainly being aware of the marital situation between them and probably knowing that getting Barbara's signature was futile.

There is a note in the margin of this mortgage for £250 made in 1916 "See petition and decree to satisfy recorded January 6, 1916 in MBV 288, page 32". This petition was made by someone selling the land in 1916 who found that clear title could only be obtained by dealing with this open mortgage on the land. The mortgage remained unsatisfied. Either Philip paid the mortgage without an appropriate satisfaction being filed by the bankruptcy trustees, or did not pay the mortgage at all.

The last time Barbara's name appeared on any deed was when Philip and Barbara Freeman sold his property (lot #13) on Main Street in Greensburg purchased from George Glenn only about six months earlier to John Kirkpatrick.⁸⁹ The date on the deed was February 23, 1791 but it is not signed by Barbara until May 26, 1792, *fifteen months later*. It was acknowledged by Jacob Rudisell, Esquire, Judge of the court of Common Pleas of York County on that date in York County. Philip's signature was acknowledged by witnesses from Westmoreland County on September 13, 1792. It had taken almost four months to return to Westmoreland County from York County.

John Young, attorney, was a witness to both signatures. Was this a legal nicety or convenience for him, or did he actually make the journey to carry the deed to Barbara in York County? Most likely, the answer was that it was a tactic similar to that members of the legal profession traditionally used to expedite a real estate deal prior to use of overnight mail, fax machines and the internet, with acknowledgements being taken by men who never saw at least one of the parties, so long as assured that the signature is genuine by someone they trust. Philip and Barbara each probably had an attorney who was handling the matter by mail. Young's signature doesn't make sense otherwise, nor does Rudisell's name on both deeds.

⁸⁸ "Reports of Cases Adjudged in Supreme Court of PA", Volume II, page 300, Hon. Jasper Yeates, John Campbell Law Booksellers, Publishers and Importers, Philadelphia, 1871

⁸⁹ Westmoreland County Deed Book 1, page 319.

It is clear that Barbara was in York County and that this transaction was in some way contentious. Perhaps she demanded compensation for her signature or some other concession. Otherwise, it could have been done much sooner, even given the distance.

Barbara's name never again appears on any known document. No record of her is found in York County, Lancaster County, Adams County or Westmoreland County with the names Freeman, Bonjour, or Seidenspinner. She may have been living with a relative or perhaps a married daughter. No record is found of her death; although it is certain that she had died, leaving Philip free to marry Mary well before 1807 when he sells property with *Mary, his wife* on the deed.

Wendell Keller

Wendell Keller is deserving of some additional comment due to his significant impact on the life of Philip Freeman - and apparently Philip on his as well. With the information currently available, there is nothing to indicate they knew one another prior to the early 1780's when Philip went to Hanover, York County after his army enlistment was up. In 1785, when Keller joins in posting the required bond for Philip to get his peddler's license, is the first record of what was at least a business relationship that lasted until at least July of 1791. These were six important years in Philip's life, which arguably affected everything that came after.

There are a number of Keller families in York and Lancaster counties during this time, and no serious investigation into the family has been done. But a Wendell Keller arrived in Philadelphia aboard the ship "Ann" in 1749, and an Andreas Keller arrived with George Seidenspinner on the "Patience" the previous year. There were roughly eight or nine Kellers who arrived in 1749. The name Wendell, although relatively uncommon as a given name, is found with some frequency among those with the Keller surname throughout the years - even in modern times. Between 1753 and 1757 there were three Keller entries found in the records of Rev. John Caspar Stoeber with the name Wendell, but there is no way to know if any of these is Wendell Keller later found in Hanover.

The town of Hanover was part of the original Conewego Settlement, created in 1730 when a group of Catholics from Maryland settled there on the lands of John Diggs. This settlement in the 1780's was the largest

congregation of Catholics, many of them German, anywhere among the colonies. Catholics were very unpopular and the subject of discrimination in most colonies. Pennsylvania was one of the only places where they could worship relatively unmolested by governing entities, even if not by the citizens. There were only a few thousand practicing Catholics throughout the thirteen states and that number was dwindling due to lack of ordained priests and Catholics who married outside of the faith and became Protestant.

In 1785 Wendell Keller deeded land to Jacob Pellenz, S.J. (Society of Jesus) and the Trustees of the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen.⁹⁰ This consisted of a "lot in the town of Hanover consisting of parts of lots numbered 93, 94" which was originally part of "Diggs Choice".⁹¹ The land was donated for use as a Roman Catholic Church. This donation from Keller seems to imply that he was Catholic. In the same year, church records refer to a "Father Keller" as the Provincial (superior officer of the church in a region) to whom a petition is directed for mass on Sundays and Holidays at St. Joseph Church in Hanover.⁹² This was, presumably, the church built on the donated ground. A St. Joseph's Church still exists in Hanover today, although in a location outside of the main part of town, and the church operates an elementary school on Baltimore Street, possibly on the land originally donated by Wendell Keller. Whether the "Father Keller" had any connection to Wendell Keller is not known, but not unlikely.

It is also not known how long Wendell Keller lived in Hanover, but he is on surviving tax lists there beginning in 1779. In April of 1780 he purchased lot #71 on Baltimore Street from John Gallentin. The deed for this purchase was never recorded; it is only known through the recital of the deed when the property is later sold. Lot #71 was certainly not his only land holding in Hanover. It is known that he lived on Baltimore Street and had several lots with buildings and some without. His home, a two story brick building with a store on the first floor and dwelling on the second (as was common in those days) sat on a lot with other buildings and gardens on other lots. None of the deeds showing acquisition of any land were recorded when they were purchased, only when sold. He is shown to have a higher than average tax payment, but not the largest on the list.

⁹⁰ Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Properties of Jesuits in Pennsylvania, York County, PA, Published Quarterly, Volume XX, March 1909, Page 288

⁹¹ There is no record of Keller acquiring this land in land patent records or in deed records for York County. It is known that he lived on Baltimore Street, Hanover, which is also where the property donated to the church was located.

⁹² Archives, Maryland Province, Society of Jesus, Box 34, Folder:5, Pennsylvania Missions - Varia [105.5 P1-R7]

He is on the 1783 tax list as having no land, but 7 inhabitants taxed. He obviously did own land, and a fair amount of it, so how he escaped being taxed for land is not known. It is possible that land ownership that was not officially recorded escaped being put on the tax roles. The seven inhabitants were probably he and his wife and some other children and/or relatives who lived with them. A John Keller, possibly a son old enough to be in his own residence, is in the same place and also showed up on the same lists at a lower rate of tax and has no land with 4 inhabitants taxed. Keller is described on various documents over the 1780's as a merchant, storekeeper and innkeeper and he is frequently seen on lists of people in York County to whom licenses to sell liquor are granted. His wife's name was Elizabeth, who appears as his wife on several deeds and mortgages.

By 1785 Keller is obviously well enough acquainted with Philip Freeman to join in his bond required for a peddler's license. In 1786 he again posts this bond. In the several years after that, between 1787 and 1791, Keller and Philip engage in escalated business dealings that include mortgages of Philip's land to secure large loans and other land transactions. It looks as though Keller may have initially been supplying Philip with merchandise for his peddling activities. Later Keller financed Philip's ambitious foray into the business of storekeeping in Greensburg and his acquisition of several tracts of land.

In 1787 Wendell Keller posted bond for Joseph Schultz and his wife Margaret and Ferdinand Schultz, who are indicted for assault and scheduled for trial in January of 1788 in York County. They fail to show up at trial, however, and the bond is forfeited. In April of 1788, Keller once again posted bond with a new trial date during the April Session 1788. It is not known what the relationship was that caused Keller to post bond for these Schultz family members.

Also in August of 1787, Wendell Keller filed an appeal after being found guilty of not paying an excise tax on liquor, which resulted in a ruling to have the liquor seized. This appears to be a large cache of liquor, not just a few bottles. At this time, western Pennsylvanians routinely turned many of the grain crops into whiskey, which could be more easily shipped east and was more profitable than selling the grain. But payment of the excise taxes, even before the Federal tax was imposed in 1991, was only paid under protest and avoided when possible. Were he and Philip Freeman engaged in the trading of merchandise for liquor from western Pennsylvania? Historically, it is known that this kind of activity was common, so it is not unlikely.

Wendell Keller's business activities were not limited to his dealings with Philip. Before about 1785, when he joined in posting a bond for Philip's peddler's license, there have been few records found of him. From that time, his business activities appeared to expand beginning with the large mortgage loan to Philip in 1788 followed by what seemed to be land speculation. In 1789 he purchased seven different properties in Westmoreland County and applied for warrants for others in Fairfield, Donegal, Pitt, Armstrong, Huntington and Franklin Townships.⁹³ One of the tracts for which he took out a warrant was immediately adjacent to the Freeman properties. Most of his purchases were made through sheriffs sale, using intermediaries as straw parties in a similar manner as the transaction he arranged using Philip Freeman. He appears to have initially taken title to the property in the name of another, an agent appointed in advance, then later had title transferred from that agent. This may have been simply a matter of absence - he needed someone in Westmoreland County to act on his behalf since he was not there. But the reason he had these men take the property initially in their own names looks very much like he was trying to hide his purchase of these properties. All of these purchases were made in April of 1789, obviously with a deliberate plan in mind. He purchased several more properties in early 1791 prior to being forced into bankruptcy in July 1791. By that time he had to have at least a large amount of money tied up in land as well as a mortgage of £608 to Philip Freeman that had not been paid. In early 1791 he sold one property, the rest being sold by his bankruptcy trustees and executors in 1794 through 1797.

