

PERIOD 1728-1863
AS COMPILED BY S. E. DYKE IN 1959
AND
REVISED BY C. B. GROVE IN 1969
MAINLY FROM RECORDS IN
LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NAME OF GUNSMITH	TOWNSHIP	DATES LISTED
— A —		
Albrecht, Albright, Andreas	Warwick Township, Lititz, Pa.	1772-1800
Albright, Henry (Son of Andreas)	Warwick Township, Lititz, Pa.	1814-1820
Aldenderfer, M.	Cocalico Township	1800-Only
Axer, John	Lancaster Boro.	1843-1844
— B —		
Baker, Caleb	Deed Book B "Mayhill" Lampeter Twp.	1741
Baker, George	Lampeter Township	1786
Baker, John	Lancaster Boro.	1728-1750
Baker, Joshua (Son of John)	Lancaster Boro.	1754
Barber, Samuel	Caernovon Township	1807-1813
Bair, Jaffa	Leacock Township	1802
Bard, George	Lampeter Township	1777
Barr, Jacob	Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township	1829
Bear, John	Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township	1808-1841
Bear, Joseph	Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township	1825-1834
Bear, Jacob	Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township	1825-1850
Bear, Peter	Gunsmith, Warwick Township	1840-1850
Bear, Samuel	Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township	1809-1850
Beck, John Philip	Gunsmith, Lebanon County	1777-1810
Becker, George	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1785
Bender, John	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1813-1816
Bender, Christian	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1814
Bender, Phillip	Gunsmith, Manheim	1786-1793
Berry, Peter	Gunsmith, Anneville—Now Dauphin	1772-1790
Berry, Peter, Jr.	Gunsmith, Anneville—Now Dauphin	1800-1807
Bez, Michael	Gunsmith, Warwick Township	1758-1759
Bishly, Andrew	Gunsmith, Lebanon Township	1771
Beyer, Nicholas	Gunsmith, Lebanon Township	1807-1810
Beyer, Davit	Gunsmith, Lebanon Township	1800
Bollinger, Peter	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1776
Boyer, Henry	Gunsmith, Lebanon Township	1807
Brandt, John	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1834-1837
Breihen, Christopher	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1759-1770
Beidenhardt, Christopher	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1770-1773
Brenberger, Frederick	Gun Barrel Forger, Martic Township	1814-1816
Bricker, Adam	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1863
Brock, Jacob	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1850
Brong, Peter	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1788-1816
Brooks, John	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1800-1816
Brown, David D.	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1838-1863
Brubaker, John	Gunsmith, Earl Township	1802-1803
Bryan, James	Gunsmith, Lampeter Township	1801
Brenneman, Jacob	Gun Barrel Forger, Earl Township	1828
Butler, Thomas	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1749
Buyers, Robert	Gunsmith, Salisbury Township	1801
— C —		
Chambers, James	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1750-1751
Corner, Paul	Gunlock Maker, Lancaster Boro.	1759
Corolus,	Gunsmith, Donegal Township	1801
Coburn, Benjamin	Gunsmith, Little Britain Township	1816

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1668

GUNSMITHS OF LANCASTER COUNTY 1728-1863

51

Crist, John
 Cryscher, Daniel
 Cooper, George
 Cook, Jacob
 Coldren, Samuel

DeHuff, Henry
 DeHuff, John
 DeMuth, Christopher
 DeMuth, Johannes
 DeMuth, Joseph
 DeHaven, Peter
 Dellot, Peter
 DeTreison, Reuben
 Dickert, Jacob
 Dornbach, Anthony
 Dreppert, John
 Dreppert, William
 Dreppert, Andrew
 Dreppert, George
 Dulibar, Christian

Eberle, Jacob
 Eberman, Henry
 Eberman, John
 Eshleman, John
 Eby, Abram
 Eby, Christian
 Eby, John
 Eich[h]oltz, John W.
 Eich[h]oltz, Henry G.

