

The Family of Luke Gardiner of Maryland

Captain Luke Gardiner, sheriff of St Mary's County and Burgess in the Maryland Assembly, arrived in Maryland on 8 August, 1637, as an indentured servant, transported by Thomas Copley, esquire, a Jesuit missionary. On the same day Luke's parents and siblings arrived in the Province.¹

Forced out of Maryland during Claiborne and Ingle's rebellion, Luke returned to Maryland in 1647 with his sister, Julian, the only surviving member of his family. Within a few years he had regained his father's estate, St Richard's Manor, and over the following 25 years amassed an estate of over 5,000 acres.²

According to most Gardiner pedigrees Luke Gardiner married Elizabeth Hatton before 1654 and had four sons, Richard, John, Luke and Thomas.³ He is sometimes recorded with two daughters, Susanna Ann⁴ and Elizabeth⁵.

In the *St. Mary's City Men's Career Files*⁶ Luke is recorded with two wives, Elizabeth Morris and Elizabeth Hatton, and four sons, but with no suggestion as to which wife was their mother. In the *St. Mary's City Women's Career Files*⁷ Richard and John are listed as children of Elizabeth Morris Gardiner and Luke and Thomas as possible children of Elizabeth Hatton Gardiner.

This confusion over Luke Gardiner's family can be resolved through an examination of what information survives about the family members.

The Evidence

A great deal of material relating to Luke Gardiner's family can be found in wills and other documents held in the Maryland State Archives. This evidence, arranged chronologically, is:

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|----------------|---|
| 8 Aug 1637 | Came into the Province ... M ^r Thomas Copley, and M ^r John Knolls, who transported Robert Hedger, Luke Garnett, Walter King, Thomas Davison, Thomas Mathew, George White, Richard Cox, John Machin, John Tue. ⁸ |
| 3 Apr 1654 | Eleanor Hatton, aged about 12 years, was living with Luke Gardner and alleged to be being raised as a Roman Catholic. ⁹ |
| 7 June 1656 | Luke Gardner was witness to the will of William Johnson of St Wynefrid's, St. Mary's County. ¹⁰ Legatees in the will included "John Gardner son to my dear friend Luke Gardner." |
| 18 Aug 1660 | Luke Gardner was mentioned in will of James Langworth of St John's, Charles County. ¹¹ Legatees in the will included: "my godson John Gardner, son to my loveing friend and brother Luke Gardner" and reference was made to Langworth's brother and sister Luke Gardner and Eliza: his wife. |
| 23 Sep 1662 | An agreement between Luke Gardner and Elizabeth his wife and Luke Barber Signed Luke Gardner & the Mark of Elizabeth Gardner. ¹² |
| 4 Aug 1665 | Agreement between Luke Gardner and Elizabeth his wife and Robert Macklyn. Signed Luke Gardner & Elizabeth Gardner. ¹³ |
| 1670 | Luke Gardner and Zackariah Wade issued a certificate for a 780 acre tract called "Brother's Purchase" in what later became Prince George's County ¹⁴ |
| 1670 | Luke Gardner and Zackariah Wade issued a certificate for a 780 acre tract called "Good Luck" in Charles County ¹⁵ |
| 22 Jan 1672/73 | The Deposition of Luke Gardner of S ^t Maryes County Gent. aged fifty years or thereabouts ¹⁶ |

4 Dec 1673	Luke Gardiner's will (Probate 12 Aug 1674). ¹⁷ Legatees in the will: wife Elizabeth Gardiner; eldest son Richard Gardiner who was of age; son John Gardiner, son Luke Gardiner and youngest son Thomas Gardiner, all to receive their bequests at 18. In the event of death of wife and children without heirs, estates to pass to brother-in-law Major Thomas Brooke, goddaughter Mary Brooke and the church.
5 Mar 1677	In his will Zachary Wade referred to his brother, Luke Gardner" ¹⁸

Date of Birth of Luke Gardiner

Luke, second son of Richard and Elizabeth (Hame) Gardiner, was born near Oxford, England, at the Country Estate of "Woodperrie" and Christened at Stanton St. John 11 Jan 1622.¹⁹

This quote from *Gardiner: Generations and Relations* summarises the usually accepted version of Luke Gardiner's birth. It is wrong on almost every single detail.