In April of 1789, at the same time Keller was making purchases through straw parties and intermediaries, Jacob Freeman sold Keller 50 acres of land in Fairfield Township. This could have been another of the same type of purchases except that there is no record of Jacob acquiring the land. If it was land Jacob had owned himself the claim had to have been one of occupancy or perhaps a "tomahawk" claim. The sale was for a ridiculously low amount of £5, creating some suspicion that something else was involved in this transaction. Keller also warranted land of about 405 acres adjoining this 50 acre piece in 1789 which was later patented by Thomas Fisher in 1796, with the permission of Wendell Keller's bankruptcy trustees and estate administrators.

On Nov. 24, 1789 Wendell Keller of Heidelberg Twp, York County, merchant, and wife Elizabeth "for better securing the payment of £876.6.5" mortgage (a mortgage in deed form⁹⁴) to John Fries, merchant

⁹³ Armstrong Township later became Armstrong County; Pitt Township later became Allegheny County.

⁹⁴ It was common to record a mortgage as a deed conveying the land to be held as collateral, which would become void if the amount borrowed was paid as agreed.

of the City of Philadelphia, all messuages⁹⁵ and lots of ground in Hanover Town, viz, "a lot of ground on Baltimore Street adjacent William Kitt and the dwelling house where we now reside and two other lots of ground in Baltimore Street adjacent Jacob Herrethurs". This was a very large amount of money, possibly including his store property. The deed is marked as being discharged on November, 25, 1791, several months *after* his bankruptcy. This was NOT recorded as a deed in the recorders office of York County. Nor was a mortgage to Wendell Keller from Samuel Philips to secure a debt of 32 pounds in 1786.

Keller was forced into bankruptcy on July 23, 1791, hopelessly overextended with debts that never appear to have been fully paid, even after his death. The bankruptcy agreement is recorded in York County Deed Book 2G, page 346. His major creditors who forced the bankruptcy were William Wister and George Aston of the Germantown area of Philadelphia, trading as the firm of Wister and Aston (Dry Goods Merchants); Benjamin Poultney and Richard Wister, also of Philadelphia, ironmongers (sellers of hardware and finished iron goods such as nails and cooking kettles); Ellis Yarnell of Philadelphia, general merchandise; and William Harrison, of the City of Baltimore, a merchant dealing in general merchandise. All of these men were wealthy and respected merchants of their day and in the case of several, Wister in particular, the name continues to be prominent in Philadelphia with streets, buildings and places named for the family.

The expansion of his business dealings appears to begin after his association with Philip began. Philip seems to be the only person he loaned money to, and in a very large amount. The land he purchased was probably for speculation, and was all in Westmoreland County, where Philip had lived before the war and where he returned after starting a business relationship with Keller. Keller purchased land from others, but he and Philip clearly had a continuing relationship. Philip's ventures would not have been possible without Keller's backing, and his own business failures and his failure to repay Keller undoubtedly contributed heavily toward Keller's own bankruptcy.

So how did Philip and Keller connect with one another? Were they simply acquaintances in a small town, or did they have a closer connection? Could Keller have been related in some way to Barbara, who would have needed somewhere to stay while Philip was away in the army and gravitated to a place where she had family? This is only speculation, since no family has been found, but certainly not

⁹⁵ Messuages refers to a dwelling house and all lands, outbuildings, orchards, gardens and appurtenances associated with its use.

implausible

Judge Jacob Rudisell was a witness to a number of these transactions. He is the same judge of York County who witnessed Barbara Freeman's signature on her final deeds in 1790 and 1792.

The 1790 York County Census shows no Wendell Keller and no other Keller, even though it is known that he was living there. The only Keller in the group of townships including Berwick, Cumberland, Franklin, Germany, Hamiltonian, Heidelberg, Mount Pleasant, Mount Joy and Straban Townships is Peter Keller with 3 adult males, 1 male under 16 and 4 females. There is no known connection between Peter and Wendell. Even in the 1800 census, the only Keller is Abraham Keller, a family of two adults and four children. The John Keller who showed up on earlier tax lists is not found.

In April of 1798 The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in *Elizabeth Keller versus John Michael*, determined that Elizabeth Keller, widow of Wendell, did not have her dower interest extinguished by the sheriff sale of Keller's property by the bankruptcy trustees. In the suit it stated that Keller had executed an obligation to the trustees for £600 on July 27, 1791 which remained unpaid and that other judgments of a considerable amount were also still outstanding. Keller died intestate (no will) and insolvent; there is no date of death given but it had to be sometime between July 23, 1791 and February 1795. In March of 1800 (DB 2L Page 83) Elizabeth Keller signs away her dower rights for her former home on Baltimore Street to Lewis Michael of the city of Baltimore for £100.

In 1783 Hanover had 191 houses and population of 1,204. How Keller could avoid being taxed for land he obviously owned is a mystery. And he managed to avoid being counted on the Census in 1790 as well. He seems to have had a talent for avoiding the official notice of various authorities.

Back in Fairfield Township 1791-1798

Philip Freeman was back in Fairfield Township, probably living on the Deerlick Ridge property where he had an inn along the Forbes Road by sometime in 1791.

His venture as a storekeeper/innkeeper in Greensburg was short, lasting less than four years, and by what evidence we have he was not too successful. His inability to read and write may have been a factor; a store business required keeping books. Was he able to do this effectively? We also know that the new town of Greensburg saw slow growth in the first few years, something Philip may not have foreseen. There are clear signs that he overextended himself by over borrowing and being overly ambitious – the classic mistake of too much too soon. If he had associations with Catholics, this too may have worked against him. Catholics experienced significant discrimination, not just in Colonial America but for many years to come. There could easily have been a reluctance to deal with him because of this.

It is also very likely that scandal was a big factor. The battles with Barbara, birth of an illegitimate child, and eventually the subsequent cohabitation with Mary and her child would have been on the tongues of every resident. Adultery and illegitimate births were not taken lightly in those days and, as we have seen with Mary Link, often prosecuted criminally in addition to the social stigma. Philip may have found his business shunned as a result. One thing is certain; his grand plans did not work out and he probably left Greensburg with little or nothing left except a small parcel of land next to that he had donated to the church and his lands of Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge, which were heavily mortgaged to Wendell Keller.

If Mary Link had not begun living in Philip's household by the time the baby George was born in June of 1789, she must have done so very soon afterwards. Their second child, Daniel, was born sometime between late 1790 and the end of 1792, based on a rough calculation of his age made from census information. There is no official record of his birth and his exact date of birth is not known. He may have been born in Greensburg while Philip awaited the signed deed for his Main Street property from Barbara, or more likely in Fairfield Township after they moved back to his inn there.

In the December Session of the Court in 1791, Philip was charged with operating a tippling house.⁹⁶ A charge was filed against Philip and he was arrested for operating a tavern of some kind without a license (Minute Book 1, page 232). A true bill was brought in by the colonial equivalent of a grand jury. In March Session of 1792 he was arraigned and pleaded not guilty. Alexander Johnson, a neighboring property owner to Philip's land in Fairfield Township, makes a bond of £20 to appear and to testify against Philip. The bondsmen for Philip Freeman were Peter Altman and Bartal Laffer, two men from the Fort Allen area of Hempfield Township of German lineage. Laffer (Lauffer) was also an innkeeper and licensed to sell liquor in this area. On June 14, 1792 Philip changed his plea to guilty and submitted to the court. The judgment against him was to pay a fine of £10 or be committed to the prison of the county, there to be kept at hard labor for the space of three months. We can only assume that he paid the fine.

This places him back in Fairfield Township well before December of 1791 when the charge is filed. Obviously he did not wait for Barbara to sign the deed to Kirkpatrick before leaving Greensburg and moving back to his old inn. He also apparently did not wait to be granted a license to serve spirituous liquors at his inn, probably a matter of economic necessity in order to operate his inn along the Forbes Road again.

Philip was first seen in records as having been granted a license to sell liquor in Westmoreland County for the year 1775. From 1789 through 1807 he continuously operated a tavern and/or a tavern although records are missing for his liquor license for 1791, 1792 1794 and 1802. He may not have had a license during these years or the records may simply be missing.

In April of 1792, even though he still appeared to have a mortgage of £250 to Wendell Keller, Philip sold Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge to George Glenn for £350 with a mortgage for £250. This was the same George Glenn who purchased property from Philip in Greensburg in 1791 before Philip moved back to Fairfield Township. This may have been a poor attempt to give him some fast cash, but within a year, Philip sued Glenn for debts unspecified in the records, probably for this mortgage that Glenn failed to pay. Philip would certainly have known by now that Keller was bankrupt.

Within another year, in 1794, a petition for a new road through Derry and Fairfield Township refers to Philip as the owner or occupant of

⁹⁶ A place where spirituous liquors are sold and drunk in violation of law. Sometimes the mere selling is considered as evidence of keeping a tippling house. (Bouvier's Law Dictionary, 1872)

the land over which the road will pass. If he regained ownership of the land, there is no record of it, although it is quite possible that there were transactions which were not recorded. He must have had title, however, in mid 1795 when John Brandon, High Sheriff of Westmoreland County, acknowledged several sheriffs deeds in the court records of June Session 1795, including one to George Armstrong, Esq., Terrence Campbell and John Probst for a tract of land lying in Ligonier Valley adjoining James Clark, Alexander Montour, James Clifford and other. Containing 649 acres, the land was taken in execution at the suit of Wendell Keller as the property of Philip Freeman and sold for the sum of £332.⁹⁷ This is the Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge patents, on which Keller - or rather, now his bankruptcy trustees - held the mortgage and were now foreclosing. Armstrong, Campbell and Probst were probably local trustees appointed by the York County bankruptcy trustees to act here in their behalf. There is no deed indexed showing this sale from Philip as grantor, by sheriff or otherwise. But it is the last transaction found either to or from Philip for these patent lands.

During all of this time and until 1799, the Freeman family obviously continued to live on the land, either on land he had an unrecorded claim to or possibly as a tenant on land of another. Philip continued to have a liquor license, apparently for his inn, even after the sheriff sale in 1795. Philip participated in several petitions for new roads in the area in 1797 which refer to the Freeman land at Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge and his residency of that land.