Gun Barrel Forger, Cocalico Township 1805
 Gun Barrel Forger, Cocalico Township 1830
 Gunsmith—Forger, Cocalico Township 1834-1835
 Gunsmith, Caernovon Township 1807-1814
 Gunsmith, Brecknock Township 1838-1850

— D —

Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1771-1807
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1803-1819
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1790-1804
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1790
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1800-1813
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1768
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1850
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1850
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1770-1821
 Gunsmith, Cocalico Township 1803
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1837-1864
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1843
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1843-1850
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1849
 Gun Barrel Forger, Lancaster Boro. 1847-1850

— E —

Gunsmith, Warwick Township 1810
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1810-1850
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1759
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1843-1850
 Gunsmith, Leacock Township 1781
 Gunsmith, Warwick Township 1768
 Gunsmith, Leacock Township 1801
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1843-1844
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1850

Fainot, Geo. Frederick
 Feather, George
 Feinebecker, Daniel
 Fetter, George
 Fetter, Peter
 Fetter, George Jr.
 Fetter, Henry
 Feree, Joel
 Ferree, Jacob
 Fondersmith, George
 Fondersmith, Jacob
 Fondersmith, John
 Fondersmith, Louis
 Fondersmith, Valentine
 Fordney, Casper
 Fordney, Melchoir
 Fordney, Philip
 Fordney, Henry
 Fordney, Jacob
 Fordney, Jacob, Jr.
 Foulkes, William
 Fox, Benjamin
 Fox, Philip
 Franse, J. A.
 Frailey, Andrew
 Fries, William
 Frynyer, John

— F —

Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1779-1803
 Gunsmith, Elizabeth Township 1820-1822
 Gunsmith, Cocalico Township 1796
 Gunsmith, Elizabeth Township 1831-1848
 Gunsmith, Elizabeth Township 1837-1850
 Gunsmith, Elizabeth Township 1844-1850
 Gunsmith, Elizabeth Township 1847-1848
 Gunsmith, Leacock Township 1758-1775
 Gunsmith, Strasburg Township 1782
 Gunsmith, Strasburg Township 1803-1826
 Gunsmith, Martic Township 1811
 Gunsmith, Strasburg Township 1779-1803
 Gunsmith, Strasburg Township 1803
 Gunsmith, Strasburg Township 1779-1824
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1828-1830
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1807-1847
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1836
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1833-1838
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1843
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1834-1849
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1759
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1843
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1843
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1850
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1850
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1850
 Gunsmith, East Cocalico Township 1850

Getz, John
 Getz, Peter

— G —

Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1779-1833
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1810

Gibbs, Abraham	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1849
Gibbs, John	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1821
Gibbs, Henry	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1811-1830
Gibbs, William	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1833-1842
Gill, J. D.	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1783-1819
Gill, Benjamin	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1843-1850
Gillman, Daniel	Gunsmith, Donegal Township	1779-1812
Gillman, Nicholas	Gunsmith, Donegal Township	1801-1808
Glenn, Thomas	Gunsmith, East Earl Township	1788
Ginerich, Daniel	Gunsmith, Warwick Township	1785-1801
Gorner, Paul	Lock Maker, Lancaster Boro.	1759
Gonter, John	Gunsmith, Columbia, Pa.	1800
Gonter, Peter	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1773-1819
Greaff, George	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1785-1786
Greaff, John	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1772-1802
Greaff, William	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1807-1809
Grave, John	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1773
Groff, Henry	Gunsmith, West Earl Township	1847
Guest, John	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1802-1811
Gumph, Andrew	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1829-1849
Gumph, Christian	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1800-1834
Gumph, George	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1825-1849
Gumph, Henry	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1814-1843
Gumph, Jacob	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1814-1816
Gumph, Mathias	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1789-1793
Gumph, Stoephel	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1789-1797
Gumph, Michael	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1843
-- H --		
Haeffer, Jacob	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1803-1822
Haeffer, John (Brother)	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1803
Hagi, John	Gunsmith, Cocalico Township	1796-1850

Haines, Isaac	Gunsmith, Lampeter Township	1772-1793
Harris, Henry	Gunsmith, Paxton Township	1777-1781
Heinhold, Simeon	Gunsmith, Strasburg Township	1779
Henry, Abram	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1797-1811
Henry, John, 1st	Gunsmith, Salisbury Township	1747
Henry, John, 2nd	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1770-1772
Henry, William, 1st	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1759-1770
Henry, William, 2nd	Gunsmith, Warwick Township	1780(Later Nazareth)
Hess, Christian	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1794
Hildenbeutel, John	Gunsmith, Cocalico Township	1835-1850
Hoak, Jacob	Gunsmith, Strasburg Township	1800-1831
Hoak, Mathias	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1802-1814
Hoffman, Christian	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1807-1811
Holeman, John	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1807-1819
Holtzworth, William	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1815-1832
Howeter, George	Gunsmith, Lampeter Township	1820-1827
Howeter, Charles	Gun Barrel Forger, Upper Leacock Twp.	1850
Howeter, Henry	Gun Barrel Forger, Upper Leacock Twp.	1850
Hook, Jacob	Gunsmith, East Earl Township	1788
Hoofman, Jacob	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1750(Deed Book C)
Hsueder, Henry	Gunsmith, Manheim Township	1848-1849
-- I --		
Imhoff, Benedict	Gunsmith, Heidleberg Township	1759(Also Doctor)
Ish, Christian	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1778(Narr's Record)
Ish, Peter	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1759
-- J --		
St. Johns, William	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1839-1854
Johnson, William	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1838
-- K --		
Kautz, Gabriel	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1863
Keaffer, Peter	Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1759