While Luke's mother was named Elizabeth, she was not Elizabeth Hame. Elizabeth Hame did marry a man named Richard Gardner at Ockham in Surrey on 23 January 1614/15. They had five children, Agnes, Mary, Richard, John and Thomas, and were living in Surrey in 1640. Elizabeth (Hame) Gardner was buried at Cobham in Surrey in 1669 beside her husband Richard who had died in 1642.²⁰ They never left England.

Luke Gardiner was not baptised at Stanton St John, Oxfordshire, on 11 January, 1622. The surviving Parish Registers of Stanton St John begin in 1654. The Register that included baptisms for 1622 has been lost for centuries.²¹

There is no evidence that Luke Gardiner was born at the "Country Estate of Woodperrie." Woodperry was a manor in the parish of Stanton St John in Oxfordshire. Since 1527 the Manor has been held by New College, Oxford University. In 1629 one of the tenants of the manor was a man named Richard Gardiner.²² However, Gardiner or Gardner is a common English surname and there is no information available to identify this particular Richard Gardiner as Richard Gardiner of Maryland.

The assertion that Luke Gardiner was born at Woodperry and baptised at Stanton St John is nothing more than a guess with no evidence to support it.

As there is no document that records either the date or place of birth or baptism for Luke Gardiner, it can only be assumed that the date 11 January is a mistranscription of the date of Luke's deposition made on 22 January 1672/73.

All that can be said with certainty is that Luke Gardiner was born in England in about 1622, the son of Richard and Elizabeth Gardiner.

The Will of William Johnson

William Johnson wrote his will on the eve of a voyage to England, fearing that he, his wife and their daughter might die on the voyage. The principal heir in that eventuality was William and Emma's nephew, William Langworth.

Other than his wife and daughter, the relatives named in the will were:

- “my Dear brother” James Langworth of St Wynefrids; In a deposition made in 1662, William Johnson’s widow, Emma, by then widowed and remarried to Thomas Turner, referred to “her brother in Lawe Mr James Langworth”²³ so Langworth was married to either William Johnson’s sister or Emma Johnson’s sister.
- “my dear sister” M^{rs} Agatha Langworth; Agatha was either William Johnson’s sister or Emma Johnson’s sister.
- “my Dear nephew” M^r William Langworth;
- “my dear Neece” or “our Neece” M^{rs} Mary Langworth;
- “our loving mother” Elizabeth Morris; Elizabeth Morris was either Johnson’s mother-in-law, or his own mother who had remarried after the death of Johnson’s father.
- “my dear sister” Elizabeth Morris; either Johnson’s unmarried sister-in-law or his own half-sister
- “our dear sister Elizabeth Price.” either Johnson’s sister, or his wife’s sister.

There were also bequests to Lawrence Sarkey, who was to receive payment of “one hogsh^d of sweet scented tobacco,” Emma Shanks daughter to John Shanks of St Clements Bay, planter, who was to receive a calf, and John Gardner “son to my dear friend Luke Gardner,” who was to receive “five pounds in money sterl(ing).”

The Will of James Langworth

In his will James Langworth refers to his wife and children and to:

- “my Loveing Brothers and Sisters M^r Luke Gardner and Elizabeth his Wife M^r Thomas Turner and Emma his Wife all of St Clements Baye,”
 - As Luke Gardner had been married in 1656 when William Johnson made his will, but was described in that will only as “my dear friend,” the relationship to James Langworth was through Langworth himself and not through his wife. Therefore Elizabeth Gardner was James Langworth’s sister.
 - Emma Turner was the widow of William Johnson. As Emma deposed in 1662 that Langworth was her brother-in-law, the relationship was through Agatha Langworth. Emma could have been either Agatha’s sister or Agatha’s former sister-in-law.
- “Jane Constable, Daughter to my Loveing Brother M^r Marmaduke Constable,” The Constables were not mentioned in Johnson’s will so the connection was through Langworth. Mrs Constable was probably his sister.
- “my sister Johnson” and “my sister Constable.” They were mentioned in a discussion of an indentured servant who had caused dissent between the two women. The section reads “I do believe my sister Johnson might be so much beholding to my sister Constable when she was in England …” which suggests that the dispute was an old one dating from after the death of William Johnson, and that “my sister Johnson” may have meant the widowed Emma Johnson, prior to her remarriage to Thomas Turner.