In June of 1797 Philip sold the final two parcels of land in Greensburg that were part of the triangular parcel he purchased from Beass in 1789. These were the pieces left over once he had donated the one acre to the Catholic Church. One piece with two acres was sold to William Haney for £46. The remaining piece, only about .15 acres, was sold to John Probst for £15. This was the same John Probst who was one of the trustees for the Catholic Church, one of the Westmoreland County bankruptcy trustees for Wendell Keller, and a landowner near Philip in Fairfield Township. The fact that Probst, one of the very small handful of Catholics in the area, was one of the local bankruptcy trustees for Keller, is another possible tie to Keller being Catholic.

In December of 1798, Philip was assessed in Fairfield Township for the year 1798 as the owner of a property with one dwelling 45 x 20,

⁹⁷ Minute Book B, page 57, Prothonotary, Westmoreland County, June Sessions, 1795. Note that it is indexed as at page 66, but nothing on Freeman appears there. The page 57 is in pencil, so renumbering must have been casually done.

wood, 2 stories, 6 windows, 12 lites⁹⁸ and a stable 24 x 12. The quantity of land was one acre, valuation \$150. This was a dwelling of substantial size for those times, certainly large enough to be an inn. The assessment was made by Thomas Pollock on February 27, 1799 for a specific assessment district. There were only 13 properties on this particular assessment list; one for P. Freeman, seven for Arthur St. Clair and five for James Ramsey. These were all men who were landowners near where Philip's former patents were located.

Another 1798 listing from "Fairfield Towns Direct Tax Lists" at the Westmoreland County Historical Society is different than the above-referenced assessment. This list shows Philip Freeman as the owner of 120 acres, a cabin 16 x 18, one storehouse 6 feet square, adjoining lands of William Riddle and John Probst. This is not the Liberty Hall or Deerlick Ridge patents. It is clearly some other parcel and may actually be that of Jacob Freeman, not Philip.

No deed has been found to indicate that Philip still owned any land in Fairfield Township at any point after his sale of the land to George Glenn in 1792 and the subsequent sheriffs' sale. The tangle of mortgages and ownership, complicated by Wendell Keller's bankruptcy, was apparently still of some concern over a century later to some future buyer or seller of the property. Both the January 1791 mortgage to Wendell Keller and the 1792 mortgage from Philip to George Glenn are marked with a note that a petition and decree to satisfy was recorded on January 6, 1916, Mortgage Book 288, page 332. The Sheriff sale of the property apparently did not adequately address the satisfaction of these mortgages and this decree was probably necessary to quiet the title of the property before a sale or new mortgage could take place in 1916 over a hundred years later.

Despite the lack of documented ownership, Philip obviously continued to occupy the land, operate an inn and raise his family. After his second son Daniel was born sometime between mid 1790 and late 1792, he and Mary, had another son John and a daughter Sarah born sometime between late 1792 and late 1794. A fifth child, Christina, was born January 1, 1795, the birth date seen on her tombstone at the Stahlstown Methodist Church cemetery. Another girl, Elizabeth, was born between 1796 and 1798. The birth dates of most of the Freeman children are estimated based on census data.

⁹⁸ Lites were the panes in a window. Windows with more lites, such as 8 or 12 pane windows, were more expensive. Taxes were levied on the number of panes in the windows, which is why the number of "lites" is found on tax assessments.

Who Was Jacob Freeman?

Jacob Freeman is the only person found, aside from his own children, who is undoubtedly related to Philip Freeman. A gravestone to the left of Mary Freeman's headstone, simply reads:

In Memory Of
Jacob Freeman
Who Departed This Life
13 February, 1840

On the other side of this grave are the graves of Jacob's son George Freeman and his wife Catherine Kriley (Criley) Freeman. This Jacob who lived his life close to Philip, even moving as Philip moved, was most likely a brother, but perhaps even a son.

There is nothing found to indicate Jacob's date of birth. The inscription on his tombstone has no birth date or age. None of the historical/biographical information found shows his age. Only the census data, which is not very specific, allows for estimating his age. Based on this data, his date of birth can be estimated within about a 10-year period - 1750 to 1760. This would make him anywhere from 8 to 18 years younger than Philip.

Jacob does not appear in any of the Westmoreland County records until 1789, but we know he was there during the Revolutionary War. In 1838 he was granted a pension for assistance to the military effort. This may have been for something like collecting, storing or distributing military supplies or perhaps defense of one of the settler's forts or blockhouses in the area during those years when violence against the settlers from Indians was almost continuous. He has not been found on the rolls of the local militia, and does not appear to have served in the regular army, but obviously served local causes on the frontier.

Jacob and his wife Catherine Taylor Freeman signed a deed to Wendell Keller in April of 1789 for 50 acres of land less than a mile from Philip's tracts at Liberty Hall and Deerlick Ridge. Jacob himself does not appear to acquire land in any of the official land warrant, survey or patent records but sold 63 acres, again not more than half a mile away from Philip's land, to James White in 1801. There is no record of how he acquired the interest in this land that was not yet patented at that time. He may have had "tomahawk rights" or may have bought someone else's warrant rights in a transaction that was never recorded, something that was common in those days.

As the new town of East Liberty (later called Laughlintown) was being settled, Jacob was the mortgagee on land sold to Dr. William McLean by George Freeman (son of Philip) in 1813. The mortgage was recorded (DB 10, page 604) and the mortgage was marked paid in 1815. Again, this shows his continuing proximity to Philip.

Jacob was in the 1790 census as living in Fairfield Township, on or very near Philip's land while Philip is living in Hempfield Township (Greensburg). He is shown as married with their oldest daughter who was at that time an infant. In 1800 he was still in Fairfield and shown as being between age 26 and 45. By this time Philip had returned to his patent lands in Fairfield Township as well and they again lived very near one another. The 1810 census still shows him in Fairfield Township (spelled Framan), over age 45. By 1820, he had moved to Donegal Township, as had Philip, and remained there until his death, again living very near to where Philip and Mary are living with their daughter Christina Freeman Moody.

In a biographical account of his great-grandson, John Miller Freeman, written in 1908,⁹⁹ Jacob was depicted a native of Pennsylvania, born to English parents and an early settler of Cook Township (which was a part of Donegal Township until 1855). He was a miller by trade and operated for many years what later became known as Weaver's Mills, near Stahlstown.¹⁰⁰ His wife was Catherine Taylor, daughter of Jacob Taylor of Fairfield Township, and he had a total of eleven children with names very similar to Philip's children - Elizabeth, Philip, Mary, John, Jacob, Jane, Hannah, George, Catherine, James and Samuel.

It is possible that, as a miller, he may have worked at St. Clair's Mill in Fairfield, not far from where he apparently lived near Philip's Deerfield Ridge and Liberty Hall, prior to moving to Donegal Township about 1820.

In an 1882 biography of Samuel Freeman,¹⁰¹ Jacob Freeman is portrayed as the father of George Freeman (born 1789). This is clearly an error. In fact, the George Freeman of this biography is the son of Philip, not Jacob. Jacob Freeman's son George was born in 1805 and married Katherine Kriley (Criley). This George and Catherine are buried

⁹⁹ *A Century and a Half of Pittsburg and Her People, Volume 3*, page 323, John Woolf Jordan, The Lewis Publishing Company, 1908.

¹⁰⁰ The biographical information for the Weaver family says that the family and operated a mill at Weaver's Mill from 1810 until at least the late 1800's. If Jacob Freeman operated a mill there, it was not the original Weaver Mill, but another in the same vicinity.

¹⁰¹ *History of the County of Westmoreland*, George Dallas Alberts, page 537, Pennsylvania, 1906

near his father Jacob at the Stahlstown cemetery. It is not known where George, son of Philip who died on December 25, 1931, is buried.

It is most likely that Jacob was Philip's brother. But it is not out of the question that he was Philip's son. Philip was at least 29 or 30 years old when he came to the Ligonier Valley and was a single man. Marriages in the more remote frontier regions often occurred earlier than the 20-23 year old average during those times. It is possible for him to have been married at age 17 or 18, thus a father by 1760 - or simply the father of a son at that age. It is the far edge of the age range determined to work for Jacob, but not completely impossible. Given the hazards of living on the frontier and particularly for women of child-bearing age, it would certainly be possible for him to have been widowed by 1772 with a son of 12 or 13 years old.

If Jacob was born after 1760 or 1761 the scenario that he was Jacob's son would not work at all. As it is, it is pure speculation, but certainly an interesting thought that should not be dismissed.

Laughlintown 1799-1807

In 1785 the legislature passed an act which provided for the construction of a new state road. The old Forbes Road was no longer adequate to handle westward expansion and the increased wagon traffic over the Allegheny Mountains to Pittsburgh. The Forbes Road had been built as a military road, made to transport an army and supplies through the wilderness full of hostile Indians waiting to attack travelers. The primary objective in its construction was to avoid areas where ambushes could be expected, thus the road was built on the highest ground possible. This made the road steep, rocky and very difficult traveling for wagons. As wagon traffic increased with the influx of settlers, the need for new road became evident.

The new state road followed the low ground along a much more level route. The road was constructed wider to accommodate wagon traffic and followed the approximate route of the Forbes Road running parallel about a mile or two to the south. By the early 1790's, the new state road was becoming the preferred route for travelers and within a few years the Forbes Road was all but abandoned. The present day Old Route 30 follows the same approximate route of this state road.¹⁰²

In 1798 Philip was still shown on tax records as owning land and buildings in Fairfield Township. But on August 15, 1798 Robert Laughlin, founder of East Liberty, later known as Laughlintown, sold land to Philip Freeman, Yeoman of Fairfield Township. This was for lots #25 and #27 and another lot of 6 acres, which was then in Donegal Township, for £46.10.¹⁰³ This deed was dated August 1798, but not signed and acknowledged until April 16, 1799. It was not recorded for many years later, in 1824, long after Philip had sold it to others. There are two more deeds, for the same properties dated August 23, 1803¹⁰⁴, one for the same two lots #25 and #27 and the second for the larger parcel, now shown as 7 acres 2 perches.