Kehler, John
 Killets, Charles
 King, Frederick
 Kleine, Christian
 Koch, Charles
 Kohr, William
 Kraft, Jacob
 Kurtz, George
 Kurtz, Samuel
 Kuntz, Michael
 Koenig & Woerner

Lauck, Simon
 LeFever, Isaac
 LeFever, Philip (Son)
 Leib, Alpheus
 Leib, John
 Leamon (Leman), Henry Eichholtz
 Leinbach, Elias
 Llewellyn, Matthew
 Lutz, George
 Lipp, Abraham
 Lyne, John

Martin, Michael
 Mason, Henry
 Mathasie, Christian
 Maurer, John
 Martin, David
 Martin, Samuel
 Mays, James

Michael, John
 Miller, George
 Miller, Benjamin
 Miller, Henry
 Miller, Jacob
 Miller, John, Jr.
 Miller, John
 Milley, Edward
 Miller, John
 Messersmith, George
 Messersmith, Henry
 Messersmith, Jacob
 Melloy, Hugh
 Metzger, Jacob
 Metzger, Philip
 Messner, Joel
 Meyer, George
 Musketnuss, Peter
 Moyer, George
 Mylin (Meylin), Martin
 Mulgrew, William
 Mull, Henry
 Murphy, John
 Myers, Daniel
 McClure, William
 McCune, William

Nauman, Jacob
 Neubecker,
 Newcomer, Christian
 Newcomer, John, Sr.
 Newcomer, John, Jr.

Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1802-1803
 Gun Stock Maker, West Earl Township 1849-1850
 Gun Stock Maker, West Earl Township 1863
 Gun Stock Maker, West Earl Township 1792-1793
 Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township 1850
 Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township 1837-1838
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1770-1783
 Lockmaker, Lancaster Boro. 1759
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1837-1843
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1799-1807
 Gunsmiths, Lancaster Boro. 1863

— L —

Gunsmith, Lebanon Township 1783-1785
 Gunsmith, Lampeter Township 1731-1736
 Gunsmith, Lampeter Township 1756-1770
 Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township 1849-1850
 Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township 1842-1850
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1834-1885
 Gunsmith, Brecknock Township 1843-1846
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1792-1802
 Gunsmith, Cocalico Township 1842
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1850
 Gunsmith, Conestoga Township 1751-1806

— M —

Gunsmith, Brecknock Township 1811-1850
 Gunsmith—Lockmaker, Lancaster Boro. 1759
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1838-1849
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1802-1803
 Gunsmith, Brecknock Township 1847
 Gunsmith, Brecknock Township 1847-1850
 Gunsmith, Rapho Township 1759-1790

Gun Barrel Forger, Manheim Township 1812
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1811
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1841
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1842-1850
 Gunsmith, Conestoga Township 1773
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1771-1803
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1863
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1863
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1771-1789
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1814
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1747
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1779-1810
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1809
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1754-1777
 Gun Lock Maker, Lancaster Boro. 1814-1816
 Gun Barrel Smith, Elizabeth Township 1837-1843
 Gun Lock Maker, Lancaster Boro. 1814
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1863
 Gun Lock Maker, Lancaster Boro. 1814-1840
 Lampeter Township (Only proof is inventory) 1751
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1841-1847
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1751(Deed Book C)
 Gunsmith, Donegal Township 1817
 Gunsmith, Manor Township 1847-1850
 Gunsmith, W. Hempfield Township 1822
 Gunsmith, Colerain Township 1826-1846

— N —

Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro. 1809-1832
 Gunsmith, Halifax Township 1826
 Gunsmith, Hempfield Township 1802
 Gunsmith, Hempfield Township 1779-1780
 Gunsmith, Hempfield Township 1780-1783

Oberholtzer, Christian
 Oberholtzer, Christian, Jr.
 Orman, John Michael

Pannebecker, Daniel
 Pannebecker, John
 Pannebecker, Jess
 Pannebecker, Samuel
 Pannebecker, William
 Pickle, Henry
 Poorman, M.