The only clue to the relationship between Emma Johnson/Turner and Agatha Langworth is James Langworth’s disposition of his estates.

In his initial bequests Langworth had left his main property, St Johns, to his eldest son, William, and 300 acres in St Clements Bay, together with the right to 670 acres yet to be taken up, to his son John. If there were a third son then the last two properties were to be split between them. He then gave detailed instructions on how the lands were to be split

between his daughters if his sons died. If they all died then the estates were to be inherited by his nephew and nieces:

1. John Gardner, son of Langworth's sister, Elizabeth Gardner, was to inherit the main property, St Johns.
2. Elizabeth Johnson, niece of Agatha Langworth, was to inherit 300 acres in St Clements Bay.
3. Mary Turner was to inherit the right to six hundred and seventy acres of land which had yet to be taken up.

Who was Mary Turner? She was either the daughter of Agatha Langworth's sister, and so James' niece by marriage, or the daughter of the widow of Agatha Langworth's deceased brother, and so styled a niece by courtesy. The detailed instructions in Langworth's will show how important the disposition of his property was to Langworth. In view of that, it seems quite strange that Langworth would leave such a large estate to a child who was not related to him or his wife, when he had another niece, Jane Constable, who would have been far more closely related.

The implication is that Mary Turner was a blood relative and not a courtesy relative, and that Emma Johnson/Turner and Agatha Langworth were sisters. Both women had married their husbands in England, and both had been transported to Maryland in 1651. It is possible that both were daughters of Elizabeth Morris the elder.

The Wives of Luke Gardiner

Luke Gardiner's first wife was born Elizabeth Langworth.

In 1670 Luke Gardiner and Zachary Wade acquired a tract of Land called "Brother's Purchase" and in 1673 Luke Gardiner referred to Zachary Wade and Thomas Brooke as his brothers-in-law. Zachary was married to Mary Hatton and Thomas Brooke was married to Eleanor Hatton. So by 1670 Mary and Eleanor's sister, Elizabeth Hatton, had become Luke's second wife.

At some point between 1660 and 1670 Luke Gardiner had been widowed and remarried.

In 1662, when Luke and his wife made an agreement, his wife could not sign her name. On another agreement made in 1665 Luke's wife could write. As Elizabeth Hatton was the niece of the Secretary of Maryland and the granddaughter of an Oxford educated rector who had been a schoolmaster she would have been literate.²⁴

This suggests that between 1662 and 1665 Elizabeth Langworth Gardner had died and Luke Gardner had remarried.

The Children of Luke Gardiner

In his will Captain Luke Gardiner bequeathed his estates to his wife Elizabeth and to his four sons, Richard, John, Luke and Thomas.

Richard Gardiner

Date of Birth

In Luke Gardner's will, dated 4 December, 1673, Richard was the only son who was to receive his inheritance immediately and not wait until he turned 18. He was also appointed

overseer of the estate of his youngest brother Thomas. Therefore he had reached the age of maturity.

That Richard had come of age is confirmed by the testamentary proceedings for his father's estate. On 12 August 1674, Richard exhibited his father's will and on 11 November, 1674, Richard exhibited his father's inventory on behalf of his mother, Elizabeth Gardiner, administratrix.²⁵ To have performed these duties Richard had to be of legal age, which in Maryland was 18.²⁶

Richard was aged 18 or more on 4 December 1673 and so was born before 4 December, 1655. As his next brother, John, was born in 1656, Richard was most probably born in 1654.

Mother

In his will Luke Gardner wrote

I Command all my Children that they be obedient to their mother and to ask her advice in all their undertakings that are of any Consequence and of any Difference should arise amongst them.

Because of this command almost all published histories of the Gardiner family identify Richard's mother as Luke's second wife and widow, Elizabeth Hatton, niece of Thomas Hatton, Secretary of Maryland.²⁷

However, in the eighteenth century the word "mother" was a more general term than it is in the twenty first century. It could mean not only biological mother, but also stepmother or mother-in-law. In this instance it could mean either biological mother or stepmother.

In 1660, six years after Richard Gardiner's birth, Luke Gardiner was still married to his first wife, Elizabeth Langworth, so Elizabeth Hatton, Luke's second wife, was Richard's stepmother and Richard's biological mother was Elizabeth Langworth.