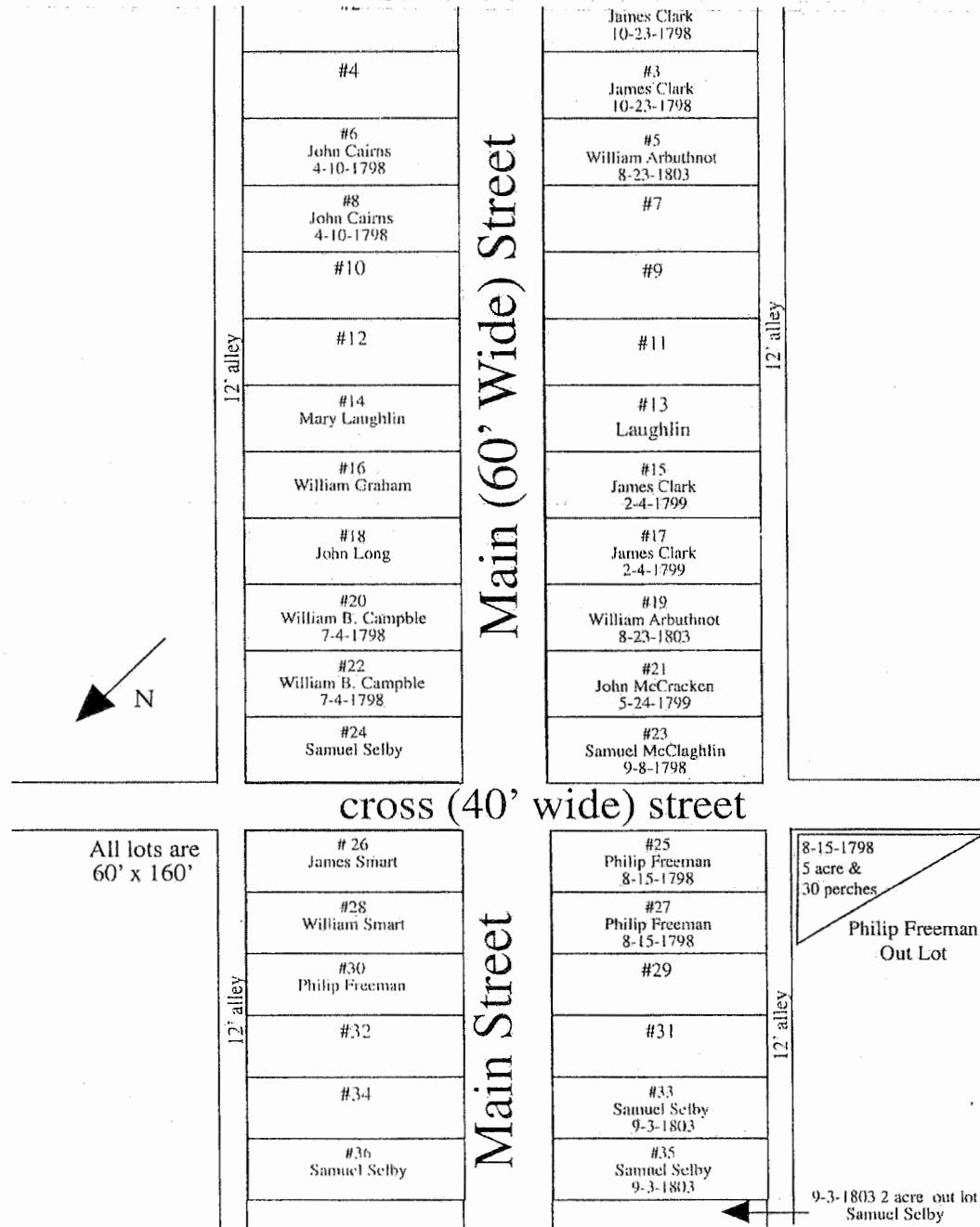
These are the same properties, first conveyed by deed when Laughlin had a warrant but no survey had yet been completed. Once the survey was complete and he received his patent on the land, Laughlin seems to have issued corrected deeds showing the corrected chain of title

¹⁰² Current day Route 30 has been improved and rerouted around populated areas to improve it's utility in recent years, but in most places the old Route 30 still exists and can be followed to see the approximate route of the state road built around 1790-95.

¹⁰³ Westmoreland County, Deed Book 15, page 469. Recorded Feb. 18, 1824.

¹⁰⁴ Westmoreland County, Deed Book 8, page 160 and Deed Book 8, 159

and surveyed description of the property. This corrected deed for lot #25 and #27 was recorded on December 28, 1809. The corrected deed for the larger parcel of 7 acres was finally recorded in 1824, at the same time the original deeds were recorded. Why these were duplicated and recorded at such a delayed time is not known. It could easily be the source of confusion unless all of the deeds were examined together and it was recognized what was intended.



This map of the main street of town as it was originally laid out in 1798 is shown in *The Laughlintown Bicentennial, The Story of An American Town*, prepared by the Bicentennial Committee of Laughlintown. This map shows that lot #30 is also owned by Philip Freeman, but no deed exists showing him either buying or selling this lot. If he owned it, the deed was never recorded for either the purchase or later sale.

Lots #25 and 27 are where Philip built the original inn and outbuildings. The 7 acres parcel behind it was probably used for outbuildings, fruit trees and gardens for growing food. The original inn was probably built during the summer of 1799 and was a two story log structure which was used as a tavern and an inn.

Item #53 of the Armor Family collection at the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society is a framed 15" x12" "Old Compass Inn" with the notation as follows:

"East end of house logs and built by Philip Freeman in 1799 - west end of house of stone and built by Robert Armor in 1820. Philip Freeman kept a hotel on the Old Forbes Road, on the site of the farm once owned by Jacob Swank in the Willow Grove School District, Westmoreland County. In 1799, built the present Compass Inn (log end) on the State Road in the new town of East Liberty, now Laughlintown, Pa."

The new inn obviously cost money to build. It was a substantial building for the day and boasted large, multipane windows, which would have also been taxed at a higher rate. Where the money came from to buy the land and build the structures is not known. There is no evidence from the existing records that shows him to be more than a farmer and innkeeper but could he have been making whiskey during the past few years?

Whiskey making was certainly a common undertaking in the area. People in all of the colonies made whiskey from their grain, but nowhere was it more prevalent than in western Pennsylvania. There were 284 stillhouses in operation in Westmoreland County in 1797¹⁰⁵, and the western Pennsylvania region is estimated to have made 25% of all whiskey in the thirteen states. Philip Freeman, by this time, had a history of dealings with innkeepers, both in York County and Westmoreland. He was a peddler who almost certainly dealt with the biggest item of trade in those days, whiskey. He was a storekeeper who would have taken whiskey as barter. And he may have had a hand in

¹⁰⁵ Baldwin, Leland D., *Whiskey Rebels*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995. pages 285-286.

running a stillhouse on the Bedford land for Barbara before the war – and possibly after as well. This would have provided additional income for his growing family during the 1790's and may have allowed him to accumulate enough to build this inn.

In October of 1800, a woman named Sallie Hastings traveled with members of her family through Western Pennsylvania on their way west. In her account, later published as *"Poems on Different Subjects, To Which Is Added A Descriptive Account of a Family Tour in the West"* she describes a night at an inn at the foot of the Laurel Ridge, reputed to be in Laughlintown and the same hotel that was later "owned and used as a dwelling house by the Armor brothers" according to *History of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania*, Volume I, page 590 by John N Boucher. If this information is true, the account provides information about Philip and Mary Freeman, who would have been the owners at the time of Sallie Hastings stay in 1800.

The description Sallie Hastings has provided gives a glimpse into the hardships of travel in those days. They crossed the Laurel Mountains in poor weather; it was freezing cold and a wet, icy snow was falling, making it cold, slippery and even more difficult to travel over the steep and rocky terrain. The travelers stopped at an inn at the base of the Laurel Hill that she does not name, but describes as being "full of men of a Savage appearance" that were initially frightening to the party of travelers. Sallie describes the inn as "one large, unfinished, and unfurnished Room, with a kitchen of equal dimensions, composed the whole building." Both of the rooms were warmed by fireplaces and about twenty people were congregated into the two rooms. Despite Sallie's initial trepidation about the men gathered at the inn, they invited the travelers in and made room for them around the fire to get warm. The men were hunters who were boisterous and not too happy about the fact that the innkeeper had no liquor for them to drink. They threatened to tear down his signpost, but went outside only to realize that he had none. The landlady told the travelers that it was "out of her power" to prepare them supper, but did provide them with the food and cooking utensils they needed to prepare their own.

The following day, after a sound sleep, they found the weather to be stormy, making further travel across the Chestnut Ridge impossible. The landlady was quite surly and made sarcastic remarks about "flitters" (new immigrants coming to the frontier) and made faces expressing her disdain. Apparently unhappy that the travelers were forced to stay, she made the deliberate attempt to chase them away by putting out the fire in the room! The landlady said that "she would not trouble herself, for a pack of saucy Gentry, who would not have taken shelter there, had the

Storm permitted them to cross the Mountain." Sallie's brother gathered wood and relit the fire.

The landlord returned after being gone all day and seemed anxious to make up for his wife's inhospitality. His attempts however, were dampened by his propensity for constant and irritating whistling that jangled people's nerves.

The following day, the party continued across the Chestnut Ridge on another cold and miserable journey to another inn where the landlord was a drunkard but his hospitable wife was a better hostess than the previous one. On the day following this, they arrived in Greensburg.