Raser, David
 Raesor, Daniel
 Raesor, Peter
 Ramsey, Robert
 Radfang, Jacob
 Radfang, George
 Reasure, John
 Reigart, Peter
 Reitenbaugh, William
 Reiner, Michael
 Reichenbuch, George
 Richardson, William
 Remley, John Y.
 Robertson (Robison), John
 Roesser, Mathew
 Roller & Sprecher
 Roth, Samuel
 Runfelt, S. C.

Rutt, Henry

Sager, John
 Schnelzer, John
 Schreit, John
 Seibble, Christian
 Seebrooks, William
 Sees, Jacob
 Seibel, Christian
 Shaffner, John
 Sheaff, Henry
 Shreid, Casper (Deed Book H)
 Shell, Martin
 Sherts, Christian
 Shunk, Isaac
 Showwalter, John
 Sible, Jacob
 Siegfried, Ruben
 Siegfried, Daniel
 Sinclair, John
 Stite, Casper
 Smith, Martin
 Smith, John
 Snider, Lewis
 Snoddy, James (Will Book B -- Page 325)
 Swobe, Adam
 Sweitzer, Abraham

Sweitzer, Daniel

Treppert (or Dreppert), John

Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.

— O —

Gunsmith, Hempfield Township
 Gunsmith, Hempfield Township
 Gun Lock Maker, Lancaster Boro.

— P —

Gunsmith, Cocalico Township
 Gun Barrel Forger, Brecknock Township
 Gunsmith, Cocalico Township
 Gunsmith, Brecknock Township
 Gun Barrel Forger, Cocalico Township
 Gunsmith, Manheim Township
 Gunsmith, Heidleburg Township

— R —

Lockmaker, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Strasburg Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gun Barrel Forger, Martic Township
 Gunsmith, Donegal Township
 Gunsmith, Conestoga Township
 Gunsmith, Strasburg Township
 Gunsmith, Paxton Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Conestoga Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Elizabeth Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gun Barrel Smith, Elizabeth Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.

1761

1789

1802

1759

1828-1831

1826-1834

1833-1838

1828-1844

1850

1811

1772

1759

1774

1782-1786

1796-1798

1811-1839

1770-1780

1779-1781

1754-1777

1838-1847

1779-1790

1850

1839-1850

1836-1850

1850

1759-1770

1850

1830-1850

1850

Gunsmith, Earl Township

— S —

Gunsmith, Lampeter Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Township
 Gunsmith, Cocalico Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Martic Township
 Gunsmith, Elizabeth Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Cocalico Township
 Gunsmith, Heidleberg Township
 Gunsmith, Paxton Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gun Barrel Smith, E. Cocalico Twp.
 Gun Barrel Smith, E. Cocalico Twp.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Cocalico Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.
 Gunsmith, Donegal Township
 Gunsmith, Derry Township
 Gunsmith, Leacock Township
 Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.

(Brother-in-Law to M. Fordney)

Locksmith, Lancaster Boro.

— T —

Gun Lock Maker, Lancaster Boro.

1820

1777

1793

1777

1797-1803

1803-1808

1800-1813

1802-1803

1788

1832-1833

1763

1770-1774

1779-1782

1810-1811

1838-1839

1788-1814

1850

1850

1794-1854

1759

1814-1819

1850

1803

1757

1785-1802

1849

1829

1814-1841

Treppert (or Dreppert), Henry
 Trissler, John
 Treish, John

 Van Sciver, J.B.

 Walter, Henry
 Walker, John
 Weaver, Adam
 Weiss, William
 Weiman, Henry
 Winger, Christian
 Withers, Michael
 Withers, Michael (Nephew)
 Whirley,
 White, Job
 Williams, James
 Wolf, Emile
 Wurtz, Samuel