John Gardner

Date of Birth

In Luke Gardner's will, dated 4 December, 1673, John was stated to be under the age of 18. He was therefore born after 4 December 1655.

William Johnson, in his will dated 7 June, 1656,²⁸ made a bequest to "John Gardner son to my dear friend Luke Gardner."

These two wills place John's birth between 4 December, 1655, and 7 June, 1656

Mother

Like his elder brother, Richard, almost all published histories of the Gardiner family identify John's mother as his father's second wife, Elizabeth Hatton. As has already been noted, in 1660 Luke Gardiner was still married to his first wife, Elizabeth Langworth, and as John was born before this date his mother was Elizabeth Langworth.

Luke Gardiner the younger

Date of Birth

Luke Gardiner was the third son of Luke Gardiner Senior. He was under the age of 18 on 4 December, 1673, so was born after 4 December 1655. His elder brother, John, was born in the first half of 1656 so the earliest Luke Junior could have been born was 1658.

In his will, dated 24 April, 1703,²⁹ Luke Gardiner the younger made a bequest to his married daughter, Elizabeth Joseph. As the only married child with brothers all aged less than 18 Elizabeth was probably 20 or 21 years old and therefore born in about 1682.

This suggests that Luke married in about 1681. His age at marriage is nowhere stated but he was probably in his early 20s. As he cannot have been born any earlier than 1658 his date of birth can be placed in the period 1658 to 1660 which would make his age at marriage between 21 and 23.

Mother

Like his elder brothers, Richard and John, almost all published histories of the Gardiner family identify John's mother as his father's second wife, Elizabeth Hatton.³⁰ As has been noted, in 1660 Luke Gardiner was still married to his first wife, Elizabeth Langworth, and as Luke was probably born at or before this date his mother was Elizabeth Langworth.

Thomas Gardiner

Date of Birth

The Records of the College of St Omer, an English Jesuit school in Spanish Flanders, now in France, give Thomas' date of birth as 1665. He became a member of the Jesuit order in 1685 and died at Liège in 1694, not yet ordained.³¹

Mother

The five to seven year gap between the birth of Thomas' next older brother, Luke, and Thomas' own birth, strongly suggest that that Thomas was the only child of Luke Gardiner's second wife, Elizabeth Hatton. He was probably named in memory of his mother's uncle, Thomas Hatton, Secretary of Maryland who died in 1655.

The Dates of Luke Gardiner Senior's Marriages

Luke Gardiner's eldest child by his first wife, Elizabeth Langworth, was born in about 1654. This places the marriage of Luke Gardiner and Elizabeth Langworth in about 1653.

Luke's only child by his second wife, Elizabeth Hatton, was born in 1665. This indicates a date of marriage of Luke Gardiner and Elizabeth Hatton of about 1664. This agrees with the evidence of the signature from the 1665 agreement.

The Supposed Daughters

Susanna Ann Gardiner

In his will, dated 8 Jan 1697/98, Samuel Abell left a bequest to his wife Ann.³² The will was witnessed by Luke Gardner. Based on this it has been concluded: "The maiden name of Ann cannot be discovered but [we] suspect it was Gardiner."³³ The assumption that Luke Gardner was Ann's father derives only from Luke's presence as a witness to the will. The

will was also witnessed by Edward Cole and Charles Carles, either of whom could, by this logic, have been the father of Ann Abell.

There is no document that gives Mrs Abell the name “Susanna Ann.” The name may have been derived from the name of Luke Gardiner’s granddaughter, Susanna, son of his son, Luke Gardiner the younger.³⁴

In his will Luke Gardiner the elder made no mention of a daughter named either Susanna or Ann, nor of any grandchildren surnamed Abell. It can therefore be concluded that Ann Abell was not Luke’s daughter.

Elizabeth Gardiner

The evidence for this daughter is not given in any pedigree. The will of Richard Gardner, written 19 April 1687, refers to his “goddaughter Eliza: Gardner, daughter of Luke Gardner.”³⁵ If a researcher had been under the misapprehension that this Richard Gardner was Luke Gardiner’s elder brother rather than his eldest son, then that researcher may have concluded that the elder Luke had a daughter named Elizabeth.

In his will Luke Gardiner made no mention of a daughter named Elizabeth, so it can be concluded not only that Elizabeth Gardiner was not Luke’s daughter, but that she did not exist at all.