There is some room for doubt that this was Freeman's inn, some of the information ringing true and other items suspect. The inn at this time would have been only about a year old, possibly the reason the main room was unfurnished and the inn still lacked a signpost. There were other inns along this route at that time in the Laughlintown area, so the assumption that it was the one built by Philip Freeman could have been wishful thinking by one of the Armor family who later owned the inn for many years. The description of the inn's main room and kitchen appears accurate, but could probably describe many inns of the time. There is no mention of the staircase and the second floor of the building where the family undoubtedly lived. Also, despite her descriptions of the inn and its owners, she does not mention the obvious disparity in age between Philip and Mary (25 years) or that there would have been at least eight children in the house, including one infant, Samuel, born July 11th of that year and Philip, Jr. who would have been no more than two years old.

The Freeman Children

Philip and Mary did operate the inn in Laughlintown from mid to late 1799 until at least until September of 1807. Philip would have been about 56 or 57 years old when the inn was built in 1799 and Mary about age 31. The last of their nine children was born there, Samuel, on July 11, 1800, and Mary some time after 1801. There are actual birth dates for only three of the children, the rest being estimated from census records.

The number of Philip and Mary's children is usually reported as nine. George's date of birth comes from a newspaper article in 1910 that gives this date as being the one entered for him in an old family Bible.

Both handwritten and typed versions of the names and dates reputed to be from this Bible still exist, but whether the Bible itself still exists is not known. Samuel's date of birth has likewise been reported by his descendants. George was born in Hempfield Township, and possibly Daniel, but the next five or six children would probably have been born in Fairfield Township at Philip's inn on the Forbes Road. Philip Jr. may have been born either in Fairfield Township or at the new inn in Laughlintown; the last two children, Samuel and Mary, were born in Laughlintown.

The 1800 Census shows Philip Freeman in Donegal Township with the following:

- 3 free while males under age 10 (Daniel, John, Philip)
- 1 free white male aged 10-16 (George)
- 1 free white female aged 16-26 (Mary, listed at incorrect age)
- 3 free white females under age 10 (Christina, Sarah and Elizabeth)
- 1 free white male aged 45 and over (Philip)

The children of Philip and Mary Freeman, as well as can be established from available records, are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. George | born June 16, 1789 |
| 2. Daniel | Between 1790-1792 |
| 3. John | Between 1792-1794 |
| 4. Sarah | Between 1792-1794 |
| 5. Christina | January 1, 1795 |
| 6. Elizabeth | Between 1796-1798 |
| 7. Philip | 1799 |
| 8. Samuel | July 11, 1800 |
| 9. Mary | After 1801 |

Final Days at Laughlintown

In 1801 Philip was the defendant in a case brought by Sheriff John Kuhns for £50. This case is listed with several others also brought by the sheriff, and may have been among filings for forfeited bonds. Also in 1801, Philip filed suit against James White for £80, which was not shown as settled until 1815. James White was previously shown as being a tenant on what was probably Philip's land along the Forbes Road. There are several entries in the dockets for 1801 involving Philip and James White. Another is against James White and George Nixon, also for £80 and shown as satisfied in 1815, but this could be a continuation of a previous suit. A third entry, with a note "Philip Freeman, for use of

Terrence Campbell" as plaintiff and is also for £80. All three of these could be for the same suit, carried forward with continuances. All three of the men listed as plaintiffs were property owners in Fairfield Township fairly close to where Philip previously had his inn on the Forbes Road. What the basis was for the dispute was is not known since only the docket entries still survive.

During the June Term of 1806, Philip Freeman was the defendant in a case brought by John R Campbell to revive a judgment recorded at #51 December Term of 1801. The docket for 1801, however, does not show this case as the case numbers 49 through 54 are missing, perhaps as a recopying error or due to missing papers when the present dockets were prepared. This 1806 case is marked "rule to plead in six weeks or judgment; and judgment entered September 1, 1806" with no amount stated. This also may be related to the 1801 cases involving James White, George Nixon and Terrence Campbell. Whatever that dispute was about, it certainly went on for quite a while.

Also in 1806 and 1807 are two cases where Philip Freeman is a codefendant with Archibald Adams in a case brought by John A. Campbell, assignee of John Sloan, Sheriff. Each is for a debt shown as \$100. The 1806 case is shown as being dated December 1806 and acknowledged January 30, 1807. The 1807 entry is shown as "entered" on May 21, 1807. There is no indication of what these cases were about.

In September of 1807 Philip and Mary sold the inn in Laughlinton to Benjamin Johnson for \$700. This deed, from "Philip Freeman of the Town of East Liberty, Tavernkeeper, and Mary, his wife" was dated September 4, 1807 and recorded December 28, 1807 included lots 25, 27 on which the inn was built, and the 5 acres outside of Laughlinton (DB8-page 153) to Benjamin Johnson, of the County of Westmoreland, Gentleman. This is the first time that Philip is shown with a wife on a deed since 1792 and the first time that Mary appears as his wife. She also appears on the deed from "Philip Freeman, Yoeman, and Mary, his wife" in April of the following year (1808) when they sell the 7 acre parcel near the inn property to John Long for \$70.

Philip had sold property six times since 1789 without showing a wife as co-grantor. If Philip were married, he would normally have had his wife sign the deed to extinguish her dower rights. There is no clear explanation of why he did not have either Mary or Barbara join into these land transactions. At least three of these were in 1789 and one in 1792 when he was definitely married to Barbara. The other two were in 1797. The only logical explanation for the four transactions in and prior to 1792 is that the buyers were willing to take the risk that Barbara would not claim her dower rights at some point. It is likely that the

participants in these transactions were well aware of Philip's marital situation; it was undoubtedly the subject of much local gossip at the time. Perhaps they knew something that made them willing to take the risk. While there is no evidence found of a divorce, there may have been some written agreement pursuant to a financial settlement and separation in which Barbara gives up her dower rights without signing the deed.

What is certain is that by 1807 Philip and Mary are finally married. This places Barbara's death sometime between May 26, 1792 when she signed the deed to Kirkpatrick in York County, and 1807 when the deed showed Philip and Mary as husband and wife. There are no records of the marriage or of any of the births of their children during this 15 year period. At least the first two children were undoubtedly born out of wedlock, as may have been the case with at least several - or perhaps all --of the others.

Philip and Mary's Final Days 1808-1834

It is not clear where Philip and Mary went after leaving Laughlintown, although he is in the 1810 Census for Fairfield Township, which at that time still included present day Ligonier Township. Laughlintown was in Donegal Township at that time, everything generally south of the Old Forbes Road being in Donegal Township, everything north in Fairfield. Records show that he never again owned land, unless through some transaction that remains unrecorded. They appear to have been living back in the vicinity of the old inn on Philip's original patent lands. George and his new wife Christina Moody Freeman appear on the census right next to Philip; they probably established a separate household on his father's land.

Jacob Freeman, who was probably Philip's younger brother, was also still in Fairfield Township at this time. Jacob's land was close to where Philip's patent land had been and where Philip obviously still had some sort of claim. The proximity of Jacob's name on the census list (spelled Framan on some lists but noted to be less than completely legible) also indicates proximity of location since people were listed as they were found.

Philip would have been 67 years old in 1810, a fairly advanced age to have a younger wife and family to still support. Philip and Mary's sale of the inn in Laughlintown in 1807 may signal Philip's inability to continue running the establishment due to age or illness. Or was the inn not working out for some other reason? They would have still had young children, three of them under the age of 8 in 1807, with two more not much older. Philip's oldest son, George, born 1789 would have been 21 years old in 1810 and is listed as a separate household with his new wife, Catherine Moody (married July 24, 1810). He is listed on the census immediately before his father, indicating that they lived very close to one another, perhaps on the same land in different houses. One of the older boys, probably Daniel, age about 19) is probably the Daniel Fouman, with one man and one woman, both age 16 to 26, is shown living very close to Philip, George and Jacob.

By 1820, Philip no longer shows up on the census in a separate household. George and Philip Jr. now both appear as separate households and John is shown as a single person household in Donegal Township. Son Daniel is on a tax list in Mt. Pleasant Township in that year for the first time. Jacob (not Philip's son Jacob, but the Jacob that

is most likely Philip's brother), with a smaller household less several grown children, shows up in Donegal Township, where he is a miller.

Oldest son George appears in the 1920 census in Derry Township, although it is some time in that year that he is reputed to have owned the Mount Pleasant Iron Furnace, sometimes referred to in later years by family members as the Freeman Furnace. He may have been in Derry Township when the census was taken early in the year, moving to Mount Pleasant Township later in the year, or the census could be in error by placing him in Derry Township at all. George is shown to have two older male and female people in his household by this time, probably Philip, who would be 77 years old by now, and his wife Mary.

The Freeman Furnace

Philip Freeman has occasionally been credited with building an iron furnace known as the Freeman Furnace. It was not Philip but his son George who was associated with the furnace. This furnace was once located at what is today still known as Freeman's Falls in Mount Pleasant Township and was built in or about 1810 by Alexander McClurg and William McKnight.

Alexander McClurg was the son of Joseph McClurg, who began operation of the first iron foundry in western Pennsylvania at 5th and Smithfield Street in Pittsburgh in 1803. Alexander became a partner in the business until 1814 when he and William McKnight became partners. McClurg was a prominent businessman and had multiple business as well as iron making, including dry goods and wholesale hardware.

There is some evidence of William McKnight in Mt, Pleasant Township prior to his partnership with McClurg. He warranted 57.6 acres of land there in 1787, although the land was patented many years later by William Weaver. In 1810, McClurg partnered with McKnight and built the Mt. Pleasant Furnace along Jacob's Creek.