 Yost, Casper

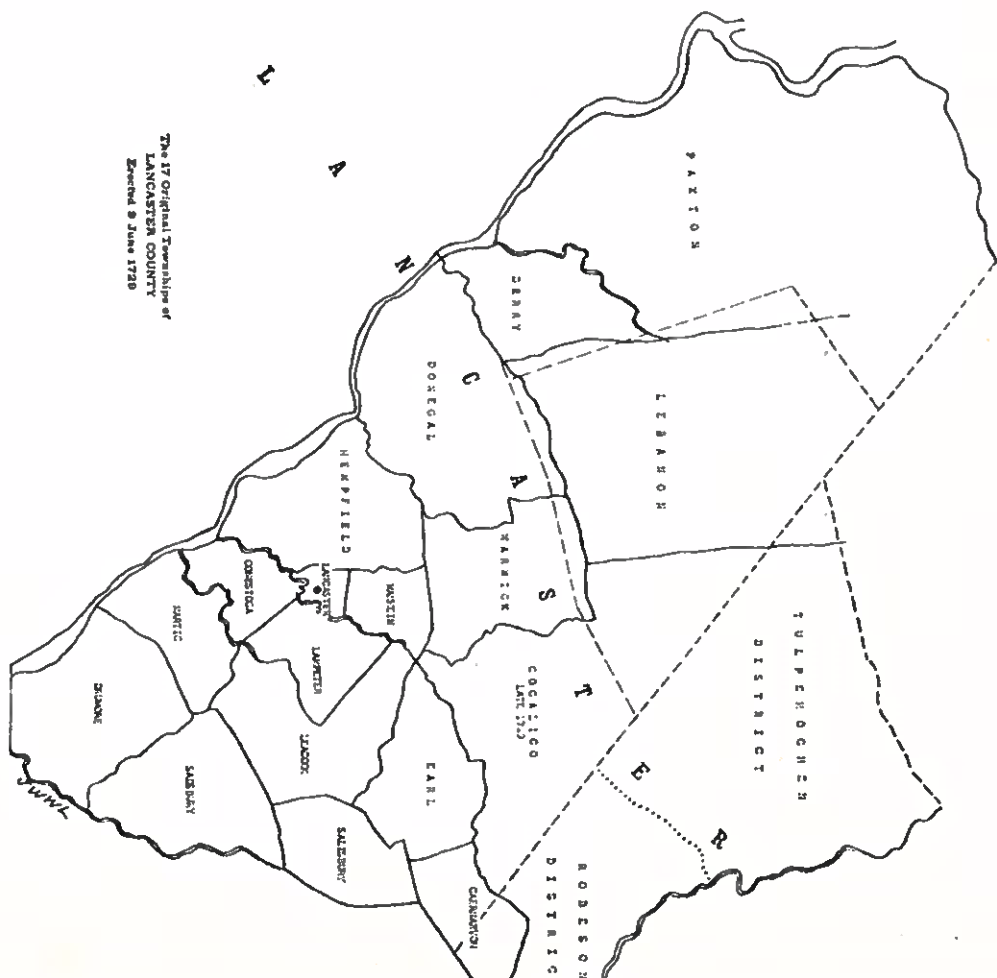
 Zahm, Mathias

Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1829-1830
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1807-1840
Gun Barrel Forger, Elizabeth Township	1847-1850
— V —	
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1850
— W —	
Gunsmith, Cocalico Township	1820-1830
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1780-1807
Gunsmith, Jonestown	1771-1779
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1800-1848
Gun Barrel Forger, Elizabeth Township	1850
Gunsmith, Leacock Township	1780-1810
Gunsmith, Strasburg Township	1758
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1786-1813
Gunsmith, Manor Township	1850
Gunsmith, Little Britain Township	1840
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1843-1850
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1850
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1837
— Y —	
Gunsmith, Lebanon Township	1779-1785
— Z —	
Gunsmith, Lancaster Boro.	1813-1819

AUTHORS' NOTE: The above List of Gunsmiths was documented from the following sources:

1. Tax Records in Lancaster County Historical Society
 2. Narr's Records in Lancaster County Court House
 3. Wills and Deeds in Lancaster County Court House
 4. Directories of Lancaster
 5. Manuscript Files in Lancaster County Historical Society.
- Research started in 1959 — completed in 1969.

S. E. Dyke
 C. B. Grove



The western limit of Lancaster County at the time of its establishment on 9 June 1729 was the western boundary of Pennsylvania. The Octorara Cree and Schuylkill River formed the eastern boundary of the new county, and the West Branch of the Susquehanna River vaguely formed the northwest limit. Until a purchase of land from the Indians was made in 1736, Lancaster County was pretty well confined to the area southeast of the South and Blue Mountain Range. As the settlers moved north and west, townships were created in the new areas by the Lancaster County Court. What are now York, Adam Perry, and Cumberland counties had been organized into townships between 1729 and 1749. North of Lancaster County were the original townships of Peshank (Paxtang, or Paxton), Lebanon and Derry. Along the Schuylkill River were two districts settled but not formally organized into townships.