The Abduction of Eleanor Hatton

On the 23rd of April 1654 [Luke Gardiner] was cited to appear before the Provincial Court to answer a charge of detaining at his house his wife’s sister, Elinor Hatton, 12 years old, to train her up in the Roman Catholic religion, but on his producing her to the Court, she was turned over to her uncle, Secretary Hatton.³⁶

This story has become part of the legend of Luke Gardiner. It is, however, strange that if one sister, Elizabeth Hatton, had been allowed to marry a Roman Catholic, thereby converting to her husband’s faith, it would have been unacceptable for another sister to become part of a Catholic household and be brought up as a Catholic. This inconsistency casts doubt on the tale.

The original version of the story was slightly different:

By the Lieu^t &c of Maryland

Whereas I am Given to Understand that Luke Gardiner doth in a uncivill refractory insolent Manner detayne at his House one Elinor Hatton a Young Girle Daughter to the wife of Lieutenant Richard Bancks and Neice to m^r Thomas Hatton his Ldps Secretary Endeavouring (as is probably Suspected) to trayne her up in the Roman Catholick Religion Contrary to the mind and will of her Said Mother and Uncle ...

Given at St Maries this third day of Aprill 1654.

William Stone

At a Court held at St Maries the tenth day of Aprill 1654

Present: William Stone Esq Governour, Cap^t John Price, m^r Thomas Hatton Secretary

m^r Thomas Hatton his Ldps Secretary and Attorney Generall on his Ldps behalf and on the behalf of himself this day declared against Luke Gardiner

for detaining Elinor Hatton his Neece a Girle of about twelve years old from him the Said Secretary and her Mother Endeavouring to trayne her up in the Roman Catholick Religion ...³⁷

The crucial difference is that in the official report there is no suggestion that Eleanor Hatton was related in any way to either Luke Gardiner or his wife. Luke's wife was not mentioned at all. The age of the child is also understated. Eleanor, daughter of Richard Hatton, was baptised at Lymme, Cheshire, on 6 September, 1640.³⁸ She was 13½ years old, not 12. What cause Eleanor had to be living with Luke Gardiner and his wife is not known, but as in April, 1654, Elizabeth Langworth Gardiner was either with child or had recently given birth to her eldest son, Richard, Eleanor Hatton may have been placed in service with her to learn the running of a house, or to help out in the household during Elizabeth's first childbirth. The fear over her conversion to Catholicism, which had been "suspected" on April 3rd, had become a fact by April 10th. One wonders how real the intended conversion was.

Some ten years later, after the death of Thomas Hatton, Eleanor's sister became the wife of Luke Gardiner. The fervour against Roman Catholicism seems to have died with Thomas Hatton, who was, after all, the son of a protestant clergyman.

Conclusion

Luke Gardner, born in England in 1622, was married twice, once to Elizabeth Langworth in about 1653 and secondly to Elizabeth Hatton in about 1664.

Luke had four sons:

1. Richard Gardner, born about 1654, son of Elizabeth Langworth.
Richard was named after his paternal grandfather, Richard Gardner.
2. John Gardner, born 1656, son of Elizabeth Langworth.
Traditionally the second son was named for his maternal grandfather, so Elizabeth's father may have been John Langworth.
3. Luke Gardner, born about 1658, son of Elizabeth Langworth.
Luke was named after his father.
4. Thomas Gardner, born 1665, son of Elizabeth Hatton.
Thomas was named after his maternal uncle, Thomas Hatton, former Secretary of Maryland.

William Good
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¹ *Maryland Historical Magazine* Volume V (Baltimore 1910), p.166

² *Maryland Historical Magazine* Volume XVI (Baltimore 1921) pp.22-26

³ *Adventurers, Cavaliers, Patriots, Ancestors Remembered*, by Louise Turner (National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland 1994), page 114
Gardiner Descendants plus Hatton Family and Weire Family Histories by Mary Louise Donnelly (Texas 2004) p.20

Gardiner: Generations and Relations by Thomas Richard Gardiner (Leonardtown 1991) Volume 1 p.21
History of Frederick County, Maryland, Volume 1 by Thomas John Chew Williams & Folger McKinsey (Baltimore 1979 & 2003), page 313n