Iron making was a labor intensive industry that required huge amounts of fuel and a constant source of water. The average hot blast furnace produced 3,000 tons of iron per year. Each ton of iron ore required 40 bushels of charcoal, which took about 3.8 cords of wood to produce. Virgin timberland could produce about 40 cords of wood per acre, with second growth only about half that amount. Therefore, to produce 3,000 tons of iron, 300-600 acres of wood was needed every

year, the result often being the complete harvest of all trees for miles around.

Water power was needed to make the blast in the furnace. Fires would be burned in the furnace to make sure all moisture was gone before molten iron or slag could be produced. Production was continuous, 24 hours per day 7 days per week. If moisture came into contact with the hot material, an explosion would occur and the furnace would experience a "blow out". Major rebuilding would be needed before the furnace could be put back into use and often a blowout mean that the furnace was permanently disabled.

In 1816 McClurg and McKnight appear on the Mt. Pleasant tax assessment rolls for 1700 acres, a furnace, 13 horses and 7 cows. In 1819, they are taxed for 1350 acres of land, 1 furnace, 12 horses, 2 cows and 1 store. In 1820 George Freeman is taxed at a very high rate for the first time, although no specifics appear regarding land, buildings, etc. This tax also appears for George in 1821. In 1822, the assessment is again to McClurg and McKnight; in 1823 and 1824 it appears as 1600 acres ridge land and one blast furnace only - the horses and buildings needed for operations were not listed. In 1829, 1830 and 1831 it changes to 1200 acres of land and one sawmill. In 1832 there is no assessment for McClurg and McKnight and for the first time since 1821 George Freeman picks up the assessment for 1600 acres and a sawmill.

Various historical references to this furnace place "Mr. Freeman" as operating the furnace beginning about 1820 and place the blowout of the furnace at that same time period "about 1820". George Freeman only paid the taxes on the land and furnace for two years before it reverted back to McClurg and McKnight, which could indicate that this is indeed true. Also, the elimination of horses, buildings, the store and other taxable items from the tax assessment in 1823 and on could be evidence that operations had ceased. There is no evidence that George Freeman had any iron-making experience, so one can only wonder if his inexperience was behind the blowout so soon after he took over operations.

There are no recorded deeds that show ownership by McKnight, McClurg, George Freeman, or any other Freeman. They all clearly had some legal or quasi-legal interest in the land; if they owned it, the deeds were never recorded. It may have been a lease situation or warrants bought from others and never recorded. The furnace was not, apparently, a very successful one nor long lasting in operation. The land that went with it on the slopes of the Chestnut Ridge was of little value except for the timber, and once the timber had been cut for charcoal, it would have been of small value indeed.

George Freeman appeared to have operated the furnace in 1820 and 1821 under some sort of arrangement with McClurg and McKnight that included payment of the taxes. The furnace experienced a blowout during this time and it reverted back to McClurg and McKnight, probably since without the furnace operation, George Freeman could not pay the taxes. Obviously iron making had ceased and a sawmill replaced it along Jacob's Creek to take advantage of the timber available on the large tracts of land on Chestnut Ridge.

It looks like George Freeman did establish residence on this land and his family continued to live there after his death on Christmas Day in 1831. In 1838, Alexander and James McClurg filed an action in Ejectment against John and Robert Shontz for 100 acres in Mt. Pleasant Township (a property adjoining the Freeman land) and, at the same time, against Samuel Freeman and Mrs. (unreadable) Freeman¹⁰⁶ for _____ acres (left blank, possibly because the number of acres was unknown) "adjoining other land of plaintiffs on which there is a furnace and a sawmill erected". This action may have been to try and recover some of the land used for the original furnace, but the attempt failed. It was probably one of the vast number of ejectment proceedings that took place for several generations after the original land office opening in Western Pennsylvania in 1769¹⁰⁷.

George's son Samuel lived there and operated the sawmill until he lost it and a large tract of land by sheriff's sale in 1872, the year before his death. On November 7, 1872, the sheriff of Westmoreland County (DB 77, page 59) sold a tract described only by joinders (adjoining property owners) as containing 430 acres to William Baer and George Freeman. This was not the father of Samuel and son of Philip, but Samuel's son George (born about 1842). The description was on a writ against Samuel Freeman and Fausold Freeman, his son, and recited the personal effects of Samuel as being insufficient to satisfy the debt. The land was described as being 430 acres with "a sawmill a furnace stack a log dwelling house log stable fruit trees and other improvements". No chain of title was set out in the deed.

Paul Welty, great grandson of Samuel Freeman, wrote:

"My father [Frank Welty] and I walked on Sunday afternoon to that furnace stack. I was then twelve or thirteen years old.¹⁰⁸ The furnace was in fairly good condition, the long vacant stack still

¹⁰⁶ This is probably Elvira Shontz Freeman.

¹⁰⁷ See chapter "Westmoreland County in the 18th Century". Page 15.

¹⁰⁸ Paul Welty was born September 23, 1923, so this would have been about 1935-1937.

standing tall and not having been plundered for stone. It was located only a few hundred feet below the falls [Freeman Falls], on the easterly side of Jacobs Creek. It was torn down only a few years later by the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission when the original Pennsylvania Turnpike was put in during the late 1930's. The stack location was not used for part of the actual roadbed. Such desecration would not occur in today's more historically conscious time. One stone was taken by a nostalgic local resident to the Byerly-Freeman Cemetery and placed near Samuel Freeman's grave. It stands there still, on end, looking like an old gravestone. No inscription appears on it."

The land Samuel referred to as his own was almost certainly the same land his father George referred to, while he lived, as his. The sawmill, also on this site, was assessed to George during his lifetime and to Samuel as early as 1835. It appears, however, that they either had a deed that was never recorded or simply used the land as squatters and did not own it. Based on the attempted ejection proceedings in 1838, it is likely that George Freeman, who had lived on the land since 1820, continued to live there after the furnace blew out and perhaps through some kind of loose, unrecorded arrangement with McClurg after they no longer had any business interest in repairing the furnace or running a sawmill. George just continued to live there and the 1838 attempt at ejection may have failed since McClurg did not appear to have legal ownership either.

But how did McClurg have claim to the land when they built the furnace and later on? Examining a map showing the first patents for all of the land around this area shows that virtually all of the land was patented by others at fairly early dates, many pre-dating the 1810 date when McClurg and McKnight began operation of the furnace there. Other tracts were patented in 1814, 1817 and other early dates. Except for the 56 acres patented by John Freeman (Samuel's son) in 1872, the same year of the sheriff's sale, all of the land had been patented earlier by others. The original surveys of surrounding land are all pre-1800 except the land to the southwest, surveyed in 1813 for Christopher Overly. The land patented by Samuel's son, John Freeman, in 1872 was still shown as vacant. Vacant in this case was likely to indicate that it was not under warrant and unsurveyed, not necessarily unoccupied.

Freeman Falls appears to be on land of 396 acres originally patented by Christopher Overly in 1817; it is likely that this is where the furnace was located and was the land lost by Samuel and Fausold Freeman to sheriff sale in 1872. The question was, if McClurg and McKnight built and operated their iron furnace on this land, what kind of arrangement did

they make with Overly to do that?¹⁰⁹ Who owned the other acreage, approximately 1,000 to 1,200 acres used for timber harvesting and charcoal making? How is it that George, and later Samuel Freeman, simply stayed on this land for so many years? Did they at some point purchase the land? They paid taxes on it, and were able to fight off ejectment proceedings in 1838 by McClurg who obviously also thought he had a claim. Whatever their claim was, it could not supersede a sheriff sale brought because of a debt.

If George or Samuel Freeman ever actually purchased the land, there is no record of it. John Freeman's 1870 survey of his 56 acres shows surrounding lands of George Freeman, John Freeman and George Freeman's Heirs, but cites the original Overly survey from 1813. The Mt. Pleasant Furnace appears to have operated only for about 10 or 11 years. It is fondly referred to as the "Freeman Furnace", mostly by Freeman ancestors, and family history often refers to George and/or Samuel Freeman as operating the iron furnace for many years. In fact, it seems that the furnace was blown out fairly soon after George Freeman took over its operation. He continued living on the land and eventually used the water power of the falls and timber on the ridge to run a sawmill. The area near Acme, Pa is still known as Freeman's Falls and in 1981 the old water wheel was still in evidence, buried in weeds along Jacob's Creek near Freeman's Falls.

Philip Freeman's Pension Applications

Philip applied for a pension twice, the application being filled out and submitted on his behalf by his old friend and attorney, John Young, who was now a Judge of Common Pleas Court in Westmoreland County. The first time, in 1818, he received a pension of \$5 per month, after John Young, in his behalf, stated that he had known Philip for "upwards of twenty five years" and that "by various misfortunes become altogether poor and that from his old age and disability of body he is now incapable of supporting himself by labour. His wife, being more young and robust with the assistance of one of his children has for some time provided for him."¹¹⁰ On February 20th of 1821 he applied a second time, apparently for an increase in this stipend.

¹⁰⁹ The Overly family lived in the area from an early date and continues to have a significant presence in the region.

¹¹⁰ This statement is consistent with having a wife 25 years his junior.

Philip gave his residence in the 1821 affidavit as Mount Pleasant Township, which is where his son George was living. He does state, however, that his son John lives with him, which is inconsistent with his residence in George's household. In the 1820 census, John was single and in his own household in Donegal township. The 1820 census showed a man and woman of the correct ages to be Philip and Mary in the home of George Freeman in Mt. Pleasant Township. Donegal Township is just a few miles across the Chestnut Ridge, so it is possible that Philip and Mary had gone to live with John at that time a year later.

The affidavit also cites John as being "upwards of twelve years old". John would have been about 25 years old at that time, so one wonders if this is simply an error by the person writing the application or if there was a requirement to report children under the age of twelve.

Copies of handwritten original documents have been transcribed below, the originals being quite difficult to read. They are transcribed as they were written, including spelling and other errors. Both of these pension applications were made pursuant to the pension law enacted in the 1819 by the federal government to reward veterans for their service at half pay if in need of assistance. Most of the material listed pertains to the three year enlistment with the 11th Virginia Regiment he belonged to, but he also talks about the six month enlistment with the Flying Camp Regiment during the second half of 1776.

AFFADAVIT OF 20 FEBRUARY 1821

Westmoreland County SS Pennsylvania

On the 20th of February 1821 personally appeared in open court, to wit, the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Westmoreland being a court of Record. Philip Freeman aged upward of seventy years¹¹¹ who being duly sworn according to law doth on his oath declare that he served in the Revolutionary War as follows.

That he enlisted in the year 1776, he believes, in the company commanded by Captain Samuel McCune, Coll. Watts Regiment, in what was termed the flying Camp that he served out the term of his enlistment he thinks six months when he was discharged. In 1777 he enlisted in the Virginia line in the company commanded first by Captain George Rice next

¹¹¹ Philip would have been 77 or 78 years old at this time.

by Charles Porterfield and afterwards by Captain Gamble. That he was in the Battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth & Stoney Point. That he served three years the full term for which he enlisted that the Regiment was commanded by Genl Daniel Morgan the greater part of the time but being promoted was commanded afterwards by Coll. Feeberger from whom he received an honorable discharge in the City of Philadelphia.

And I the said Philip Freeman do solomley swear that I was a resident citizen of the United on the 18th day of March 1818 and that I have not since that time by gift sale or in any manner disposed of my property or any part thereof with intent thereby to do diminish it as to bring myself within the provisions of an act of congress, entitled, an act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States, in the Revolutionary War dated on the 18th of March 1818 and that I have not now or has any person in trust for me any property or security, contracts or debts due to me, nor have I any income other than what is contained in the schedule hereto annexed and by me subscribed. And further I do hereby declare that I at present reside in Mount Pleasant Township County of Westmoreland & State of Pennsylvania. That I have resided in said county ever since the Revolutionary War and in the state since my infancy. I further state that I have a wife aged about sixty years and a son named John upwards of twelve years old who reside with me. That he was placed on the pension list Roll of the Pennsylvania Agency on the 20 of March 1819 that his pension certificate bears that date and is numbered 8265.

Schedule of the property of the above named Philip Freeman

1 cow valued at 12 dollars.

his
Philip ___ Freeman
Mark

Sworn and Subscribed
in open Court the 20th day
of February 1821
Eli Counter, Prothonotary

The affidavit of Eli Coulter, Prothonotary, is attached saying that the above is a certified copy of that in his office and that the court was of the opinion that the value of the property in the schedule was twelve dollars.

John Young, who took the first affidavit, and made the statement of having known Philip for upwards of twenty five years, was at the time of the affidavit a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Westmoreland County, a position he held for over thirty years. In his early days at the bar, his name appears at least four times in civil actions to which Philip was a party: Representing Wendell Keller versus Philip at #41, July Sessions 1790; Representing White against Philip at #57 June 1801; and being for Philip at #48 July 1790 and #82 in Sept. 1798.

Philip was granted a pension at the rate of 5 dollars per month to commence on the 20th day of May 1818. A Certificate of Pension was issued on the 20th of March 1819 and sent to John Young Esq., Judge , Greensburg, Pennsylvania. Philip was paid in arrears for the 1818 claim in the amount of \$123.09.

The Death of Philip and Mary

In July of 1821, Philip's son Samuel Freeman married Catherine Livingston.

In 1824 Philip Freeman was taxed in Mount Pleasant Township for one cow valued at \$8. The tax records note that he is "not in the township". The meaning of this is not clear, but it is a notation made for others on the tax list as well. It could be for someone with taxable assets in the township, but not living there at that time. Perhaps at this point he had begun living with his daughter, Christina, who had married William Moody sometime between 1815 and 1820. In 1826, Philip is again taxed for one cow at a value of \$8, this time in Donegal Township where the Moody farm is located. This tax and location are repeated in 1827.

On July 5, 1829, reportedly at the home of his daughter Christina Freeman Moody in Donegal township, near Stahlstown, Philip Freeman died at the advanced age of 86. There is nothing documenting Philip's death at his daughter's home except the statement in the Compass Inn biography. As with the statement about the Mary Link tradition, Philip's great grandson George Barron would have been of an age to have heard these stories from his parents and others who knew them to be fact.

On Christmas Day of 1831 George Freeman, oldest son of Philip Freeman, died at age 42, leaving a wife and 10 children, the youngest being less than a year old. Where he is buried is not known.

Mary Freeman, also reported to have been living with Christina Freeman Moody¹¹², died on November 7, 1834 at the age of 66. She and Philip are buried at the Stahlstown Trinity United Methodist Church, only about a mile from where the Moody farm was located.

Freeman Burials

It was formerly contended that the woman buried beside Philip Freeman was Barbara (maiden name unknown) Seidensspinner Bonjour Freeman. The honorable ladies who founded and perpetuated the Freeman Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution must certainly have had misgivings about Barbara as mother to the Freeman children and appear to have tried to support this contention by concocting fictions about variations of Barbara's name or a non-existent daughter. But the real Barbara would have been about 100 years old at the time of her death if she had died in 1834. If she were the mother of Philip's children we would have to believe that she had nine children in twelve or thirteen years after being married to Philip Freeman and Andrew Bonjour for a total of 22 years without children of record. She would have been about 55 years old when the first of these children were born. Furthermore, the dates on the tombstone simply do not work, even if one believes that her name changed from Barbara to Mary well into her adult life.

There was also a story that had been passed along among by some of Philip's ancestors that Barbara was buried at the Byerly-Freeman Cemetery along Rt. 31 in Mt Pleasant Township, on a steep hillside only a few hundred yards from the Pennsylvania Turnpike and about a mile from the town of Donegal. James G. Freeman, grandson of John Freeman who owned the land where the cemetery was located and great grandson of Philip Freeman provided this information:

"This plot of ground was used as a Burial Ground during the French and Indian War, and earlier than that period, as is found on the oldest stone, which is inscribed "I.B 1708?". More than fifty bodies are buried in this old section, which graves are marked with stones moved from the old Freeman Furnace, which stones bear no inscriptions. Several Indian Skeletons have been removed from this burial spot, which skeletons can be seen in glass cases in the

¹¹² The 1830 U.S. Census shows 1 female aged 60-70 in the household of William Moody of Donegal Township.

Fayette-Westmoreland Historical Building at West Overton, Pennsylvania. Due to this old Burial Ground being situated on the farm of my grandfather John Freeman, he and his wife, Nancy Freeman deeded the tract of land to the Trustees of the Freeman Grave Yard April 2, 1895. A perpetual care fund is in the process of being raised and a Charter for the Freeman Cemetery Association has been granted by the State of Pennsylvania."¹¹³

The cemetery had obviously been in use long before the land for it was deeded in 1895, but how long is questionable. The marker at the entrance gives 1800 as the established date. But the 1708 date reportedly carved on a stone in the above-referenced statement predates any type of settlement in the region by many years and is therefore suspect. It is likely that the cemetery was first used as a family cemetery by George Freeman's descendants, who originally settled there in 1820, and perhaps neighboring settlers. These graves may be among the oldest, unmarked graves. George Freeman himself, who died in 1831, may well have been buried here in an unmarked grave.

More Old Family Stories

Mrs. Glenneda King some years ago said that the story was passed down that Barbara¹¹⁴ was buried at the Byerly-Freeman Cemetery because of something having to do with bad weather preventing her burial at Stahlstown. She told Paul Welty in the 1980's that she was told this story by Jim Freeman who had been caretaker of the cemetery for many years. Jim Freeman contended that the story had been passed down to him by his father.

In June of 1990 Mrs. Sherri McCalmon received some information from Mrs. King including some hand-written notes. These notes included the following curious information about Barbara and Mary Freeman that has not been seen elsewhere:

- *"An Orphans' Court Docket prob. Bedford County that names a dtr. Mary Barbara same name as the mother".*

¹¹³ This was credited to James G. Freeman, Caretaker, on July 12, 1947 who then lived in Acme, Westmoreland County, PA. Where the original of this writing is published or maintained is not known. It was found on the following website, without any mention of the source of the quote or who posted it www.usgenalogyexpress.com/~pa/westmoreland/pa_westmoreland_cem_mt_pleasant_freeman

¹¹⁴ This story was told when people still believed that Barbara was the mother of Philip's children and the woman buried beside him.

The dockets for the Orphans Court of Bedford County beginning in 1771 when it was formed have no Freeman, Seidenspinner (Silkspinner or Sydenspinner) or Bonjour entries. Cumberland County, which pre-dated Bedford County and was the jurisdiction when George Seidenspinner died, also has no entries of any kind for Bonjour or Seidenspinner, either in the Orphan's Court or the Register of Wills.

It is very likely that Barbara did have a daughter by husband George Seidenspinner, probably born between 1758 and 1763. There is no record found anywhere of what her name may have been. And never at any time was Barbara's name found as anything but just "Barbara" or "Barbary".

Mary Barbara is purely the imagination of one or more people who tried to explain away the 1807 appearance of "Mary" as wife of Philip. There is no evidence whatsoever for her actual existence.

- *"He and one wife at Meth. Cem. Stahlstown - the other at Byerly - Freeman Cemetery. Philip Freeman, Pvt. 1743-7/5/1829 w Mary Barbara Bonjour (widow of Wagoner with Gen. Forbes - Andrew Bonjour) had no children to her."*

This claims that Barbara's name was in fact Mary Barbara and that they had no children together. While there has never been any evidence that her name was Mary Barbara, this is the first actual statement found that she was not the mother of Philip's children. This is true, she was not - and could not have been by simple age calculation.