Maryland Historical Magazine, Volume XVI page 25

⁴ <http://www.geni.com/people/Ann-Abell-Gardiner/6000000002386457055>
<http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=115873144>

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- <http://genealogytrails.com/mary/stmarys/births.html>
<http://gennotes.150m.com/clarkapp.html>
- ⁵ Elizabeth appears on many trees on www.ancestry.com but with no source cited.
- ⁶ <http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5000/sc5094/001400/html/sm1473.html>
- ⁷ <http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc4000/sc4040/001700/html/sm1745.html>
<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc4000/sc4040/000500/html/sm558.html>
- ⁸ *Maryland Historical Magazine Volume V* (Baltimore 1910), page 166, citing L. O. R., Liber No. 1
- ⁹ *Archives of Maryland, Volume 10, Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court 1649/50-1657* (Baltimore 1891) pages 354-356
- ¹⁰ *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-1, Will 1.129
- ¹¹ *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-1, Will 1.133
- ¹² *Archives of Maryland, Volume 49, Proceedings of the Provincial Court, 1663-1666* (Baltimore 1932) page 33
- ¹³ *Archives of Maryland, Volume 57, Proceedings of the Provincial Court, 1666-1670* (Baltimore 1940) page 294
- ¹⁴ <http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/stagser/s1400/s1426/g/pdf/54gardn-gary.pdf>
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-1, Will 1.517
Abstracts of the Testamentary Proceedings of the Prerogative Court of Maryland, Volume 2 (Baltimore 2005), p. 58
- ¹⁷ *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-1, Will 1.631
- ¹⁸ *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-14, Will 9.16
- ¹⁹ *Gardiner: Generations and Relations* Volume 1 p.xvi
- ²⁰ *The English Origins of Richard Gardiner of Maryland* by William Good (Sydney 2014)
- ²¹ *Oxfordshire Parish Registers and Bishop's Transcripts*, by Colin Harris (Oxford 2006) p.47
Stanton St John Registers published by the Oxfordshire Family History Society (Oxford 2009)
The first mention of Gardiners in the registers of Stanton St John is a marriage in 1735. The next entry is a burial in 1823
- ²² 'Parishes: Stanton St. John', *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 5: Bullingdon hundred* (1957), pp. 282-293. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=101899> Date accessed: 05 August 2014.
- ²³ *Archives of Maryland, Volume 41*, page 564-565
- ²⁴ *The Origins of Thomas Hatton, Secretary of Maryland* by William Good (2013)
http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wrag44/Opinion_Pieces/The_Origins_of_Thomas_Hatton.pdf
- ²⁵ *Abstracts of the Testamentary Proceedings of the Prerogative Court of Maryland, Volume 2* (Baltimore 2005), pp. 128 & 141
- ²⁶ *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* by H.W. Newman (Baltimore 1961) p. 215
- ²⁷ *Gardiner Descendants* p.22
Gardiner: Generations and Relations Volume 1 p.21
- ²⁸ *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-1, Will 1.129
- ²⁹ *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-8, Will 3.470
- ³⁰ *Genealogical History of Our Ancestors* by W.K. Rutherford & A.C.Z. Rutherford (1977) Volume 2 p. 134
By my strong hand: the motto of Clan MacKay of Sutherland, Scotland; an account of some of the lives and adventures of the Key family of Prince George County, Maryland, and Marshall, Texas from the earliest times to the present by Hobart Key (Port Caddo Press 1965) p. 15
Gardner, Gardiner, Gardiner, Gardinier, Gartner genealogy and allied families by M.K. Gardner & A.C. Gregath (1983) p. 96
The Kinnears and Their Kin compiled by E.D. White (1916) p. 331
- ³¹ *St Omers and Bruges Colleges, 1593-1773, A Biographical Dictionary* by G. Holt (Norfolk 1979) p.110
- ³² *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-11, Will 6.137
- ³³ *The Abell Family in America* by H.A. Abell & L.P. Abell (Vermont 1940) page 292
- ³⁴ <http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5000/sc5094/001400/html/sm1474.html>
- ³⁵ *Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills) 1635-1777* SM16-9, Will 4.276
- ³⁶ *Maryland Historical Magazine Volume XVI*, p.25
- ³⁷ *Archives of Maryland, Volume 10*, pages 354-356
- ³⁸ Parish registers of Lymme, Cheshire, available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>