This contention that both wives are buried within a few miles of one another is simply not possible. There is no doubt that Mary Link Freeman, mother of his children, is buried next to Philip in Stahlstown. But Barbara (maiden name unknown) Seidenspinner Bonjour Freeman was in York County by 1776. It is most unlikely that if she ever came back to Westmoreland County after spending about ten years there during the war and afterward. Given the circumstances, why would she? Is it really credible that she would return to Westmoreland County and stick around while her husband had nine children with another woman? This simply makes no sense. She was in York County, probably from 1776 until her death sometime between 1792 and 1807.

Could this be anyone else, perhaps mistaken for the elder Barbara? Could it be a daughter of Barbara and George

Seidenspinner? Not likely; why would a daughter who would have been too young to stay here in 1776 come BACK later, particularly if her mother did not? There is simply no reason to even speculate about that scenario.

Could it have been one of the daughters of Philip and Mary? One daughter is buried in Stahlstown (Christina); could another be buried at Byerly Freeman? Could the original story have been that one daughter was at Stahlstown and the other at Byerly-Freeman? This would certainly be possible, and much more likely to fit the time frame of when the cemetery actually came into use by the Freeman family. It could be any of the other daughters, but perhaps it refers to the youngest daughter Mary, named after her mother and born after 1801. Unlike Barbara, who would have died long before any Freeman ever settled on the land in 1820, the daughter Mary, who if she was unmarried would have been another Mary Freeman, could certainly have been a candidate for burial there. Was the story originally that one Mary was at Stahlstown and another at Byerly Freeman? Unfortunately, we know nothing of Mary and can only speculate. But there is often at least a kernel of truth in old family stories.

- *"2nd he married her daughter Mary Barbara Bonjour 1768-11/7/34. - A(l) Children"*

First, no evidence for the existence of any such person as a daughter named Mary Barbara Bonjour has ever been found. Second, for this to have been Mary, mother of his children, Philip would have had to father several illegitimate children with his stepdaughter while still married to her mother, who was known to be alive and living in York County. This one is nothing short of creepy and deserves no further discussion.

- *"One piece of [Andrew Bonjour's] land had Bonjour Springs on it & a descendent told me Philip married Andrew's widow to get those Springs. Today these are referred to as Bunger Springs."*

If Philip married Barbara for these springs, he was out of luck. They were sold to Arthur St. Clair by Barbara Bonjour as Administrator of the Bonjour Estate, in September of 1773, before Barbara married Philip. Philip never owned them.

On the other hand, the land originally settled by George Seidenspinner in Bedford Township, Cumberland County (Later Bedford County) which was warranted in 1765 by Andrew Bonjour

and his wife Barbara, trustees, for benefit of Barbara and the Seidenspinner children was another story. It was intersected by Shober's Creek, a fairly good sized creek; and had a substantial spring draining into the creek. There is some evidence that there was some sort of commercial activity going on there even after George Seidenspinner died and Barbara and Andrew Bonjour were living in Ligonier. A very early map of the area provided by the Bedford County Historical Society shows many of the early settlers and land-holders. It does not show the survey made for the Seidenspinner/ Bonjour land in 1790, but does show "Seidenspinner's Improvement" on the map in the area where the warrant would have been. Aside from the fort itself, it is the only improvement shown on the map, despite the fact that there were a great many houses and other buildings in existence at that time. This leads to the belief that whatever was there was something of note.

It is not hard to image that it was valuable property. It is known that Philip Freeman did attempt to have it surveyed and probably tried to get ownership in about 1790. This property with this spring may well have been at least part of the reason why Philip married Barbara, a woman with two children who was about 10 years older than he.

- *"Mary Barbara Bonjour Freeman, the oldest one bur. At Byerly-Freeman Cem - a stone from Mt. Pleasant Furnace marks her grave (I was Sec. for 14 yrs & kept records)".*

Once again, Philip and Barbara were clearly documented as being separated by early 1789 and she was documented as being in York County in January of 1790 and again in May of 1792; she had probably never returned to Westmoreland County since she left in 1776. By that time Philip and Mary already had two children, with possibly a third on the way. Barbara had received financial settlements and was about 60 years old. She was still legally married to Philip, but what possible reason would she have return to Westmoreland County?

Barbara also had to have died before 1807. At that time, no Freeman had yet settled on the land in Mt. Pleasant Township where the Byerly-Freeman cemetery was later established. So the contention that she could be buried there is without any sort of merit.

All of this also ignores the statement in the biography prepared by George Barron, that "there is a family tradition that has come down to us from our forefathers that Philip Freeman's wife's name was Mary Link".¹¹⁵ Until a few years ago, when a very real Mary Link, of the right age and proximity was found, everybody seemed to simply ignore the idea that "Mary" could be somebody other than Barbara or the rather strange idea that it was Barbara's daughter. The best guess is that people were trying to find a socially-correct solution to what really did happen and the story just never did work.

The Mary Barbara mother-daughter stories are simply not credible on any level despite the family stories.

There was, for a while at least, a small metal marker in the Byerly-Freeman Cemetery of the type used by funeral homes as temporary grave identifiers, with Brooks Funeral Home on the marker. It was placed there next to a stone from the old Freeman Furnace sometime in the late 1940's or 1950's with the inscription "Barbara Freeman 1768-1834". Who had it installed is not known and in the late 1980's it had, thankfully, disappeared.

It defies all logic that Mary Link Freeman is buried anywhere but next to Philip, only about a mile away from where she is known to have died. No evidence has been found of what happened to Barbara after Philip returned to Westmoreland County. There no reason to believe that she ever returned with him in 1788. No trace of her has been found in York or in Lancaster County where her son lived and died. She may have lived out her life with a married daughter. Despite a concentrated search, including a visit to the York County Archives, no record of her death or burial has surfaced. But it was almost certainly NOT in Westmoreland County.

The Stahlstown Trinity United Methodist Church Cemetery is a small, well-kept cemetery next to the church in the tiny town of Stahlstown. There are at least eight Freeman burials here, perhaps more without stones still standing. Placed side by side are the headstones for Philip and Mary. The inscriptions read:

Philip Freeman
A Soldier of the Revolution
Who Departed This Life
July 5, 1829
In his 86th year
Alas, Farewell

¹¹⁵ See Compass Inn Biography, Preface, page ____.

To Philip's left:

Mary Freeman
Consort of Philip Freeman
Died 7 Nov 1834
Aged 66 years 11 days
I Am The Resurrection And The Life

Mary's gravestone is of the same design as Philip's and of the same approximate age. To Mary's left is Jacob Freeman's stone, with the inscription "Died 13 Feb, 1840. There is only this, no date of birth and no wife with him. Jacob's son George and his wife Catherine Kriley (Criley) Freeman are also buried there, as well as several other descendants of Jacob. To the left of Jacob is Christina Freeman Moody, Philip and Mary's daughter, who died Oct. 1884 at the age of 89 years, 9 months and 8 days. Beside her is her husband William Moody, who died Oct. 19, 1873. His age is no longer legible. On the back of this stone is inscribed: Marshall Freeman [Moody], Died 21 July 1863, 84th Reg't, PA Vol., 28th year, Buried in Baltimore, Md., In Memory Of. This is a son who died in the Civil War, a few weeks after the battle of Gettysburg.

Philip and Mary's marble stones are becoming badly eroded and are only readable with great difficulty, although within the last couple of years the stones appear to have been reset to stabilize them. Within not too many years, they will become completely illegible. In August of 2011, an American flag still flew at the grave of Philip Freeman, a soldier of the Revolution although the flag holder was designed for the G.A.R.¹¹⁶ His service in that conflict was something we can believe he was proud of and something that his descendants can admire.

¹¹⁶ The Grand Army of the Republic, a fraternal organization made up of Union Army veterans after the Civil War.

Freeman Descendants

It is not the intent of this biographical work to delve into the Freeman descendants in any depth. In fact, only the George Freeman line has been researched to any extent by the author, being her direct line.

George Freeman, oldest son of Philip and Mary Freeman, born June 18, 1789, married Catherine Moody on July 24th 1810. They had ten children:

- William
- Mary(Polly)
- Samuel
- Daniel
- George
- John
- Christina
- Philip
- Sarah
- Maria

George Freeman's son Samuel, born June 26, 1813 married Elvira Shontz (Tschontz, Schonts). They had 11 children, including a daughter Ellen, who married John Fausold in 1853. Among their children was Mary Fausold, born in 1854, who married Roger Sherman Welty. Mary and Sherm Welty's son Frank married Grace Elizabeth Lohr and their son Paul Welty married Dorothy Laben. Their daughter is the author of this biographical work, Rebecca Welty Kaminsky.

Christina Freeman married William Moody, brother of the Catherine Moody who married her brother George Freeman. Her daughter Mary married John Barron, whose son George Barron was the original author of what is now referred to as the "Compass Inn Biography". He is the source of the information that Philip and Mary both died at the home of their daughter (his grandmother) Christina Freeman Moody. He is also the source of the statement about Philip's wife's name being Mary Link, which survived despite all the Mary Barbara Bonjour nonsense.

Christina Freeman Moody, daughter of Philip Freeman and Samuel Freeman (her nephew and grandson of Philip Freeman) both had sons die as a result of the Battle of Chancellorsville during the Civil War. Samuel's son George was 18 or 19 years old and died during the battle. Christina's son Marshall died at age 28 in Baltimore of wounds received

during the same battle. They were both in Company C of the 84th Pennsylvania volunteers.

Samuel Freeman, son of Philip and Mary born July 11, 1800, married Catherine Livingston in 1827. They had nine children. Two of their descendants, Sherri McCalmon and Grace Hertz, were valued correspondents to my father, Paul Welty, in the early stages of his Freeman research.

As of this writing, the author has no knowledge of any of Philip and Mary's children except George, Christina and Samuel. What happened to Daniel, John, Sara, Elizabeth, Philip, and Mary is not known. The daughters are likely to have married, with their married names unknown. It is also possible that some of the sons moved on, out of the area into new frontier regions in Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky and beyond.

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